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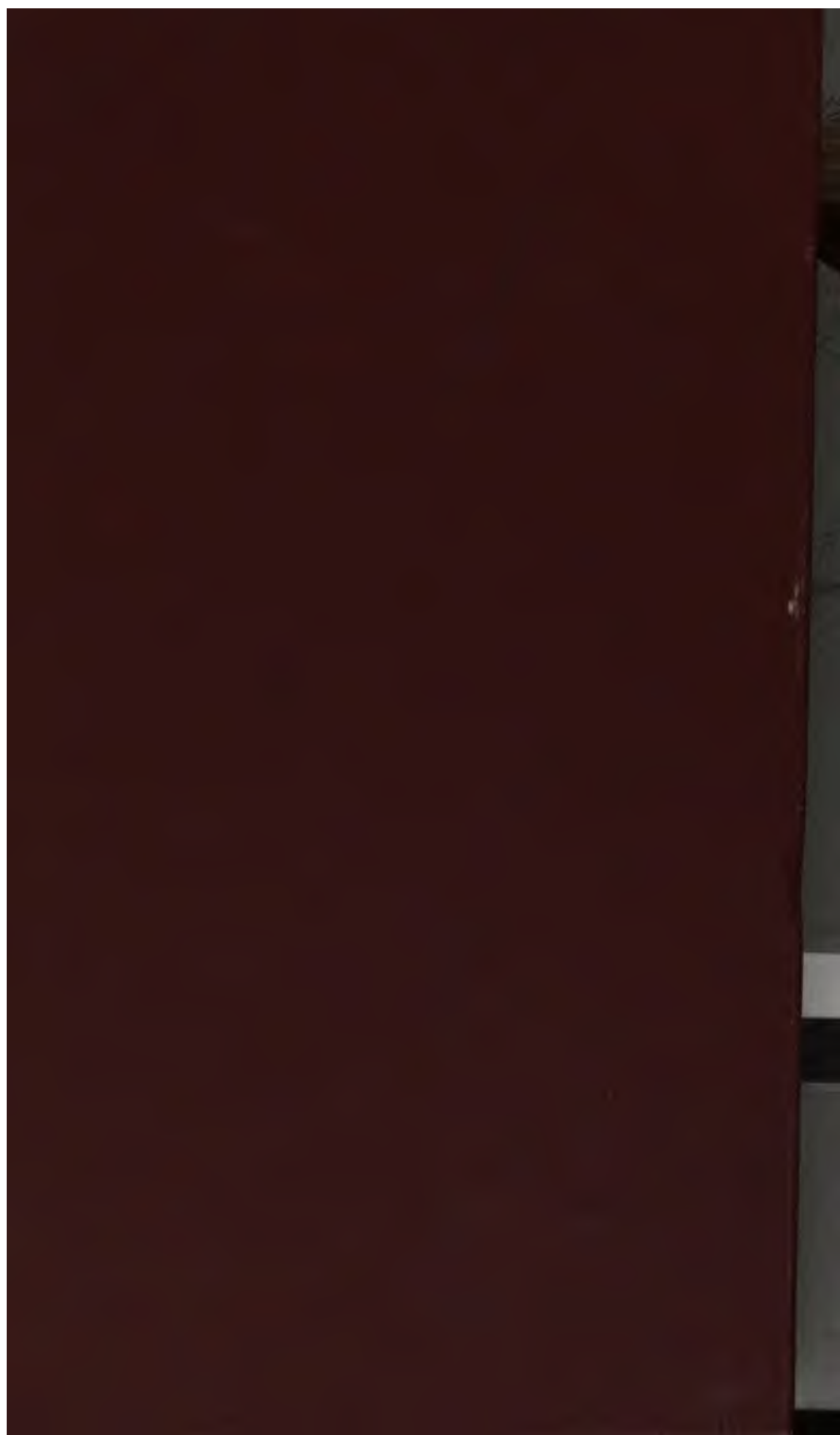
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J. S. Bunting

"AMERICA,"

HISTORICAL, STATISTIC, AND DESCRIPTIVE.

BY

James S. B.
J. S. BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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DEDICATION.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT.

LONDON, May 1, 1841.

SIR,

WHEN I took the liberty to transmit to your royal highness the announcement of my proposed work on America, you did me the honour to assure me, that "it would afford you much pleasure to give it your full sanction and patronage." Your royal highness farther condescended to observe, that "the feelings of good-will towards the American people, under which this work was undertaken, could not fail at the present moment of producing a desirable effect."

While I am deeply sensible of this act of kindness on the part of your royal highness towards myself personally, I feel yet more strongly the value and importance, from their future influence on the public weal, of the generous sentiments to which your royal highness has been pleased to give expression.

A sense of gratitude on my own part, and a still higher sentiment of duty towards the people of England and America, thus encourage me to make known to both the noble and enlightened views with which your royal highness desires to promote whatever can strengthen the friendly relations between their respective countries.

I cannot, therefore, commit my humble labours to the press under more appropriate or more distinguished auspices than those of your royal highness, to whom I cheerfully dedicate these volumes; in the confident hope that they will awaken in other minds the same friendly and benevolent aspirations after "peace on earth and good-will to man," which beamed so generously and spontaneously from your own.

Your royal highness cannot be indifferent to international friendships, as the illustrious consort of a queen whose broad realm embraces such extended possessions that the sun never ceases to shine on some portion or other of her vast do-

minions ; its evening rays still lingering amid the shrines and domes that stud the banks of the mighty Ganges, while its morning beams are just beginning to gild the spires and turrets scattered along the margin of the still more magnificent St. Lawrence.

To her protection, multitudinous nations, provinces, and tribes, of every hue and creed, from "The gorgeous East" to those primeval forests of the Western world

"Where the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind,"

all look up with hope ; and think that, while the diadem of England sits on so fair a brow, and its sceptre is wielded by so gentle a hand, they may count on Mercy,

"The brightest jewel that adorns the crown,"

so tempering Justice in its administration as to make the condition of themselves and all their children more happy than under any previous reign.

It is, therefore, but a just compliment to your royal highness to believe that every portion of the globe which owns her majesty's benignant sway should enlist your generous sympathies, in its actual condition, as well as in its future prospects : and as it has fallen to my lot to visit nearly all the possessions of her majesty's crown in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and thus to see for myself the powerful claims they possess to royal favour and public support, I may hope to be the more readily forgiven for availing myself of every opportunity to express my earnest and unabated interest in their prosperity.

In the sincere hope that your royal highness may long be permitted to enjoy the distinguished happiness with which you are at present blessed ; and that her majesty may be honoured of Heaven to be the happy instrument, in the hands of Divine Providence, of conferring, by her enlightened and pacific rule in the British dominions, at home and abroad, a larger measure of prosperity, virtue, piety, and justly-earned renown than any of her predecessors on the imperial throne, I have the honour to be your royal highness's obliged and devoted servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

4 Camden Terrace, West, Camden New Town.

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A M E R I C A,

HISTORICAL, STATISTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE.

CHAPTER I.

Motives for visiting the United States.—Intercourse with various Classes of Society.—Extensive geographical Range of the Country traversed.—Names of the several States and Territories examined.—Form of Narrative adopted in Description.—Historical and statistical Sketches blended with this.—General Topics chiefly dwelt on in Cities and States.—Pictures of Manners and Customs in public and private Life.

AFTER a long course of travels over a great portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and of voyages in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, spreading over more than thirty years of a varied and active life, I had a strong desire to add to the knowledge thus acquired of the countries of the Old World by examining for myself the most favoured portion of the New. I had once visited the United States, about thirty years ago, just after the period when the gifted poet, Thomas Moore, had passed through the country; and I had the pleasure to mingle in many of the circles that he had enlivened by his wit and enchanted by his verse: but from that period, 1808, up to 1837, all my wanderings had been in the Eastern hemisphere, and the Western had continued, to me at least, to be "a sealed fountain," of whose waters I longed the more ardently to drink.

At the close of my Parliamentary labours in 1837—when the great object of my public life had been successfully accomplished by the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, and the opening of the vast and populous regions of the East to British enterprise—I availed myself of my retirement to make a second visit to America, with the intention of devoting at least three years to a careful examination of all the most prominent and interesting objects of nature and art that the country contained, as well as investigating the nature of its institutions, the structure of its society, and the character and manners of its people.

In all the works I had hitherto read in the shape of travels through the United States, there appeared defects or omissions, which a more patient, more diligent, and more

impartial examination of the country and its inhabitants might supply. In some of the English writers there was an evident determination to seek only for blemishes, and to turn even the virtues into ridicule. In others there was a strong political bias, hostile to everything connected with the very name of a republic; causing them to see everything, therefore, through a jaundiced medium. In some, again, there was an elaboration of disquisition on a few prominent features of the national character and national institutions, with a contemptuous neglect of minuter but not less important details; and in others, a substitution of fictitious and imaginary stories for facts, which, however it might display the talent of the writers for invention and broadly exaggerated humour, could only mislead the reader as to the real state of society among the people so unjustifiably misrepresented and caricatured.

Without assuming to myself the possession of greater abilities for this task than those who have gone before me, I venture to believe that I have at least enjoyed superior advantages to most of my predecessors; and to these alone I am anxious to draw the attention of the reader, as he will see in them abundant reasons why I should be likely to escape many, at least, of the defects and omissions pointed out in others. It is an advantage which the latest traveller in any country enjoys, that the errors of his pioneers serve as so many beacons and landmarks, by which he may be at once warned and guided in his path. But, in addition to this, there were several special privileges which I had the good fortune to enjoy, and by which I endeavoured, at least, to profit on every occasion, to acquire as extensive and accurate information as I could on all the subjects of my inquiry.

Having designed from the first to make some stay in all the principal cities and towns of the country, I proposed to occupy the mornings in active examination of all the objects accessible to my research, and to devote the evenings to the delivery of my courses of Lectures on the Scriptural and classical regions of the East; so that the acquisition of knowledge as to the New World for my own delight, and the diffusion of information respecting the Old World for the gratification of others, blended happily together; and the latter occupation assisted the former in a greater degree than I could have anticipated or thought possible. In every town the delivery of my Lectures brought around me, in the shortest space of time, all the most intellectual portion of society: and as these sought my acquaintance by introduc-

tion, some for the purpose of extending their inquiries as to the subjects described, and others to offer, by their hospitality, some return for the pleasure they professed to have received, I was brought into personal and intimate communion with the very best portion of the community, whether tested by the standards of learning, morality, manners, influence, or wealth; and nothing could exceed the frankness and kindness with which all their resources of information were placed at my disposal.

The interest which I had been known to take in England in the cause of temperance, education, the condition of seamen, the improvement of the working classes, unfettered commerce, and universal peace, occasioned very early applications to be made to me by the various philanthropic societies, with which the United States happily abound, to take a part in the proceedings of their public meetings, to examine the working of their several institutions, and to offer my unreserved opinion as to their merits or defects. This of course gave me as frequent opportunities to examine the condition of society among the middle and inferior classes as my Lectures afforded me of mixing with the higher; and, taking both together, I may safely affirm that my Lectures were heard and read by not less than a million of persons during my stay in America; from the elite of whom I received the most cordial attention, in private as well as in public; and in assisting the various philanthropic objects enumerated there could be hardly less than a million more, by whom my addresses at their public meetings were heard and read in every part of the Union, from Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic shore to the regions beyond the Mississippi.

If the mingling so intimately with all classes in the cities and towns be regarded as an advantage, the extensive range of my track over the surface of the interior of the country was scarcely less so. This embraced, it is believed, a greater number of states and territories than had ever before been traversed, and a more thorough examination of each than had yet been made by any single traveller, European or American; my journeys having carried me through every state and territory in the Union except two, and these the least settled and least interesting in every point of view, namely, the State of Arkansas and the Territory of Florida. We were, indeed, close on the borders of each; but one was uninviting from the unhealthiness of its climate in the season at which we were near it, and the other was inaccessible

from the deadly and exterminating war still raging over its swamps and everglades between the Seminole Indians and their pursuers. We visited, however, and traversed in various directions, the states of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan; navigating the great lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, embracing the whole country between New-Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico, to Quebec on the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and terminating with the British provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, and the disputed territory on the boundary-line between the British and American possessions.

In addition to the advantages which extensive intercourse with all classes of society, and a wide range of country traversed, but with frequent intervals of halt, and careful examination in detail, may be supposed to confer, I think I do not overrate the value of a knowledge of other countries too highly when I say that it furnished me with more accurate standards of comparison than could be applied by persons acquainted only with their own. At the same time, the very fact of my having thus lived for so many years among various nations, differing from each other in religion, government, language, morals, and manners, could hardly fail to soften those national prejudices by which the people of every country are too much disposed to flatter their own institutions and manners as all perfection, and to denounce all such as differ from them as worthless and contemptible. I was thus, I venture to believe, enabled to view things with a more catholic spirit of impartiality than it is possible for those to do who have not had their national prejudices corrected by extensive intercourse with other lands.

I am aware that, in thus offering the reasons I have enumerated as the ground of my confidence that this work on the United States has been prepared under greater advantages than have been enjoyed by most others, I am increasing the weight of my responsibility to public opinion for its execution. This is unavoidable, and I do not therefore shrink from it; but to enable those to whose judgment it will be necessarily submitted to form a more accurate opinion as to whether it accomplishes the end it proposes, I may be permitted to state briefly the plan on which I have endeavoured to construct it.

In reading books of travels for myself, I have always desired to be placed by the author, as much as possible, in his own situation; to be brought, in short, by his descriptions, as nearly as can be, to the condition of being his travelling companion; to see things in the same order of succession as he himself saw them; to be made acquainted with the minuter incidents of his life, as well as with the more prominent; to become familiar with the inconveniences to which he was subjected, as well as with the pleasures he enjoyed; to partake of his indignation at the wrong, as fully as with his admiration of the right; to be, in short, continually present with him in all his vicissitudes, and to sympathize with him in all his joys and sorrows, by whatever cause produced. For this reason I have always preferred the form of the actual diary, in which the incidents and feelings are transferred to paper while fresh and new. But as I have myself, when residing in any country, state, or city, a strong desire to know at least the prominent parts of their history and progress as far as they can be traced, so I desire that others shall share the pleasure of my investigations in this respect, and such brief historical sketches are accordingly introduced. But as the actual condition of things is of far greater importance than the past, especially in a new and rising country like the United States, this portion of the subject has been most elaborately treated in every case, and will be found to embrace ample details of the topography, public and private buildings, institutions, manufactures, commerce, population, manners, customs, and peculiarities of all the cities and towns; while in the provinces, the general character of the soil and country, its scenery, climate, and productions, statistics of area, comparative fertility, population, resources, public works, and financial condition, have the greatest share of attention bestowed on them.

Of general topics, belonging to every part of the country equally, those of political institutions, religion, morals, education, literature, social intercourse, and domestic relations, will be found to be most frequently described and discussed; and wherever it has been practicable to corroborate my own views by native authorities, whether among the popular writers of the country or from their public journals, I have availed myself freely of these sources, partly to satisfy the English reader of the probable soundness of my conclusions, and partly to let the American reader also see that it is not, as he might otherwise suppose, the erroneous impressions of a foreigner, of whose authority they are peculiarly

jealous in matters of national concern, but the deliberate conviction of some of the leading public writers of their own country, against which no such objection can be raised.

It will be inferred from this that my views of American institutions and manners are not always of the most favourable kind: and this I am ready to avow. I visited the country neither predisposed to admire nor condemn; but most sincerely desirous of seeing the actual condition of things, and most firmly resolved to describe them as they appeared to me, whether for good or for evil. To suppose that I may not in some cases have received imperfect impressions, and in others have formed erroneous conclusions, would be to suppose a freedom from the ordinary frailty and fallibility of mortals. To such an exemption I hope I should be the last to make any claim. But this, at least, I can assert with confidence, that I have always endeavoured to investigate carefully the facts placed within my reach; that I have been quite as anxious to form correct deductions from these when ascertained; and never having indulged the national antipathy towards foreigners which has always seemed so offensive to me in the writings of too many of my own countrymen, I am not conscious of having been influenced by such a feeling in any censures which I may have felt it right to express. From the peculiarly quick sensitiveness of the American people to the censures of foreigners, and of English writers above all others, I have no doubt I shall be condemned by many of the party journals in that country for some of the observations which I felt it my duty to make on subjects connected with their institutions and manners; while, on the other hand, I expect as little justice from the party journals of my own country, who will condemn me perhaps as fiercely for the eulogies I feel bound to bestow on the manifold advantages enjoyed by the people of the United States over most of the countries of the Old World. Between these two extremes I shall, however, hope to find, in the moderate and impartial judgment of those who love truth wherever it is to be found, and who think it as much a duty to condemn what is evil as to praise what is good, a sufficient counterbalance to the severity of the criticisms on both sides of the Atlantic which I am prepared to expect.

On one other topic I may venture to say a word or two in explanation. Throughout the United States the complaint is almost universal, that English travellers especially have abused the hospitality of some and betrayed the con-

fidence of others, by making public what was never intended or thought likely to be so exposed, and much bitterness of disappointment and anger of feeling has been occasioned thereby. There is, unfortunately, too much of truth in the accusation, though the English are not more in fault in this betrayal of confidence and abuse of hospitality than some American travellers who have visited and described England. But in both it is no doubt an offence that deserves to be punished with public censure; first, for its injustice and ingratitude; and next, because it has a tendency to lessen the disposition of even the most generous and high-minded in each country to extend their hospitality and attentions to the citizens of the other. I hope and believe that I have avoided this evil; I am sure, at least, that I have earnestly endeavoured to do so; and remembering, as I shall always be prompt and proud to do, the many warm and affectionate friendships I had the happiness to form among the American people, I should feel the deepest regret if anything to which I gave publicity respecting their country or themselves should weaken our reciprocal regard, or render my name and memory less revered among them or their children than it has hitherto had the honour and good fortune to be.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from England.—Arrival at New-York.—Address to the American Public issued on Landing.—Different Courses of Lectures delivered in the City.—Attendance at Public Meetings for Benevolent Objects.—New-York State Temperance Society.—New-York Peace Society.—Meeting on the Subject of Public Education.—New-York City Tract Society.—Total Abstinence Society.—Ladies Meeting for the Orphan Asylum.—Meeting of the Friends of Sailors' Homes.—Visit to one of the Establishments of this Institution.—Admirable Arrangement for the Comforts of Seamen.—Political Excursion to Newark with the Hon. Daniel Webster.—Visit to Polling places at the Time of Election.—Legal and Clerical Parties.—Intellectual Soirées.

It was on the 7th of September, 1837, that we left London for New-York. The packet-ship in which we had engaged cabins was the *President*, Captain Chadwick; and our party consisted of Mrs. Buckingham, my youngest son, then about twelve years of age, and myself. We were accompanied to the ship by the other members of our family and friends, and the prospect of so long a separation as that which we contemplated made our adieus more than usually painful.

During our tedious passage down the British Channel, the sight of the often-seen and well-remembered "white cliffs of Albion" excited recollections of the joy with which I hailed them on my last return from exile, that contrasted powerfully with the opposite emotions with which I now beheld them fading from my view; and this found vent in some effusions, which sufficiently indicate the frame of mind in which they were penned.*

There was nothing of sufficient interest or novelty in the sea-voyage across the Atlantic, nothing peculiar in the ship or her equipment, nothing even in the number or character of our fellow-passengers, to require any special notice; and, except in the enjoyment of domestic society and books, so full of delight everywhere, but especially when cut off from the world in the comparative solitude of the ocean, there was nothing beyond the common incidents or pleasures of an ordinary sea-voyage.

Our passage was of more than usual length, occupying forty-three days, the general average of outward voyages not exceeding thirty days. We had, however, a great prevalence of contrary winds, and much boisterous and unpleasant weather, though the season of the year is one in which this is not very common.

It was on the 19th of October that we first saw the American coast, a part of Long Island, to the eastward of New-York; and soon after receiving on board a pilot, we made all sail with a fine breeze for the entrance of the harbour by Sandy Hook, which we reached early in the afternoon. From thence we proceeded up through the Narrows towards the city, and anchored off the Battery about five o'clock.

It is difficult to speak without an air of exaggeration of the beauties of this short trip from the entrance of the harbour to the anchorage-ground. They were, however, so numerous and so enchanting, that my only regret was at the rapidity with which we passed by the several objects that succeeded each other. The time of the year was undoubtedly favourable, and added much to the splendour of the scene, in the rich autumnal tints with which the foliage on all the surrounding hills was crowned; and the time of day was equally advantageous, as it was just before the full glow of a western sunset. The Narrows, formed by the nearly approaching cliffs of Staten Island on the west and Long Island on the east, is one of the most strikingly interesting

* See Appendix, No. I. and II.

straits of entrance that can be conceived, to the more expanded harbour into which it opens; and its beauty is much increased by the number of little villas scattered over the surface of the hills on either side, contrasting their almost snowy whiteness with the rich greens, and yellows, and scarlets, and browns of the autumnal foliage in which many of them are imbosomed.

As we advanced upward the variety of the scenery presented continual charms, and the first sight of the city of New-York, with the lofty spires of its numerous churches rising from the interior; the tall masts of its crowded fleets fringing the outline of the entire mass of houses, while distinctive signals were waving from the greater number of the mastheads; added to ships of war forming the squadron now about to sail on an exploring expedition; the opening views of the East River, Long Island, and Brooklyn, which lie to the right of New-York, as you look towards it from the south, and the still greater expanse of the noble Hudson River and the opposite city of Jersey, which are seen to the left hand or on the west, produced a coup d'œil which few seaports could parallel, and none that I have ever entered could surpass.

Soon after anchoring we took leave of our floating residence, and landing at the Battery, we were taken to one of the principal hotels in the lower part of the Broadway, called the Mansion House, or Bunker's, where we found accommodation for the night; but being unable to make arrangements for our permanent stay there for want of room, we took up our quarters at the adjoining house, which was what is called a private boarding-house, and here for the present we made our home.

As we remained in New-York for several months, and as I availed myself of every opportunity that presented itself during that period to see whatever the city contained, and to mingle as much as possible with the various classes of its inhabitants, I shall endeavour to condense my description of the whole into a general and continuous picture, embracing all those details which occupied many different days in collecting, and most of which required and received that subsequent revision which time and re-examination can alone secure.

Before entering on this, however, I may offer the following short notice of my own labours, as those which were most instrumental in bringing me in contact with the most intelligent and respectable of the inhabitants, and leading to

many delightful friendships, of which I shall long cherish a pleasing and grateful remembrance.

Soon after my landing I presented the numerous letters of introduction with which I had been favoured by friends in England to families of the greatest influence here, and this brought us at once into the midst of a most extensive circle of agreeable acquaintances. As considerable public curiosity had begun to be awakened, however, by my visit to the United States, from the notice taken of it by the public journals, I thought it the shortest and most effective method of correcting erroneous impressions, and placing the motives and object of my visit in their true light, to issue an Address on this subject.*

My courses of lectures descriptive of Egypt and Palestine were soon afterward announced; and as the great length of the city, as well as the difference in the classes of society that reside in different quarters, rendered it desirable to have more than one place for their delivery, an arrangement was made to give one of the courses at Clinton Hall, near the centre, for the mercantile classes, and one at the Stuyvesant Institute, at the northern extremity of Broadway, for the more opulent and fashionable classes who reside in that newly-built and elegant quarter of the town. Both these lecture-rooms were well adapted for their purpose, and capable of accommodating with ease, the former about 700, and the latter about 500 auditors; and each course was so well attended, that while the Clinton Hall was usually filled, the Stuyvesant Institute became too crowded, and many individuals were unable to obtain admission. This obliged us to remove to the chapel of the University, a beautiful Gothic building forming part of the general edifice in Washington Square, which was cheerfully granted to me by the president and chancellor, and the remaining lectures of my course were delivered there to very crowded audiences.

After the close of these two courses in New-York I was invited by a requisition, signed by about 100 of the principal residents of Brooklyn, to visit them, and deliver the same lectures at the Lyceum of their city. In this duty I was agreeably occupied for about a month, crossing over from New-York to Brooklyn on each evening in a carriage, which drives into the steam ferry-boat, and is conveyed to the other side across the East River without the necessity of the passenger leaving his vehicle, and returning by the

* See Appendix No. III. e.

same mode after the lecture was over. The lecture-room at the Brooklyn Lyceum, like that at the Stuyvesant Institute in New-York, is built in the form of the old Greek theatre, semicircular, with the ranges of seats rising in succession behind each other; but, though Brooklyn is by much the smaller place—the population of New-York being about 300,000, and that of Brooklyn 40,000—its lecture-room is much larger, more lofty, better proportioned, and was filled every night by a larger audience than had yet attended any of the lectures in New-York.

At the termination of the Brooklyn course I was still farther detained for six weeks longer in New-York, to repeat my course on Egypt at the Stuyvesant Institute; to give a second course on Palestine at the lecture-room of St. Luke's Church in Hudson-street; and a third course, on Egypt and Palestine combined, at the Chatham-street Chapel, each in different quarters of the city, and attended by different classes of auditors: that at the Stuyvesant averaging 600; that at St. Luke's in Hudson-street, about 200; and that in Chatham-street Chapel not less than 2000; each being up to the fullest capacity of the respective places to contain.

Independently of these labours on my own account, I had the pleasure to assist at the following public meetings, which were fixed for those evenings on which my own labours were suspended; and, although these intervening days were originally set aside for rest, I was too happy in the appropriation of them to the objects named to regret for a moment the extra labour they involved.

The first of these public meetings was held in the Tabernacle, a large church or meeting-house in Broadway, to advocate and promote the cause of Temperance. The Tabernacle is one of the largest places of worship in New-York, and will contain nearly 3000 persons. On this occasion it was filled to overflowing, and large numbers were unable to obtain admission. At half past seven the chair was taken by S. V. S. Wilder, Esq., and the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Duffield. I was then introduced to the audience by a short address from the chairman, after which I spoke for about two hours, giving the history of the temperance reformation in England, the efforts made in the House of Commons, the evidence procured by its committee of inquiry, and the recent progress of the question in the public mind in Britain, followed by some general arguments in favour of the cause, as applicable to this and every other country on the globe. The audience, large as it was, evin-

ced the deepest interest in the subject, and the meeting closed with a more than usual expression of enthusiasm.

The second of these public meetings was one held by the New-York Peace Society, which took place in Chatham-street Chapel. This building, though not so large as the Tabernacle, will comfortably accommodate 2000 persons seated; and, when the aisles and all other standing-places are filled, 2500 can be admitted. Every part of it was crowded on the present occasion, and many went away for want of room. The chair was taken at seven, and the meeting was opened by sacred music, vocal and instrumental, beautifully executed by a very numerous and well-trained choir. Here also, as at the Tabernacle, the deepest attention was manifested; and during the two hours of my address—which was devoted to an exposition of the horrors and miseries of War, its injustice, and the long train of evils which it inflicted on mankind, the desirability of its abolition, and the practicability of establishing a Congress of Nations, to which, as to a supreme tribunal, all those disputes between nations, now settled by an appeal to the sword, might be referred for adjudication, and war thus be averted—nothing could exceed the interest evinced by the hearers, or the unanimity of the approbation with which these statements and sentiments were received. The meeting was closed, as it was opened, by sacred music, and the effect was altogether most impressive as well as agreeable.

The third public meeting that I attended was to advocate and promote the cause of National Education. This was held in the Tabernacle on Tuesday, the 14th of December, and attended by as many as the building would contain. The meeting was called by John Orville Taylor, Esq., a gentleman who has taken a deep interest in the promotion of education and the improvement of the common schools, and who for some years past has given his time almost exclusively to this object. At seven o'clock, on the motion of Col. Stone, the editor of one of the principal daily newspapers, Samuel Mott, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends, and a gentleman who takes a prominent part in the promotion of education, was called to the chair. After this, Mr. Taylor addressed the meeting for about an hour, detailing the defects of the common schools in the country districts of the several states; showing how these defects might be remedied; and proposing that, for the purpose of carrying forward the requisite improvements, a society should be formed, to be called "The Common School Union," to act

for the benefit of the common schools of the country, as the "Sunday-school Union" does for the Sunday-schools of the states: a proposition which was well received.

Mr. Taylor was followed by the Rev. Mr. Brackenridge, of Princeton, one of the most eloquent of the public men of the present day, who made a very powerful speech in support of the general cause of education, and urged the necessity of carefully excluding persons who were known to be infidels from all participation in the management or direction of schools, either as teachers or assistants. At the close of his speech a remarkable scene occurred: a well-dressed and middle-aged lady rose in front of the gallery, and asked permission of the chairman to put a question to the speaker who had just sat down. She represented herself as a foreigner, and spoke with the accent of a German, but used correct and appropriate language, and expressed herself with great firmness and self-possession. Permission having been granted from the chair, the question she proposed was this: "Whether the reverend gentleman who had spoken so severely of infidels was ready to accept her challenge, and prepared to fight the infidels with their own weapons?" A scene of great excitement followed, the indignation of the audience being loudly and generally expressed; and all the efforts of the chairman and those on the platform to repress it were for some time ineffectual. At length, silence being restored, Mr. Brackenridge rose, and said that he was quite prepared to answer the question proposed to him; and his reply was this: "That he had been taught from his infancy, and Christianity has since confirmed the propriety of the lesson, that it would be altogether unbecoming his character as a man to take up any kind of weapons to fight with a woman." The lady appeared satisfied with the reply, or, seeing the feeling of the meeting to be so strongly against her interruption, made no farther appeal, and order was therefore speedily restored.

After this I addressed the meeting, by the introduction of the chairman, for about an hour and a half, on the subject of education generally, its state and condition in various countries of the world, and the peculiar importance of this question to America, as being the country in which the mass of the people exercised a larger share of power than in any other nation in the world; it being therefore of the utmost consequence that this power should be directed by intelligence, which could only be communicated, generally and extensively, by a good system of national education. The

meeting did not separate till 10 o'clock, and its proceedings were marked by great animation and enthusiasm.

The fourth public meeting that I was called on to attend was that of the anniversary of the New-York City Tract Society, an extensive and useful body, who employ sixteen paid missionaries, at regular annual salaries, to devote their whole time to visiting the most wretched and abandoned part of the population in their own dwellings, and, by the use of printed tracts, conversation, admonition, and persuasion, incline them to change their modes of life, attend to the better management of their temporal affairs, and devote some portion of their time to spiritual ones. These missionaries are assisted in their benevolent labours by the voluntary services of eleven hundred male and female district visitors, who day by day devote some portion of their time to the same object, and are instrumental in rescuing large numbers every year from profligacy and dissipation; prevailing on hundreds to join the Temperance Society, to become more economical and industrious, to attend public worship, to send their children to the Sunday-schools, and so to amend their lives in industry, sobriety, morals, and religion as to become changed beings—better husbands, better wives, better parents, better children, and better members of the community.

At 7 o'clock the chair was taken by the president of the society, Zachariah Lewis, Esq., a venerable old gentleman above seventy years of age. Music was then performed by the New-York Academy of Sacred Music, assisted by the choir of the Tabernacle, the building in which we were assembled, and nothing could be more chaste or perfect than its execution. Prayer was then offered up by the Rev. Dr. Ferris, of the Reformed Dutch Church; after which the annual reports of the secretary and treasurer were read, and speeches were delivered in support of the objects of the society by the Rev. Mr. Remington, of the Methodist Church, the Rev. J. W. Cooke, of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. Silas Hsley, of the Baptist Church, and the Rev. W. Adams, of the Presbyterian Church, thus embracing ministers of the principal religious bodies in the city. At intervals of about an hour apart, two other pieces of sacred music were performed by the members of the Academy and the choir united, each with equal sweetness and skill, adding greatly to the charm of the proceedings. It was half past nine before I was called on by the chairman to terminate the business of the evening by a closing address; and though the subject and the interest I felt in it drew me on beyond half past ten, the

attention was as profound and unbroken at that late hour as in the earliest part of the evening. A collection was made at the close of the whole for the funds of the Society, by which a sum of 3500 dollars was realized, a substantial proof of the sincerity and zeal of those who contributed it.

The fifth public meeting that I attended was that of the Total Abstinence Society, or that branch of the Temperance Society which recommends the entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and avoids the use of wine, beer, or any other drink that can produce intoxication, as much as ardent spirits. This meeting was held in the Methodist Chapel in Green-street, which was filled in every part ; and about twenty clergymen, ministers and members of the board or committee, were on the platform. Several speeches were delivered on the subject of temperance, and in the intervals appropriate music was performed ; and one or two odes and hymns, written for the occasion, were sung by the choir. My own effort was reserved for the closing address, as had been done on all the previous occasions of such public meetings ; and the effect of the whole was, to add a very considerable number of members to the Total Abstinence Society, by persons coming forward, after the proceedings were over, to enter their names, sign the pledge to abstain from all that can intoxicate, and contribute to the funds of the institution.

The sixth public meeting at which I assisted was the anniversary of the Half-Orphan Asylum, which was held at the Stuyvesant Institute on Wednesday, the 10th of January, 1838, at noon. There had existed previous to this an orphan asylum for those unhappy children who had lost both their parents ; but many little objects of charity who had lost only one, though that surviving parent should be helpless, were shut out from admission by the terms of its constitution. It was to meet such cases as these that this second institution was formed. Its projectors, supporters, and managers were ladies, and the good they had already effected was sufficiently proved by the exhibition of about a hundred little children, of both sexes, who had been saved from certain want, and probable vice and misery, by their benevolent exertions. The funds were supplied wholly by annual subscriptions and voluntary donations ; and it was impossible to hear the report read, and witness the amount of benefit secured, without being delighted to find how small an amount of money, judiciously applied, will procure a large amount of good ; and without being at the same time surprised that

mankind are so slow in learning that the pleasures of benevolence are at once the cheapest, the most exquisite, and the most enduring that man can enjoy. The meeting was very numerous, though composed almost wholly of ladies; and the proceedings were conducted and addresses made by the chairman, the Rev. Dr. Peters, the secretary who read the report, the Rev. Dr. Hawks, and myself.

The seventh public meeting in which I took a part was held at the Tabernacle on Tuesday, the 16th of January, for the purpose of presenting to the community of New-York the claims which the seamen of the port had on their sympathy and aid, with a view to induce the public to assist in rescuing them from the snares and temptations by which sailors are surrounded and beset on landing, and providing for them comfortable, orderly, and temperate boarding-houses, to be called Sailors' Homes. From the interest I had always taken in the welfare of this deserving but neglected class of beings in my own country, my attention was naturally drawn to their condition here; and I found, on inspection and inquiry, that here, as in England, the sailor is hardly permitted to tread the shore, after his arrival from a long voyage, before he is beset and surrounded with an unprincipled gang of grog-shop keepers, pawnbrokers, procuresses, crimps, and other "land-sharks," as they are most appropriately called, all anxious to make the unsuspecting victim their prey. He is then decoyed by flattering words, and the offer of money for his immediate wants before his wages are paid, to some low boarding-house, attached to which, or near at hand, are all the vicious allurements of intoxicating drink, gaming, dancing, women, and everything that can draw his money from his pocket; so that by these joint influences he is often drained of the whole earnings of a year of peril and hardship at sea in the short space of a single week, at the end of which he has to embark again upon the ocean, without even the means of purchasing sufficient clothes for his voyage, or leaving any provision for his family or kindred behind him.

To remedy this evil, some benevolent ladies had been prevailed on to set the example of establishing a single Sailors' Home, which I went with my family to visit on the morning of the day of our meeting. We found it all that could be desired: a good kitchen, well furnished with every requisite; a clean and airy mess-room for eating; a large sitting-room, well provided with plain furniture, and useful and entertaining books for reading; spacious and well

ventilated dormitories, with clean and wholesome beds, and ample room for the sailors' chests and hammocks; and, above all, a "sick bay," as it is called by sailors: a large open room used as a hospital for the men. The establishment was presided over by Captain Gelson, a seaman of experience and good character, assisted by his wife and sister, who managed all the household supplies and arrangements, while he superintended the general discipline. A physician attended the house weekly, or oftener if required, to prescribe for those who needed it; and a chaplain read prayers morning and evening, and conducted public worship on Sundays. The food was simple, but wholesome and ample. No spirits, wine, beer, or any other stimulating drink was permitted to enter the establishment; nor was smoking, the great auxiliary and promoter of drinking, allowed within the walls. The number of sailors at present boarding here were forty, which was as many as the house would comfortably accommodate; but more than a hundred had been shipped from the house since its establishment, only two months since, captains of ships preferring to take them from hence, as being better assured of their sobriety, only one failure in which had taken place since the house was opened. The sum charged to each of the seamen for board and lodging, with everything in the most comfortable abundance, was only three dollars, or about twelve shillings sterling, per week; and this was found to be sufficient to cover all the expenses of the establishment. Thus economy was added to all the other attractions of this home; as, for much worse fare in the ordinary boarding-houses, from four to five dollars are charged, independently of the constant drain for drinking, and other vicious indulgences, of all the men's surplus money; while those who live in the Sailors' Home are easily persuaded to put their wages received into the Savings' Bank, and thus to accumulate, instead of dissipating and destroying, their hard-earned gains.

The object of this meeting was to present these facts to the community, and appeal to them in support of such institutions; which, with their aid, it would be easy to multiply, first in New-York, and then in every other port of the country. It was matter of surprise and regret to me to find that not a single ship-owner or merchant of note was present on the platform of the meeting, though they who amass their fortunes by the enterprise of sailors ought undoubtedly to have taken the lead on such a subject. But the principal supporters of it were the ladies of the New-York Bethel

Union, and some ministers of the Gospel and philanthropic laymen wholly unconnected with shipping, commerce, or trade. The meeting was very numerously attended, and addressed by the Rev. Mr. Greenleaf, secretary, and editor of the Nautical Magazine; the Rev. Mr. Elliott, who had been himself a sailor in early life to the age of thirty, and had afterward entered the ministry; and by myself. Great sympathy was manifested and expressed by the audience, which exceeded 3000 persons, and a very liberal collection was made in aid of the fund forming for the purpose of setting on foot more such Homes as this, by paying the first cost of their fitting up and furniture, and so keeping the rate of expense to the seamen below the standard of ordinary boarding-houses, and yet sufficiently high to maintain the establishment out of its own weekly receipts, as soon as it had been set up in the manner described.

When all the public institutions that solicited my aid had been thus assisted, at the public meetings held on their behalf, I had hoped to have enjoyed some intervals of repose between the days on which my lectures were announced to be delivered, as I found the labour of public speaking and private visiting every day to be a little more than was congenial to health or comfort. But I was not permitted to enjoy even these occasional intervals of repose, as I was pressed into the service of individual and collective charity, to give some public lectures, first, for the benefit of a family of respectability, who had been well off in England, came here, suffered losses and sickness, and were now in great distress; and, secondly, for the benefit of the poor in a district or quarter of the town where the English and Irish emigrants chiefly reside before they are drained off to the Western States, and where the misery and suffering among these emigrants seemed to me to be equal to anything that I had seen at home.

In addition to those opportunities which my own several courses of lectures and the assisting at those public meetings afforded me of becoming acquainted with the most intelligent and benevolent members of the community, we visited, in company with the directors of the institution themselves, almost all the public establishments of the city connected with moral or social improvement, of each of which an account will be given in its proper place.

I passed an entire day also with the Hon. Daniel Webster, the eminent senator from Massachusetts, in a public visit made by him to his political friends at Newark, one of the

principal cities of New-Jersey, about ten miles from New-York, during which I saw a great deal to admire in the picture which it presented of the people among whom we were placed.

I was taken by several friends to the different polling-places of the wards during the exciting election of members for the Legislature, which occurred within the first month of our stay here, and which was said to have agitated the whole country more than any election for many years. In addition to all this, we were invited to dine and pass the evening with so many families in the first circles of society, that we had the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with all the leading members of the community, and seeing the state of manners in every class and in every variety of aspect.

I was introduced also to the leading members of the legal profession, by being invited to their club, where about fifty of the principal gentlemen of the bench and the bar meet every Saturday evening at the houses of the members in rotation, and thus had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the greatest number of the judges, the principal barristers, and the most eminent of the attorneys, for some of each class belonged to the club.

The great body of the clergy and ministers of the Gospel were among my most frequent visitors and companions, our labours in assisting at the various public meetings bringing us much together ; besides which, they were among the most constant attendants on my lectures. In addition to this, the Chancellor of the University, the Rev. Dr. Matthews, invited several parties of the most eminent among the scientific professors and literary men of New-York to meet me at his official residence. These two classes of soirées, the legal and the clerical, were among the most intellectual and agreeable I ever remember to have met with anywhere, not even excepting the delightful literary soirées of London and Paris ; for, though at these the number and eminence of the distinguished individuals present were always greater than here, yet in the parties of the legal, clerical, and literary men in New-York there was a simplicity of manners and an intensity of interest in the subjects that engaged their attention, which was particularly charming.

At the most moderate calculation that can be made, I think that, during the four months of our stay in New-York, I became personally acquainted, by introduction and interchange of calls and visits, with nearly 500 individuals ; while those who attended my courses of lectures, delivered in different parts of the city, and formed the audiences of the sev-

eral public meetings at which I assisted, exceeded 20,000 in number; so that I was as generally and extensively known to the inhabitants as any man could well become in that space of time.

It was from such sources and such opportunities as these that I drew the information and made the observations which I have committed to paper respecting the city and the objects of interest it contains. Having no preconceived notions to establish or defend, no theory of society to maintain, nor any interest whatever to serve, I believe that I brought to the execution of this task as much of impartiality as human nature will admit of one's exercising on topics like these; and if to some my estimate should appear too high, or to others too low, my justification is, that I have aimed at no standard but that of truth; and whether it made in favour of or against the objects spoken of, I have been so intent on its discovery that I could not forego the pleasure of freely expressing it, whether acceptable or otherwise.

The following, then, is the result of my inquiries and observations on New-York during my residence in that city.

CHAPTER III.

History of New-York from 1609 to 1838.—Topography and Plan of the City and its Environs.—Astonishing Rapidity of the Increase of Population.—Comparison of its Shipping at different Periods.—Augmentation of its Revenue and Foreign Commerce.—Admirable Situation chosen for the City.—Great Advantage of extensive Water-margin.—Outline of the Plan, and general Form of the City.—Public Squares and open Spaces in New-York.—Public Buildings: City Hall, Custom-house, Exchange.—Churches, and Style of Architecture in general Use.—Hotels, and general Accommodation in them.—Private Dwellings: Interior, Style, Furniture.—Streets, and their Peculiarities compared with ours.—Appearance of the principal Shops or Stores.—Number of elegantly-dressed Ladies in Broadway.—Absence of the splendid Equipages of England.

THE spot on which the city of New-York now stands was, little more than two centuries ago, a forest inhabited by tribes of untutored Indians. It was in 1609 that the Island of Manhattan was first discovered by an English navigator, Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch West India Company; and he found the tribes inhabiting it so inhospitable, that they refused to hold any intercourse with him even for barter and trade. The Indians of the Continent, on the opposite shore of New-Jersey, were more accessible; and, encouraged by his friendly relations with them, he

sailed up the great North River for 150 miles, and gave it the name which it now bears, the Hudson. The Dutch availed themselves of this discovery to make a settlement for trading purposes high up the river, on an island near the present town of Albany, where furs were to be obtained abundantly; but the hostility of the tribes inhabiting the island near the sea, on which New-York now stands, was not overcome till three years afterward, the first fort built there by the Dutch being in 1612. It was not until 1623 that the Indians could be prevailed upon to part with the land on which New-York is built; and even the settlement formed here was confined to an enlarged fort, where the confluence of the two rivers—the North and the East—swept round the southern point of the island, and made it a suitable place for a fortification to command the harbour, as the Battery of the present city, which occupies the same locality, does at the present time. From this point, as the population increased, the town began to extend from the fort northward, and it was then called New Amsterdam.

In 1664 the city was taken by the British, from whom, however, it was rescued by the Dutch in 1673. After remaining in their possession for a year only, it was restored again to the English; and being then granted by Charles the Second to his brother James, the duke of York, its name was changed to New-York. From this time onward, its population and buildings seem to have made a slow but steadily-increasing progress; and the state of the municipal government, and the improved police of the town, kept pace with its increase in size. It was in 1684 that the first city-watch was appointed, the number of these heroes of the night being twelve, and their pay a shilling each per night. In 1697 the lighting of the city was provided for by an order, which compelled all persons to put lights in their windows, under a penalty of ninepence for each omission; and every seventh house in each street was, in addition to this, required to hang out a pole with a lantern and candle suspended on it, to light the street.

In 1725 the first newspaper was established in New-York, called the Weekly Gazette; and in 1729 a large library, belonging to Dr. Millington, of England, was presented, after his decease, to the city, by the London Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. These two events gave an impetus to the operations of the public mind, and improvements of every kind became more marked than before. It was in 1765 that the famous Stamp Act, attempted

to be imposed on the American colonies by the British, produced such excitement as to lead to the meeting of a Congress at New-York, composed of delegates from other parts of the colonies. Early in 1776 the American army entered New-York, and on the 8th of July in that year Independence was proclaimed, when the celebrated Declaration, signed at Philadelphia only four days before by the founders of the American republic, was read to the inhabitants, and at the head of each brigade of the army. In the same year, however, the British obtained a victory over the American troops in the battle of Long Island, and repossessed themselves of New-York. This was in August, 1776; and in the same eventful year a dreadful conflagration occurred, which destroyed nearly 500 houses, the whole number being then only 4000, and the inhabitants reckoned at 30,000 in round numbers.

It was not until seven years after this, or in 1783, that New-York was finally evacuated by the British, when the American army, led by General Washington, entered and took possession of it; and the anniversary of this event is celebrated every year with military pomp and festivity, under the name of Evacuation Day, which happens on the 25th of November.

It was in this city that the first American Congress was held, when the members met after the Revolutionary War, in the year 1785, in the old City Hall; and in April, 1789, General Washington was inaugurated, in the gallery of the same building, as the first President of the United States.

From this period the most rapid progress of New-York may be fairly dated, as it was most unquestionably owing more to her freedom from foreign dominion, and the right to develop and direct her energies in the way that seemed best to her, without waiting for directions from a distant quarter, than to all other causes put together, that the amazing increase in size, population, and opulence which New-York now exhibits must be attributed. How great that difference is can only be exhibited by the use of figures.

In 1786 the population was 23,614; in 1836 it was 203,007; and at present it is nearly 300,000.

In 1791 the whole amount of the exports from New-York was 2,505,465 dollars; in 1816, only twenty-five years afterward, the mere duties on merchandise imported, as paid by the port of New-York alone into the treasury of the United States, was 16,000,000 dollars; and in the year 1836 the amount of the exports was 128,663,040, and of the imports 189,980,035 dollars.

At the period of General Washington's inauguration, the whole city of New-York was not more than half a mile long, its northern extremity terminating south of the present City Hall ; while at present the length of the city exceeds three miles, and streets are paved and lighted, and avenues for buildings laid out and prepared, a mile at least beyond that.

The value of the property in New-York in 1786 is estimated to have been about 12 millions of dollars ; in 1825 it was assessed by valuation at 98 millions of dollars ; and in 1834 it was assessed at 218 millions of dollars.

In 1786 the whole shipping of the port did not exceed 120 in number, measuring about 18,000 tons. In 1836 they consisted of 2293 vessels, of which there were 599 ships, 197 barks, 1073 brigs and galleys, 412 schooners, and 4 sloops, exceeding 350,000 tons. Such is the brief and encouraging history of New-York.

Of its topography it will not be difficult to present an intelligible description. The Island of Manhattan, on which the City of New-York stands, is a long and narrow slip, projecting southward, like a tongue, from the point where it is separated from the mainland ; its length from north to south being about fourteen miles, and its average breadth not exceeding a mile, the area containing about 14,000 acres. The East River (as it is called, but in reality a narrow strait or arm of the sea) flows down to the Atlantic along the eastern edge of this long and narrow island, and the Hudson River flows down to the harbour of New-York along the western margin of the same piece of land, so that throughout the whole of the island the breadth is nowhere greater than two miles across, and in many places it is not more than half a mile, the average being about a mile throughout.

It is impossible to conceive, therefore, a more advantageous site for the foundation of a maritime city than this, as it furnishes two lines of river frontage, one on the east and one on the west, each of fourteen miles in length ; and from the central parts of the city, where the streets are open towards the water, the two rivers may be seen, one on each side, from the same point of view, with ships and smaller vessels sailing or at anchor in each. Along these river fronts, east and west, as far as the town at present extends, which is about four miles from north to south, the shores are lined with wharves for the accommodation of vessels of every size and description, from the sloop of 50 tons to the

London or Liverpool packet of 1000 tons; and from the smallest steam ferry-boat to the largest steam-vessels that sail from New-York to other ports north and south of it.

Two other great advantages arise from this arrangement of the streets in the plan of the city. The first is the free and healthy ventilation of the whole, let the wind come from whatever quarter it may, as the full current of air is unimpeded in its course; and the second is the easy drainage of all the central parts, from the general declivity which proceeds from the central ridge gradually downward to the water on both sides of the city. These advantages are not yet sufficiently appreciated, nor are they secured by the best practicable means; but, as wealth and population increase, they will, no doubt, be more and more valued, and carefully cherished and preserved.

The southern extremity of this long and narrow island, where the Eastern and Western rivers have their confluence, and mingle their waters with those of the sea, is occupied by an open grassy plot (about eleven acres), planted with trees, and laid out in gravel-walks, under the name of the Battery; projecting beyond which is a castellated edifice, built on a ledge of rocks, and now called the Castle Garden, from its containing within its limits a public garden and promenade, and being a place where fireworks are often exhibited for the gratification of the visitors.

From this Battery, or from the Castle Garden beyond it, as you look south, the view is varied and interesting. Immediately in front of the spectator is a small island, called Governor's Island, containing several dwellings, planted around with trees, and having at its western extremity a large circular fort, pierced for a great number of cannon, commanding the channel by which alone ships can approach the inner harbour. Beyond this, to the southwest, is another small island, called Bedloe's Island; and still farther on, in the same direction, the larger island, called Staten Island, on which is the town of Richmond, the more recent watering-place of New-Brighton, and a number of pretty terraces and villas. Through the opening between Staten Island on the west and Long Island on the east, constituting the channel of the Narrows, the Atlantic Ocean becomes visible near the low projection of Sandy Hook. While these varied objects present themselves in the direction of the south, the view to the west includes Jersey City, on the other side of the Hudson, here about a mile across; and on the east, the City of Brooklyn, seated on the heights of Long

Island, on the other side of the East River, at a distance of about three quarters of a mile.

It is from this point of the Battery, at the extremity of the island, that the topography of the city may be most clearly traced. Advancing from this point northward, though strictly in about a N.N.E. direction, the great avenue of Broadway extends from the Battery, where it begins, to Union Place, where it terminates, a distance of nearly three miles in a direct line. Beyond this two large roads continue the way onward in the same general direction, the Harlem road diverging a little to the east, and the Bloomingdale road a little to the west, each extending to the extremity of the island. For this length of three miles the city may be said to be compactly built; and for two miles beyond this the avenues and streets are laid out, many of them paved and lighted, and in several of them houses are built on each side. From Broadway, as from a common centre, the lateral or cross streets lead out east and west on either side, terminating at one or other of the river fronts, and enabling the passenger, as he goes up or down this great thoroughfare, to see at almost every opening the ships at the wharves, at anchor, or under sail. Several great avenues, of nearly equal length and breadth with the principal one of Broadway, run nearly parallel to it on either side, or lengthwise of the city, the principal of which are Greenwich-street and Hudson-street on the west, near the North River; and the Bowery, which makes a slight curve, and intersects the most densely-peopled part of the town, on the east of Broadway, and these are each crossed by streets at nearly right angles.

The plan of the city is generally regular; much more regular than any of our old cities in Europe, though not so regular as Philadelphia in this country, or the new parts of Edinburgh and London in Britain. The irregularities are here, as elsewhere, chiefly in the oldest parts of the town. From the Battery, for about half a mile upward, or one sixth the length of the city, the irregularity is considerable, though even here there are some fine separate mansions, noble hotels, and regular terraces of dwellings. The great fire of 1835, which destroyed so large a portion of the eastern part, comprehending all the mercantile quarter near the river, and sweeping away property worth twenty millions of dollars, has had the effect of greatly improving the aspect of this section; as the new buildings, though occupying nearly the same ground as the old ones, are more substantially and more regularly constructed, and give to the whole quarter an air of uniformity which it did not before possess.



Beyond this half mile of length, which extends to the open space called the Park, the streets become more regu-



lar, and the whole aspect of the city more modern. As you advance higher up towards the termination of Broadway, the improvement becomes more and more manifest, and a considerable degree of elegance as well as regularity reigns in all the principal streets at the northern extremity of the town.

Of the public places for air and exercise with which the Continental cities of Europe are so abundantly and agreeably furnished, and which London, Bath, and some other of the larger cities of England contain, there is a marked

deficiency in New-York. Except the Battery, which is agreeable only in summer—the Bowling Green is a confined space of 200 feet long by 150 broad; the Park, which is a comparatively small spot of land (about ten acres only) in the heart of the city, and quite a public thoroughfare; Hudson Square, the prettiest of the whole, but small, being only about four acres; and the open space within Washington Square, about nine acres, which is not yet furnished with gravel-walks or shady trees—there is no large place in the nature of a park, or public garden, or public walk, where persons of all classes may take air and exercise. This is a defect which, it is hoped, will ere long be remedied, as there is no country, perhaps, in which it would be more advantageous to the health and pleasure of the community than this to encourage, by every possible means, the use of air and exercise to a much greater extent than either is at present enjoyed.

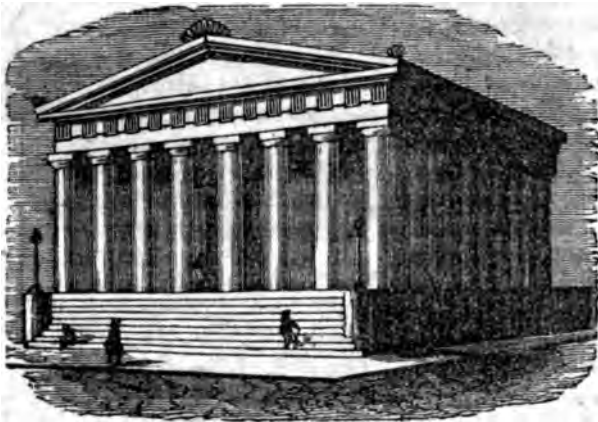
The public buildings are neither so numerous nor so striking as in the cities of older countries. The principal edifice is the City Hall, which occupies a commanding situa-



tion in the centre of the most populous part of the city, and surrounded by the open space constituting the Park. It is 216 feet in length by 105 in breadth. Its front, which is towards the south, as well as its ends towards the east and west, are built of fine white marble; its foundation was laid in 1803, and the building was completed in 1812, at an expense exceeding half a million of dollars; yet, recent as this date seems, the reason universally alleged here for its northern front being built of brown freestone, while the

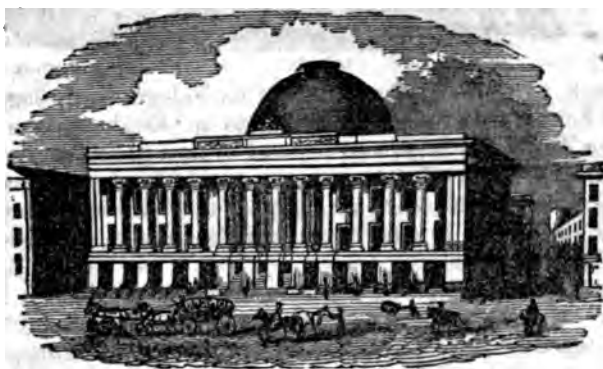
southern front is of pure white marble, is, that the builders never expected the city to extend beyond the City Hall to the north, this edifice being then at the northern extremity of the town, and New-York being accordingly about half a mile in length; whereas now this hall has six times as many houses north of it as it has south, the city having extended in that direction from half a mile to three miles.

To the houses, therefore, occupying half a mile of length from the Battery to the City Hall, this edifice presents its marble front, while to the houses occupying three miles of length to the north of it, its brown freestone front is alone presented; so that if such a process were practicable, the civic authorities would be glad to turn it right round, and place its fronts just in the very opposite direction to that in which they now stand. The building is much admired by the people of the city, and its advantageous position occasions it at first to make a favourable impression. But on a closer examination this impression is not sustained. The windows are much too large and too numerous for exterior architectural beauty, though they may be advantageous for interior light and comfort. The central tower and dome, surmounted by a figure of Justice, is not of sufficient breadth and massiveness for the size of the building; but the interior is well disposed, and possesses all the accommodation and convenience which the business of the court and matters of civic jurisdiction require.



The Custom-house and the Merchants' Exchange, the latter of which was destroyed by the late fire, are described as

fine edifices. They are about to be replaced by others, both of which are now in course of erection, and rapidly advancing towards completion. The Custom-house is to be an exact copy of the celebrated Parthenon at Athens, and is constructed of fine white marble. It is to be 177 feet long by 89 wide, and will have at each front a splendid colonnade of the Doric order, the size of the pillars 32 feet in height and five feet in diameter; the centre of the interior hall is to rise in a dome 62 feet in diameter; the floors will be supported on arches of stone, to be fire proof, and the cost is estimated at about half a million of dollars. The Merchants' Exchange is erecting not far from the Custom-



house; it promises also to be a very fine building, and not to cost less than the sum above named, the estimate, indeed, being somewhat higher.

The churches and places of worship (of which there are 162—only 24 of them built before 1800, and 138 since) are not so remarkable for the architectural beauty of their exterior, in which they are generally deficient, as for the elegance and comfort of their interiors, in which they far surpass our churches in England. The Episcopal churches, and the chapels of other Christian denominations (though all are called churches here), are the same in this respect; the arrangement of the seats into separate pews, both below and in the galleries, is the same as with us; but every seat is comfortably cushioned and lined at the back, and furnished with warm carpets or rugs for the feet; the aisles are matted to prevent the noise of the foot, and the whole is well warmed with stoves in every part. In many cases the pews are of highly-polished mahogany, and the seats are cushioned with

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damask, exhibiting great richness and elegance throughout. The box or tub pulpit, so common in England, is everywhere discarded here, and instead of it, a platform, ascended to by a flight of steps on either side, and containing a reading-desk, and seats for three or four persons behind it, takes its place; a substitution which greatly improves the appearance.

The hotels are generally on a larger scale than in England. The great Astor House, which overlooks the Park from the west side of Broadway, is much larger in area than the largest hotel in London or Paris; it makes up 600 beds, and has a proportionate establishment to suit the scale of its general operations. It is built wholly of granite, is chaste in its style of architecture, and is called after the rich John Jacob Astor, its proprietor, who is now deemed not only the wealthiest man in the city, but, since the death of Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, is considered the richest individual in the United States; his income exceeding, it is said, a million of dollars annually, or near £250,000 sterling, from land, houses, stocks, and permanent sources, unconnected with the risks of trade, from which he has long since retired, having realized his immense wealth by a long life industriously and successfully devoted to the fur-trade. The City Hotel is also very large. The Washington, the Waverley, the Mansion House, the American, the Carlton, the Clarendon, the Globe, and the Athenæum, are all spacious establishments of the same nature; and others of a smaller size abound in every quarter.

Of places of public amusement there are a great number,

including six theatres, which are well filled every night, though the majority of what would be called the more respectable classes of society, the most opulent, and the most religious members of the community, do not generally patronise or approve of theatrical exhibitions under their present management. The large sums paid to English and other foreign actors and actresses who visit America is made up by the attendance of foreigners and persons not belonging to either of the classes before enumerated; and this will hardly be wondered at when it is stated that every one of these theatres was not only open, but presented a combination of new and unusual attractions, on the evenings of days kept by the classes named as days of religious observance: the one, the day set apart by the proclamation of the state government as a day of public thanksgiving; and the other, Christmas day.

The private dwellings contain, as must be the case in all large cities, a great variety of kinds and descriptions. The older houses are small, and mostly built of wood, painted yellow or white. These are now confined to the residences of the poorer classes, and are fast disappearing in every quarter; their places being occupied by substantial buildings of brick, though here and there are a few with granite fronts. The style of decoration, in the steps of ascent, the area railings, and the doors, is more florid and ornamental than in the best parts of London, and the interior of the principal houses may be described as spacious, handsome, and luxurious, with lofty passages, good staircases, large rooms, and costly and gorgeous furniture. There are many individual houses of much greater splendour in London than any to be seen in New-York, especially in the mansions of the English nobility; but, on the whole, the number of large, commodious, and elegantly-furnished private dwellings in New-York is much greater in proportion to the whole population than those of London, and approaches nearer to the ratio of Edinburgh or Paris.

The streets are very unequal in their proportions and condition. The great avenue of Broadway is striking from its continuous and unbroken length of three miles in a straight line: but its breadth, about eighty feet, is not sufficiently ample for the due proportion of its length. It is, moreover, wretchedly paved, both in the centre and on the sides. Large holes and deep pits are frequently seen in the former; and in the latter, while before some houses the slabs of stone are large, uniform, and level, there is often an immediate

transition from these to broken masses of loose stones, that require the greatest caution to pass over, especially in wet or frosty weather. The lighting and cleansing of the streets is not nearly so good as in the large towns of England, the gas being scanty in quantity, the lamps too far removed from each other, and the body of scavengers both weak in numbers and deficient in organization. Some of the smaller streets are almost impassable in times of rain and snow; and, when not incommoded by a profusion of mud or water, they are prolific in their supply of dust. Many of the streets have trees planted along the edge of the foot-pavement on each side, which in summer affords an agreeable shade, but in autumn it has the disagreeable effect of strewing the path with falling leaves, and in winter it makes the aspect more dreary.

A custom prevails, in the principal streets for shops, of having wooden pillars planted along the outer edge of the pavement, with horizontal beams reaching from pillar to pillar, not unlike the stanchions and crosspieces of a rope-walk. On these pillars, usually painted white, are pasted large printed placards, announcing the articles sold in the shop before which they stand; and from the under side of the horizontal beam are suspended, by hooks or rings, show-boards with painted bills of every colour. This is especially the case opposite the bookstores. Another purpose which these pillars and beams serve is that of suspending awnings from the houses to the end of the pavement in summer, which must make the shade grateful to the foot-passenger; but at all other times these wooden appendages, made as they are without regard to regularity or uniformity, are a great drawback to the otherwise good appearance of the streets. Broadway, which is greatly disfigured by these, is therefore much inferior to Regent-street in London in the general air of cleanliness, neatness, light, spaciousness, good pavement, and fine shops by which the latter is characterized; and although the number of beautiful and gayly-dressed ladies, who make Broadway their morning promenade, uniting shopping, visiting, and walking at the same time, gives it a very animated appearance on a fine day between twelve and two o'clock, yet the absence of handsome equipages and fine horses, and the fewness of well-dressed gentlemen who have leisure to devote to morning promenades of pleasure, occasions Broadway to be inferior in the general effect of brilliance and elegance to the throng of Regent-street on a fine day in May, between three and four o'clock.

The civil or municipal government of the town is vested in a mayor, aldermen, and common council, elected annually by universal suffrage and the ballot, at the time when the election for the Legislature of the state takes place, which is annually. Political or party considerations appear to weigh more with the electors than mere fitness for the duties of office; and accordingly, Whig and Tory strive here, as they do in England, to fill the municipal body with persons of their own politics, as if it seemed to them impossible that a good civic or municipal functionary could be found, out of the ranks of their own political party. Their jurisdiction extends over the city and the surrounding waters. The offices are not largely paid, nor accompanied by much patronage; and the candidates are rarely considered to be invested with much additional dignity by their civic functions.

CHAPTER IV.

Population of New-York.—Strangers, Residents, Merchants, Traders.—Public Conveyances, Omnibuses, Hackney-coaches.—Private Equipages, Carriages, Servants.—Male and Female Society, Differences between them.—Private Parties, Balls, and Suppers.—Comparison between English and American Soirées.—Expensive and profuse Entertainments given.—Condition of the humbler Classes in America.—Political Parties, Conservatives, Reformers, Radicals, Americans, Whigs, Democrats, Locofocos.—Politics of the wealthy Mercantile Classes.—Causes of the recent Panic or Embarrassment.—Extravagant Habits engendered by the Credit System.—Effects of this on all Classes of Society.—Loss of \$20,000,000 by the great Fire at New-York.—Newspapers of New-York.—Organs of Parties.—Penny Newspapers, Character and Influence.—Proceedings of the Election for State Legislature.—Public Meetings to support Candidates for Office.—State of Political Parties.—Deadly reciprocal Hostility.—Gross Misrepresentations of the Motives and Ends of each.—Difficulty of extracting Truth from such conflicting Statements.—Attendance at the Polls during the Election.—Deficiency of a previous Registration of Voters.—Vote by Ballot, not secret voting generally.—Reasons why this is not necessary in America.—Success of the Whigs in the New-York Election.—Intoxication of Joy in the triumphant Party.—Extravagant Projects of Political Demonstration.—National Character and Taste exhibited in this.

THE population of New-York is estimated at present to be little short of 300,000. Of these perhaps there are 20,000 foreigners, including English and persons from Canada and the British possessions, and 30,000 strangers from other states of the Union, making therefore the fixed resident population 250,000, and the floating population about 50,000 more. The greatest number of these are engaged in commerce or trade, with a due admixture of professional men, as clergy, physicians, and lawyers. But among them all there are fewer than perhaps in any other community in the world

who live without any ostensible avocation. The richest capitalists still take a part in the business-proceedings of the day; and men who have professedly retired, and have no counting-house or mercantile establishment, still retain so much of the relish for profitable occupation, that they mingle freely with the merchants, and are constantly found to be the buyers and sellers of stock, in funds, or shares in companies, canals; railroads, banks, &c.

The result of all this is to produce the busiest community that any man could desire to live in. In the streets all is hurry and bustle; the very carts, instead of being drawn by horses at a walking-pace, are often met at a gallop, and always in a brisk trot, with the carter standing in the front, and driving by reins. Omnibuses are as numerous as in London, many of them drawn by four horses, though the carriages are inferior to the English ones. Hackney-coaches are also abundant, and superior in every respect to those of London. These, with private carriages, which, however, are few and plain, generally with a black coachman and footman, without display of livery or armorial bearings, added to gigs and other vehicles, make up a crowd of conveyances through the public streets, which, from their bad pavement, occasions as much rattling noise as in the most bustling parts of Piccadilly or Cheapside. The whole of the population seen in the streets seem to enjoy this bustle, and add to it by their own rapid pace, as if they were all going to some place of appointment, and were hurrying on under the apprehension of being too late.

Of the men thus seen in public, the greater part are well-dressed, and the more fashionable among them more expensively than the same classes in England. Black cloth is the almost universal wear, and for the finest description of this the most extravagant prices are paid. Full cloth cloaks, with velvet or fur collars and linings, and rich tassels, are more numerous than with us; and the whole outer aspect of the moving crowd indicates greater gayety, and much more regard to personal appearance. The men are not generally as handsome, however, as they are well dressed. An almost universal paleness of countenance is seen, without the least tinge of ruddiness or colour; the marks of care and anxiety are also deeply furrowed on brows not yet bearing the impress of age; and a general gloom or sadness of countenance is the rule, and hilarity of aspect or cheerfulness of appearance the exception.

The women far exceed the men in the costliness of their

dresses and in the gayety of their walking apparel. There is perhaps no city in the world in which so many expensively-dressed ladies may be seen walking or shopping, as on a fine morning may be met with in Broadway. Rich and bright-coloured silks, satins, and other similarly costly materials, with ermine-lined cloaks and the most expensive furs; white, pink, and blue satin bonnets, with ostrich feathers and flowers of the first quality, are worn by all who assume to be genteel or rank in the class of ladies, and the whole force of the wardrobe seems to be exhausted in the walking costume. The women, moreover, are much handsomer than the men. They are almost uniformly good-looking; the greater number are what would be called in England "pretty women," which is something between good-looking and handsome, in the nice distinctions of beauty. This uniformity extends also to their figures, which are almost universally slender and of good symmetry. Very few large or stout women are seen, and none that we should call masculine. A more than usual degree of feminine delicacy, enhanced by the general paleness of complexion and slightness of figure, is particularly characteristic of American females; and the extreme respect and deference shown to them everywhere by men has a tendency to increase that delicacy, by making them more dependant on the attention and assistance of others than English ladies of the same class usually are.

It is in private society, however, that one can best judge of both; and the result of my observation, after having seen much of them in domestic circles, and in large and fashionable parties, was this: as wives and mothers, the American women appear to be exemplary in the extreme; and while the interior of their dwellings exhibits the greatest attention to everything that can give domestic comfort, an air of propriety and decorum reigns over all their establishments. In the private and social visits which we were permitted to pay to some of the families with whom we were on the most intimate footing, nothing could surpass the general good sense, amiability, intelligence, and benevolence which marked the conversation. The women were always equal to the men, and often superior to them, in the extent of their reading and the shrewdness of their observations; and though there is everywhere, on the part of American females, as far as we have seen them, a shrinking away from any share in political conversation (the notion studiously impressed on them by the men, and not unwillingly entertained by them-

selves, being that it is unbecoming the timid and retiring delicacy of the female character to meddle with political matters), yet, whenever they ventured to pass this barrier, and indirectly develop their views on public affairs, there seemed to me a clearness and a soundness in their remarks which sufficiently evinced their thorough understanding of the subject. The leading features of the female character here, however, in the best circles, are domestic fidelity, social cheerfulness, unostentatious hospitality, and moral and religious benevolence. There are perhaps ten times the number of women in good society in New-York who interest themselves in the support and direction of moral objects and benevolent institutions that could be found in any city of the same population in Europe; and while the husbands are busily engaged in their mercantile or professional avocations, a good portion of the wealth they acquire is directed by the benevolent influences of their wives into useful and charitable channels.

In the gayer parties of fashionable soirées and balls the ladies do not appear to so much advantage as in the sunny promenade or in the private circle at home. Their fashionable parties are as injudiciously crowded with more persons than the rooms will accommodate as in London; three or four hundred is not an unusual number of guests; and though the rooms are spacious, yet the crowd is so uncomfortably great that the dancers have scarcely room to make a small circle in the middle of the dense mass; while those who do not dance must be content to remain wedged into one compact and solid phalanx, from which there is no moving, even for a change of position, till the dance is over; and even then it will sometimes take a quarter of an hour to elbow through the crowd from one room to another. I was asked, at one of these fashionable parties, by a lady, what there was in the scene before us which characterized it as American, and wherein it differed from an English party of the same number and description. My answer was, that the chief points of difference observable to me were these: that there were a greater number of pretty female forms and faces than were ever to be seen in an equal number of English persons, and especially among the younger portion; but there were no such examples of striking and surpassing beauty as one sometimes sees in one or two favoured individuals of a large party at home. There were no "fine women" in the English sense of that term, comprehending the requisites of tall, full, and commanding figures, bold

and striking as well as beautiful features, rosy colour, expressive eyes, and the noble air and carriage of a lofty and dignified rank. On the other hand, the American ladies were dressed more in the extreme of fashion, both as to form and materials; but there were no such splendid displays of jewels as one sees in an English party. The dancing was monotonous and indifferent; partly from languor, and partly, it is believed, from affectation of indifference, which is considered to be more genteel than vulgar vivacity: a weakness, no doubt, copied from the English.

The gentlemen in these fashionable parties appeared far less handsome in person and less polished in manners than the ladies; and many whom we saw were evidently very ill at ease, and had their thoughts occupied by other subjects than those immediately before them. The refreshments were all substantial as well as costly; if there was a fault in them, it was that they were generally too abundant; and the pressure of the supper-rooms most frequently exceeded that of the apartments of the dance. Cards are rarely or never seen, the influence of the religious bodies on public opinion having banished these from general society; and the propriety of language among all classes of the men is remarkable, as not an oath or an imprecation, so often offending the ear in what are deemed the best circles in England, anywhere disturbs the general decorum of the scene. The same late hours as are followed in England unfortunately prevail here; and the most fashionable persons, though invited for eight, rarely come till ten or eleven, and parties of any extent in numbers are not often broken up till two or three in the morning.

The condition of the more humble classes, as tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks, and artisans, is certainly more comfortable than that of the same classes in England; and although they are all at present more or less affected by the general depression of trade, occasioned by the late pecuniary crisis in the States, from which New-York has suffered more extensively, perhaps, than any other city in the Union, yet all seem to possess good dwellings, abundant clothing, and an ample supply of food. You do not see anywhere in the streets persons asking alms, or labouring under any visible want of the necessaries of life; nor do the offensive and disgusting scenes so often witnessed in the great thoroughfares of London, and the other large cities and towns of Britain, in the persons of drunken men and women, with filthy and ragged children, deprived of their due by the intemperance of their

parents, ever meet the eye in the great public thoroughfares of the city at least, any more than the painful spectacle of young and miserable females earning a wretched and precarious subsistence by the wages of prostitution. That there does exist both poverty and intemperance, and that prostitution and crime accompany these in the less frequented quarters of this city, there can be no doubt; but they do not obtrude themselves on the public eye in every part of the principal streets as they do in London; and after residing in New-York for four months, being out almost every day, and visiting nearly every part of the town in succession, we did not, in the whole, see so many of either of the classes named as one meets in a single morning's walk from Charing Cross to Cornhill.

There are here, as there are in England, three political parties, Conservatives, Moderate Reformers, and Radicals; and, following after the bad example of the mother country, each party seems determined to see no virtue and no merit in either of the others. The Conservatives are here called Whigs; the Moderate Reformers are called Democrats; and the Radicals are called Loco-focos, a recent name, bestowed on them from this incident: a public meeting of the Democrats was called at Tammany Hall, their usual place of assembling; and the Radicals, wishing to obtain possession of the room, but not being strong enough in numbers to effect this by force, resorted to the following stratagem: each member of the radical body was furnished with one of the small instantaneous light-matches, which are called loco-focos, and each taking a box of these in his pocket, they contrived, by a preconcerted arrangement, to extinguish all the lights of the room during the proceedings of the evening. The whole of the audience being thus left in utter darkness, the greater number of them, who were not in the secret, went away; when the Radicals, taking advantage of their retirement, lighted all their matches, and with these re-kindled the lights in every part of the room at once, after which they voted into the chair a member of their own body, proposed and carried their own previously-prepared resolutions, and sent them out in the papers of the following day as the resolutions of the great Democratic meeting, held by public advertisement at Tammany Hall. This trick, as might be expected, brought deserved discredit on the party practising it, and has fixed upon them a name which unites opprobrium and ridicule in one.

The Conservatives are here called Whigs; and they cor-

respond in political character and sentiment with the Whigs of England, being quite as loud in their professions of liberal principles, but quite as unwilling to carry them out into practice. One of the leading organs lately published a very remarkable essay, signed "Sidney," attributed to the pen of a prominent leader of the Whig party, which, besides advocating Conservative principles generally, went the length of saying that "experience had shown that there was as much chance of obtaining a good chief magistrate by hereditary descent as by popular election, and that, consequently, the monarchical principle was as favourable to liberty as the republican." This doctrine was so acceptable to the greater number of the Whigs that most of their newspapers lauded it, until it was attacked with such ability and force in the Democratic prints that the young men among the Whigs felt it necessary to hold a public meeting, to disavow their participation in any such doctrine, and to declare themselves to be uncompromising Republicans.

As far, however, as I was able to discover, by my intercourse with editors and political men of all parties, and by comparison of their journals, I found the American Whigs to be quite as conservative as their namesakes at home. They are nearly all in favour of giving wealth a more open and direct influence than it now possesses in the suffrage for elections, and would be glad to exclude from the electoral body all who have not some fixed amount of property. They are against any changes that would increase the power or influence of the people. They are in favour of monopolies in chartered or incorporated banks, and against free trade, except in their own products and manufactures. They sympathize almost universally with the Tory party in England; they think that even Lord Grey carried the principles of reform too far, and would be glad to see the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel restored to office. They think Lord John Russell perfectly right in refusing to accede to any proposition for the extension of the suffrage, for shortening the duration of Parliament, or for granting the vote by ballot. They are against the separation of the Church of England from the state, and against any alteration in the constitution of the House of Lords. They are averse to any discussion of the question of slavery, and are generally hostile to its abolition. They condemn the Canadians for their attempt to establish a free government for themselves; and, in short, they think, and feel, and act, with reference to the other classes of the com-

munity here, just as the Tories and high Conservative Whigs do in England.

The numerical force of this party is very considerable in New-York, and it is still more remarkable for the wealth and influence of its members than even for their numbers. Nearly all the rich capitalists and merchants belong to this party; the more wealthy tradesmen also adhere to it; while the clergy of the Episcopal Church, the ministers of other Christian sects, the lawyers, and the medical profession—in short, all who desire to rank with the aristocratical or genteel portion of society, either really entertain, or find it convenient to profess, Whig or Conservative principles, and prefer the latter name to the former. What has contributed very much to strengthen this party among the merchants of this city is the financial measures pursued by General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, the last two presidents, in refusing to renew the charter of the United States Bank, and insisting on the payment of all sums due to the government, whether for the sale of lands, duties on goods, or other sources of revenue, in a metallic currency. That these measures had the effect of hastening the commercial crisis which lately affected this country from one end to the other, there can be no doubt; but the remote and real cause of this crisis was, first, the habit which all classes seem within the last few years to have contracted, of speculating beyond their means, of living beyond their income, of spending money before it was acquired, and of keeping up the appearance of men who had realized large fortunes while they were only in the act of accumulating them. Extravagant expenditure in houses, in furniture, in entertainments, in equipages, in dress, in servants—in short, in every branch of disbursement, was characteristic of the trading classes; and so long as the credit system allowed them to import largely from England, and pay in notes or bills at long dates, the evil day could be deferred by one expedient succeeding another. In the midst of this came the great fire at New-York in 1835, which destroyed property to the amount of 20,000,000 of dollars, and made nearly all the insurance offices in the city insolvent. Then came the drain of another 20,000,000, or perhaps 30,000,000, to rebuild the houses destroyed and replace the goods consumed, making 20,000,000 lost and 30,000,000 expended, or 50,000,000 taken from the fixed and floating capital of this single city. Those who had speculated largely in the purchase of lands tried to withdraw their capital from the in-

vestment; but, where all were sellers and none buyers, prices were ruinously low: others, who had large stocks of goods on hand from the excessive importations of the preceding year, tried to raise money by forced sales, but there were no buyers; and, in the midst of all this, as the debts due to England were so much larger than could be paid in the produce of the country, for which the markets at home were declining, the remittance of specie became the only mode of sustaining the credit of the mercantile body, and this could be obtained only by immense sacrifices of property.

My own conviction is, from all I have seen and heard, that if the President of the United States had never taken the steps he did, in refusing to renew the charter of the United States' Bank, removing the government deposits, and demanding payment of the revenue in metallic currency, this commercial crisis would nevertheless have still come, though not perhaps so soon; because its real causes were the immense sacrifice of property by the fire; the drain of capital necessary to replace what was destroyed; the wild and almost mad speculations indulged in by the people, merchants becoming purchasers of land in provinces and places they had never seen, and giving almost any price to-day, in the hope that they might sell it for a better price to-morrow; never intending to occupy it, but to pass it on from hand to hand till it found a purchaser whose payment was so extravagant that he could get no one to take it from him. In this public delirium, farmers abandoned the tillage of their soil, and became speculators and traders also; so that cultivation being neglected, the country, the best adapted in the world to supply all other nations with its surplus grain, became so unproductive of the first necessary of life as to be obliged to import grain from the Baltic, several cargoes of which arrived in this port during this and the preceding year. The government measures no doubt hastened the crisis onward, though it did not create it; and the natural unwillingness of all parties to reproach themselves for their own folly and extravagance, which were the real causes of the evil after all, made them the more ready to charge all these evils on the government, so that General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren have literally been made the scape-goats by which the merchants, traders, bankers, and speculators of all kinds endeavoured to get rid of the burden of their own sins by placing them on the heads of the two presidents named.

As might be expected, the party of the rich have the

greatest number of newspapers arranged on their side ; for it is by the rich that the newspapers are everywhere chiefly supported. The mere sale of a paper here, as in England, is wholly unproductive of profit ; advertisements are the source of gain : the papers most read by the rich will therefore be the favoured channel for advertisements, and here the richest merchants as well as the smallest traders advertise their goods. The gains thus acquired by a newspaper enabling it to be more profuse in its expenditure, it can command the earliest news, the most correct reports of public proceedings, and, indeed, have all its departments conducted with more talent, because it has more funds at its disposal to pay for the unavoidable cost of all these aids. There are thus no less than ten large daily papers, five morning and five evening, devoted to the party of the Whigs, with slight shades of characteristic differences between them ; while there are only two large daily papers devoted to the party of the Democrats, or that of the present administration ; and though each of the Whig papers, taken chiefly by the rich, not only supports itself, but yields a handsome annual surplus income, the papers of the other party are thought not to pay their expenses, but to require every now and then pecuniary aid for their support. The Evening Post, which is the leading paper of the Democrats, is at present under the editorship of one of the most celebrated poets of the country, William Cullen Bryant, who may fairly rank with our Campbell, the author of the Pleasures of Hope ; and, like other great poets, Milton, Byron, Campbell, and Moore, he is an extreme Liberal in his politics. In talent, wit, taste, and, above all, in gentlemanly fairness of argument, this paper appeared to me to possess great superiority over most of its opponents, though there are several of the Whig journals conducted with great ability also ; but the vituperative style with which most of the public writers denounce every one who thinks or feels differently from themselves, shows how easy it is to combine loud professions of liberal principles with the bitterest intolerance and most uncharitable bigotry.

Besides the larger newspapers, which are sold at the price of about threepence English, there are several daily papers published at a cent, or a halfpenny each. These are very small in size and inefficient in management, their profits not admitting of an adequate expenditure for great talent, though one of them, the Sun, is said to circulate 30,000 copies daily. Their cheap price occasions them

to be taken chiefly by the humbler classes ; and therefore, with only one exception, these cheap papers are Democratic, and two or three of them what are called Loco-foco. They have not talent enough, however, employed on them to give them much influence in political circles ; and their chief attraction seems to lie, first, in the cheapness of their price, and then in their containing those police reports of crimes and quarrels which, unhappily, interest so large a portion of mankind, and for which the conductors of newspapers, as unhappily, find it to their interest or profit to cater. The only very clever paper of this class that I saw was one that is now extinct. It was called "The Plain Dealer," and conducted by Mr. Leggett, one of the most powerful political writers in the country. It was an exact copy of the London Examiner in shape, size, typography, and arrangement, and was written in the Democratic tone, and brilliant and witty style, of the model it had chosen in its best days. But it was too clever and too refined for the multitude ; it wanted that charm for vulgar tastes which the annals of crime and vice can alone supply ; and its very purity and excellence were therefore the causes of its failure. The rich, who might have relished its talent and wit if it had been employed in the advocacy of *their* interests, would not patronise it because it was Democratic ; and the other classes, though approving of its politics, found it dull without their accustomed stimulus ; and thus the paper fell for want of adequate support.

I had an excellent opportunity of seeing the working of the political machine, and the conflict of opposing parties, in a general election for the State Legislature, which occurred soon after my arrival in New-York, in the month of November. Heretofore the composition of the Legislature for the State of New-York, including the two houses, the Assembly and Senate, as well as the governor, was, like that of the Congress or Legislature of the general government, Democratic, or favourable to the existence of Mr. Van Buren's administration. The changes in public opinion, wrought by the commercial disasters of which I have previously spoken, had occasioned such a feeling of hostility to the present cabinet as the supposed cause of those financial difficulties, from which all classes were more or less suffering, that the Whigs determined to avail themselves of this change to effect a complete renovation of their two houses of State Legislature, by making their own party predominant. Accordingly, the note of preparation was sound-

ed early by all their organs of the press; and while committees were forming in town and country, and meetings held every night in the week by old and young, to organize and arrange their plans of operation, pass strong resolutions, print them in the newspapers, and distribute them freely through every part of the city, the editors themselves were all busily engaged in aiding these operations by their daily appeals. A stranger arriving in the country, and not knowing anything of the state of parties beforehand, or of the mode of warfare practised on such occasions, would have imagined that the fate of the whole Union depended on the issue of this single election; that if it were carried in favour of the Whigs, the nation would instantly be restored to the highest degree of commercial prosperity; but that, if carried against them, the result would be universal bankruptcy, total annihilation of all the elements of prosperity, the dissolution of the Union, the insurrection of the slave population, and the destruction of all that was worth preserving in the country. There was no term of opprobrium too severe for them to apply to their opponents, the Democratic Republicans. They called them atheists, infidels, agrarians, incendiaries, men who were without religion and without honesty, who desired to pull down all that was venerable in the institutions of the country, to seize the property of the rich and divide it among the poor, to demolish the churches, to destroy the courts of justice, to let loose all the criminals from the jails, to abolish all government, and to produce only a chaos of anarchy and confusion. Some few who heard all this seemed really to believe it; but the greater number knew it to be merely electioneering language, and disregarded it accordingly; though they had no objection whatever to its use, provided it would attain the end they had in view.

To me it was at once both ludicrous and disgusting; ludicrous, because of the gravity with which it was reiterated, day after day, in the face, not only of repeated contradictions and disavowals on the other side, but in spite of challenges again and again repeated, to produce any well-authenticated speech or writing of any of the Democratic party in which such doctrines were avowed, or from which they could even be inferred, but which challenges were no more heeded than if they had never been offered. It was ludicrous to me also, because it so constantly reminded me of the equally groundless imputations heaped on the liberal party in India by the advocates of the gov-

ernment in that country, when the press first began to call public attention to public abuses there, and of the misrepresentations continually made in England by the journals of each party of the objects and intentions of the other; the Radicals denouncing the Tories as wanting nothing but the restoration of absolute tyranny and arbitrary power; the Tories denouncing the Radicals as wishing for nothing but the destruction of all property, government, and religion; and the Whigs denouncing both, and praising themselves as the only body that can either save the state or accomplish any rational improvement in public affairs.

The object of these meetings and appeals was to select and recommend a list of candidates for senators, representatives, sheriff, county-clerk, and coroner, the election for all these taking place at the same time; though the State Legislature, for which the senators and representatives were required, holds its sittings at Albany, the state metropolis, distant 150 miles up the River Hudson, while the municipal body and its officers hold their sittings in New-York. The committees of the two opposing parties having both completed their lists, designating whom they prefer and wish to see elected as senators, whom as representatives, and so on, such lists are published in their respective papers, and called the Whig ticket and the Democratic ticket; and every effort is made, by placarding the walls with large bills, by the distribution of small ones, and by personal canvass, carried on with unremitting activity on both sides, to prevail on all whom they can influence or persuade to adopt their views, and vote for "the whole ticket" of the party they espouse as it is printed. The voting takes place by wards, there being fifteen or sixteen wards in this city, and a voting place being apportioned to each ward, the committee of each party is thus able to canvass every male inhabitant of their own ward; and as there is no difficulty in obtaining from the voters a previous declaration as to the ticket for which they mean to vote, the numbers of each party can be almost as accurately ascertained before as after the election, though there is no want of zeal on each side to exaggerate the number of their respective adherents, for the sake of deceiving or influencing others to favour the strongest party.

A few days previous to the election, assessors are chosen to superintend the voting, and one from each party attends at the polling places, in addition to the official superintendent appointed by the municipal authorities. The voting

places are open rooms, generally on the ground-floor, furnished only with a counter and a desk, inside which the superintendent and a registering clerk take their places. On the counter is a box sealed up, with an open slit on the top to drop in the printed ticket. The outer door is usually surrounded with a few partisans of both sides, who, on the approach of a voter, present him with their respective tickets, or lists of the candidates for whom they wish him to vote. The voter enters the room, and, being always an inhabitant of the ward in which he votes, both his person and his opinions are well known if he has been long a resident, and is in what is called a respectable station of society. He is greeted, of course, by those of his own party, and, taking one of their printed papers, he drops it into the box. In nine cases out of ten there is no secrecy practised or desired, but the vote is as well known as if it were proclaimed aloud. In the case of an unknown or doubtful person coming to the poll, various questions are asked him by each party, as to his name, residence, citizenship, &c., but they have no means whatever of telling whether he answers truly or otherwise to their inquiries. The only qualification for voting being that of mature age (twenty-one), male sex, citizenship, and actual residence in the ward—there being no property, or rental, or rate-and-tax qualification, as in England—there are no difficulties to be got over. But one very manifest defect in the system is this, that there is no previous registration of voters, nor any preliminary inquiry, so as to ascertain even the points of name, citizenship, and residence; in consequence of which, if a person presents himself under any name, the superintendents have no means of ascertaining whether he is really the person he pretends to be or not; if he calls himself a citizen, no proof of citizenship is demanded beyond his swearing to the fact; and if he declares himself a resident in the ward, no corroboration of this is asked from any other party. In consequence of this defect, it is said that in the densely-peopled wards, inhabited by the labouring classes, and especially the emigrants, there are repeated instances of the same man voting in several wards under different names; many Irish labourers, who have not been six months in the country, and who have no legal claim whatever to citizenship, voting as Americans; and as almost all these are additions to the Democratic party, they assist to alter the real balance of power between the contending forces.

In all the instances that I witnessed of the business of

polling—and I visited many of the wards for that purpose—the whole affair was conducted with much more order and decorum than any contested election that I had ever seen in England. There were no party badges, in colours or ribbons, to excite party animosity. There was no drunkenness, riot, or abuse of any kind. Every man came freely to the poll, and went away as freely from it; and though, in the greatest number of cases, it was well known which way he would vote when he entered, and which way he had voted when he left, none offered him the slightest molestation in word or deed, or even in gesture. In some of the wards, where the emigrants abound, it is said that this order and decorum does not always prevail; but that, between Irish excitability and American rum and whiskey, there are sometimes torn garments, and hard words exchanged; but even here violent outrage is seldom committed. It is possible, therefore, that universal suffrage, annual elections, and vote by ballot, may be much less productive of riot, drunkenness, and disorder, than limited suffrage, unfrequent elections, and open voting; for in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where these prevail, the scenes of dissipation and outrage are frequent; and here, where these opposites are practised, they are rare.

As respects the vote by ballot, the observation is constantly made in England, that in America it is a failure, since it does not secure its avowed desideratum, secret voting. This is perfectly true, but for very different reasons from those usually assigned. There is no imperfection in the machinery of the ballot here. Any man who chooses to conceal from committees or canvassers how he means to vote, may do so with perfect safety; for, waiting till the day of election, he may go to the polling place, and there deposite, in print or in writing, the list of the candidates for whom he gives his vote, folded up so that no man can see it, and no one would venture to molest him. It is perfectly easy, therefore, to secure the utmost secrecy in voting by the present system of the ballot as practised in America. But there is no adequate motive to make a man desire secrecy, while there are many powerful ones to make him court publicity. There are here no dependant farmers and forty-shilling freeholders, who must vote as their great agricultural landlords or patrons wish, or lose their friendship and protection. There are no shopkeepers and traders, innkeepers and merchants, so dependant on particular interests, or the profits of particular customers, as to make them

apprehensive of their losing either the one or the other by their manner of voting. There are no large bodies of workmen so dependant on their employers as to make it a matter of interest to shape their votes according to their masters' wishes; and as no one apprehends injury or expects benefit from voting one way or the other, the full freedom of choice or actual preference is indulged by them, and governs their determination. There are therefore no motives to vote otherwise than the inclination dictates; and the same absence of hope of benefit or fear of evil takes away all grounds for desiring or affecting secrecy. On the other hand, there are many powerful motives to induce a man to declare his vote; it gives him a claim to the sympathy and approbation of whichever party he votes for, and admits him to be an open participator of all their proceedings and their pleasures; it relieves the mind from the painfulness of an imposed restraint, and it indulges the feeling of political independence. The ballot is therefore a nonentity in America, and does not secure secret voting, because no one desires or cares about securing secrecy. In England the same machinery would enable every man who had reason to apprehend injury from the independent exercise of his franchise, to give his vote in secret if he chose; and, until the powerful influences, by which the independence of voting is crushed in England shall be neutralized or removed by other counteracting causes, the ballot would be the greatest security for the dependant voter that could be introduced; and none but those who wish to preserve these evil influences in full vigour, and who wish to coerce the votes of their dependants, could furnish any intelligible reason against the immediate adoption of this security.

In the elections in question, which were carried on in the City of New-York, and which lasted for four consecutive days, the Whigs were, as they had anticipated, signally successful. The greater importance was attached to this success, first, because they had not been in the majority before for many years, so that the pleasure was altogether new to them; secondly, Mr. Van Buren, the president, was a native of this state, was long one of its representatives, and relied more, it is said, upon its support for the continuance of his administration than on any other three or four states in the Union; and, thirdly, that the State of New-York, from its great extent (this single state alone having an area or surface nearly equal to that of England), its vast wealth, its extensive commerce, and its increasing population, is

called the "empire state," and is supposed to exercise a very powerful influence in its example over all the other sections of the country. The Whigs were therefore so intoxicated with their success, that they were perfectly frantic with joy; and exhibited what might literally be called a paroxysm of delight in every conceivable form. The newspapers came out, day after day, with the most bombastically-ludicrous articles on this subject. One, I remember, had in large type, at the head of its leading article, these words: "A thousand guns for the city, and ten thousand for the state;" another insisted that the unusual splendour of an aurora borealis which appeared about that time, was "a display of the approbation of the heavens on the triumph of the Whigs." "The nation," said a third, "was rescued from the gulf of perdition," into which nothing could have prevented its hurrying headlong, but the overthrow of their enemies by the Whigs at the election. To this followed public meetings, to determine in what manner the great and glorious political victory should be celebrated. Some were for ten thousand cannon being discharged from point to point within hearing, all over the state; others were for the illumination of every city, town, and village within its boundary. Some were for dinners, others for balls, some for processions, and some for all these united. It appears that in the Western States the intoxication of joy produced by the Whig victory was not less extravagant than on the seaboard in the east; and the mode of demonstration there chosen was peculiarly characteristic, if we may judge from the following paragraph, which appeared in the New-York Sun of December 30, 1837:

"THE BIGGEST FIRE YET.

"The Springfield (Illinois) Journal gives notice, that on the eighth day of January next—wind, weather, and snow permitting—the Grand Prairie will be set on fire, in commemoration of the great Whig victory in New-York. The prairie is about three hundred miles long, with an average breadth of from ten to twenty miles. The fires to be lighted at eight o'clock in the evening."

But the effervescence sobered down gradually as the time for action approached, and as the costs of all these operations came to be calculated; and at last it terminated in a day of festive entertainment, opened by the discharge of cannon from the batteries, continued by minute-guns, and concluded by a great Whig dinner at Niblo's Garden, where deputies from other towns, triumphing in the success of the same principles, were hospitably received and cor-

dially entertained. In a week or two after this, the whole seemed to have passed away like an unremembered dream: so much are the people of this city the creatures of impulse: easily excited, and as easily calmed; and passing with amazing rapidity from the most intense degree of earnest interest in any given subject, to its opposite state of entire indifference to the same.

CHAPTER V.

Deep-rooted Prejudices on the Subject of Slavery.—Murder of Mr. Lovejoy, the Abolitionist, at Alton.—Conduct of the New-York Press and People on this Subject.—Imperfect Views of the Value of a Free Press.—Sentiments of leading Men in Congress on this Act.—Resolutions of Legislatures refused Reception by the Senate.—Rejection of all Petitions on the Subject by the House of Representatives.—Deservedly bitter Reproach of Thomas Moore the Poet.—Contrast between Democracy and Slavery in the United States.—Threats of Senators to hang up Abolitionists by Law.—State of Slavery and the Slave-trade at Washington.—Resolutions of Episcopal-Methodist Clergy in Georgia.—Meeting of Democrats in favour of the Canadian Rebels.—Mr. O'Connell denounced at the Meeting as an Abolitionist.—Letter complaining of Coloured People sitting with White Men.—Prejudice of Colour not extended to Indian Tribes.—Mr. Catlin's Lectures on the American Indians.

AMID the political anomalies which every day struck me with surprise, there was none so remarkable as the deep-rooted and apparently almost unconquerable prejudice so prevalent among persons of all political parties on the subject of slavery. With the Conservatives, this question of slavery is regarded as one of those domestic institutions which it is not desirable to disturb, and the greater number of them are averse even to its discussion in any manner whatever. With the Democrats it is also regarded as a domestic institution, over which each state has sole jurisdiction; and by them it is considered an infringement of state-rights for any one state to meddle with the question of slavery in any other. So imperfect are their notions of freedom, as the "natural and inalienable right of every man," according to the terms of their own Declaration of Independence, that they scarcely consider it to be a blot on their Republican escutcheon, that the several states of the Union in which slavery still exists should hold so many thousands of their fellow-men in unjust and unwilling bondage. But what is perhaps most surprising of all is, that so large a number of the clergy, and especially those of the Episcopal Church, including those who call them-

selves Evangelical, should be not merely palliators of this state of slavery, but advocates for its continuance, and deprecators of all public discussion or agitation on the subject; so that if the Republicans understand civil and political liberty but imperfectly, the Christian professors seem to understand the liberty of religion and justice still less. Notwithstanding this, however, there is a large, though not an influential, body of abolitionists in New-York, who have a weekly newspaper, called "The Emancipator," devoted to the advocacy of their opinions; another, entitled "Human Rights," maintaining the same views; and another weekly paper, called "The Coloured American," edited, printed, and published wholly by free negroes, and most respectably written and conducted. But these are in great, though undeserved odium with the richer portions of the mercantile community, who are afraid of offending their southern customers by recognising the abolitionists; and as the newspapers chiefly subsist by the profits derived from commercial patronage, they are almost all against the abolitionists also, so that they have to encounter many difficulties in propagating their views.

A tragical occurrence took place during my stay in New-York, which brought this question very prominently before the public. It was this: a minister of the Gospel, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, was engaged as the editor of a religious newspaper at the town of St. Louis, and in the slave-state of Missouri. In this state the mob had burned a coloured man alive for some offence for which he was never brought to trial. Mr. Lovejoy condemned this act, and reproved the judge, whose name was Lawless, for excusing the mob, as he had done, for their unjustifiable conduct. In consequence of this, the mob themselves retaliated on Mr. Lovejoy by attacking his house, breaking up his press, and throwing it and the types into the river, for which he could get no redress. He then removed to the town of Alton, on the opposite side of the Mississippi River, and in the free state of Illinois. Even here, however, his advocacy of abolition occasioned the mob to destroy his press a second time; another was procured to replace that, and they broke this in pieces also. A fourth press was purchased to replace this, but when it arrived at Alton, and before it was ever used, the mob attacked the store in which it was with a view to destroy it, and whatever else the store contained. They were encouraged to this outrage by the more wealthy inhabitants of the place, who fancied they had an interest in sla-

very being undisturbed ; but on this occasion Mr. Lovejoy and his friends determined to defend the store, and went with firearms for this purpose. While the mob were beating in the windows with stones and firing from the outside into the store, they who were on the inside fired a gun also, by which one of the mob was killed. At this the populace at first dispersed, but whiskey being profusely supplied to them by their abettors, and guns placed in their hands, they returned in larger numbers to the store, determined to set it on fire, and burn alive all who were in it. Mr. Lovejoy and four of his companions went out to drive away those who were actually setting fire to the roof of the building, and he was then shot through the body by one of the mob, and died in a few minutes afterward. They subsequently wounded several others, took possession of the press, broke it to pieces, and threw the fragments into the river.

On such a transaction as this it might be supposed that there would be scarcely a difference of opinion, or that the whole press of the country, in the free states at least, would have condemned such an outrage, and contended for the freedom of discussion. But by far the greater majority of the Whig papers, and some even of the Democratic, in New-York and elsewhere, condemned the pertinacity and obstinacy, as they called it, of Mr. Lovejoy, excused the conduct of the mob, and thought that any man venturing to publish sentiments which he knew to be obnoxious to the majority deserved to be put down by force. The New-York American, a Whig paper, and the Evening Post, a Democratic paper, were the principal exceptions to this line of conduct, and spoke out boldly in condemnation of the lawless conduct of the mob, and in defence of the right of free discussion.

It is the more remarkable, that in the constitution of the very state in which this outrage was perpetrated, Illinois, there is a clause declaring "that it shall be unlawful to place any restraint on the entire freedom of publication on all subjects, which is claimed as the right of every citizen of the state." In private society, however, the advocacy of the violent conduct of the mob was far more general than with the press. In the latter, some caution was necessary, to keep up the appearance of a decent attachment to liberty while excusing this gross violation of it at Alton ; but in private circles, where no such necessity for caution existed, no restraints were felt ; and it was quite common to hear

persons priding themselves on their republican principles declare that they thought Mr. Lovejoy's treatment such as he fully deserved; adding to it a wish that all abolitionists who attempted to discuss the question in any shape or form might be treated in the same manner. It was in vain to tell them that if their principle—"that sentiments not approved of by the majority ought not to be propagated by the minority"—were fully carried out, no truth could make progress, and no reform be effected; that Christianity itself originated with a very small minority, and was centuries before it was generally received; that all missionaries are sent abroad to preach doctrines unacceptable to the majority of the nation to which they address themselves; and that every great political, moral, or religious reform began with the minority. To all this they merely answered, that "the question of slavery was a very different affair; and that, while the whites of the South thought their interest endangered by its mere discussion, the whites of the North had no right to discuss it all." This very doctrine, however, is in direct violation of their own rule, as the whites of the South are greatly in the minority compared with the whites of the North, the proportion of their numbers being perhaps less than one fourth of the whole. But the prejudice of native-born Americans on this subject is so deep-rooted and so inveterate, that it is altogether invincible to reason, and cannot be moved by any power of argument or demonstration.

In the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives, the legislators seem to be as full of this prejudice as any of their constituents. Mr. Wall, of New-Jersey, presented some resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont, recommending the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in which the City of Washington is placed, and over which district the general Congress has exactly the same jurisdiction and power as the State Legislatures have over their respective territories. The reception of these resolutions, as well as of the numerous petitions presented in favour of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, were equally rejected in both houses: by some on the ground "that Congress had no constitutional right or power to deal with the question at all;" and by others on the ground "that the mere agitation of the question in Congress was full of danger to the Union." The representatives of the Southern States, in which slavery principally exists, contended warmly for both these propositions; and yet, in the face of this, Mr. Calhoun, the senator from South Carolina, himself introdu-

ced a long series of resolutions, which embraced the whole subject of slavery, defending it as an institution favourable to the welfare of the country and the people it embraced, denying the power of Congress to interfere with it in any manner whatever, and denouncing the abolitionists as enemies to the Union and foes to the best interests of the whole country, from their mischievous attempts to obtain emancipation for the slaves. These resolutions, of course, gave rise to the very discussion which Mr. Calhoun and his supporters had so much deprecated when brought on by others, and for several weeks in succession the Senate was chiefly occupied with debating them.

In the House of Representatives they disposed of the question much more speedily, by resolving, by a large majority, that the petitions of the people in favour of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia should not be received, and they were therefore all laid on the table, without being either read, discussed, or printed; so that the right of petition was wholly set aside, because it was thought to interfere with the more sacred right of the slaveholder over the slave. Since the days, therefore, when Thomas Moore wrote his celebrated Epistle from Washington, the reproach which he uttered has not been wiped away.

"Who can with patience for a moment see
The medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks and Democratic whites,
And all the piebald polity that reigns
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains?
To think that man, thou just and gentle God,
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!"

A short extract from one of the papers of the day, describing a portion of the proceedings of the Senate, the most dignified and important of the two houses of the Legislature, on Thursday, the 4th of January, 1838, as given in an administration paper, the New-York Evening Post, will be sufficient to show the tone and spirit of the leading men of that body. Mr. Preston, in his defence of Mr. Calhoun's resolutions, had said that "all that the South wanted was to be let alone, and therefore they cried 'hands off' to all their Northern brethren;" upon which the following observations were made by the parties named, as taken from the report of the speeches in the government paper of the day.

"Mr. Young, of Illinois, said he was surprised to hear senators from the South say 'hands off.' He thought that the strength of the aboli-

tionists was so great, so extensive, and so much upon the increase, that the South blinded itself by refusing to listen to the evidence before her. In his opinion, the South could not protect itself without the protection of the General Government.

"Mr. Preston replied. He thanked the gentleman for his sympathy for the South. He wanted none of it, if he thought the South was not able to take care of itself. The South was abundantly able to protect itself. She wanted no interference: nothing but constitutional protection. She still cried '*hands off, hands off, hands off*' to all: to the States, to the General Government beyond her defined constitutional powers of protection. She complained of interference, and wanted none of it. The laws upon this subject were many and highly penal, and Mr. Preston would say, that, in spite of the United States' laws, if any man *interfered* with slavery in South Carolina, South Carolina would *hang him* upon the strength of *her* laws.

"The debate was continued up to nearly four o'clock.

"Mr. Wall, of New-Jersey, made a strong speech in opposition to the resolutions and in favour of the amendment of Mr. Smith. He was opposed to the whole discussion and the groundwork of the whole discussion, because it was a subject Congress had no right to handle.

"Mr. Buchanan followed, and said that he should move an adjournment. The Senate was in *bad temper*, and he hoped senators would be better-natured to-morrow.

"The Senate then adjourned."

In the course of the present session of Congress, while this most important topic was debated, on the presentation of petitions from the Legislature of Vermont, and from many of the large cities of the North, praying the Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, as before described, the following appeared in the New-York Transcript of December 20, 1837, as taken from a leading evening paper, the Commercial Advertiser. It was repeated afterward in most of the other papers of the city, without being either contradicted or questioned, as far as I could learn, and I made inquiries on this subject in every accessible quarter. No one ventured even to doubt the facts, very few thought them at all discreditable, and almost all the Whig party were against any effort to amend the evil it described. The following is the paragraph:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

From a correspondent of the Commercial Advertiser we derive the following important information.

"It is notorious that the slave-trade is largely pursued in the District of Columbia, to the disgust and molestation of a great majority of its inhabitants, of every class and colour.

"A woman, a wife, a mother, esteemed or supposed to be free, was, in form of law, claimed as a slave, confined as such, and sold for exportation.

"Torn from her husband—in prison with four young children about her—frantic with wretchedness and grief—she cast her eyes on her children, and, in a moment of phrensy, resolved that they, at least,

should not grow up to be slaves, and proceeded to kill them with her own hand. Two she succeeded in killing, but the cries and struggles of the others brought in succour, and they were rescued from impending death.

"The unhappy mother was indicted for murder, tried by a jury of the district, and acquitted on the ground of insanity. It was insanity, but the insanity of overpowering passion.

"She had been sold, warranted sound, mind and body; but on the happening of these facts she was returned by the buyer to the seller, for the legal cause of a breach of a warranty, by reason of the latent vice of unsoundness of mind, to be resold without warranty; and she has been purchased by a benevolent individual, that she, and her husband, and her children may work out her emancipation."

Perhaps the most striking contrast that could be presented to this, the bare perusal of which must make every English heart thrill with horror, is the cool and deliberate resolutions of a body of ministers of the Gospel in Georgia, which appeared soon after in the New-York Evening Post of January 5, 1838. It is as follows:

GEORGIA CONFERENCE.

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at its late meeting held in Athens:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil.

"Resolved, that we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do farther than to ameliorate the condition of the slave by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to Heaven."

One other illustration may be given of this moral blindness, which is not peculiar to the Whigs or the ministers of the Gospel who adopted the above resolutions, but which infects all classes of society, and all political and religious parties; it is this: On the breaking out of the rebellion in Canada, a public meeting was held by the Democrats of New-York in a large open space called Vauxhall Garden, "to express sympathy with the Canadian revolutionists, and to consider of the best means of aiding them in their resistance to the tyranny of their oppressors." This meeting took place at the close of December, 1837; it was attended by an immense multitude, many thousands at least. The proceedings were orderly, the speeches very animated, and the general current of the whole was a fierce denunciation of tyranny and oppression, a declaration of the right of every man, and every body of men, to break their chains and demand their freedom whenever they saw fit,

and a general wish for the destruction of all oppressors, and the speedy emancipation from tyranny of all mankind. These sentiments were repeated by almost every speaker, and received with the loudest marks of approbation from all present. At length one of the Canadian revolutionists, who had escaped to New-York, and for whose capture the governor of Canada had offered, by public proclamation, a reward of 2500 dollars, a Dr. Callaghan, addressed the meeting, and was applauded to the very echo for his Democratic sentiments. In the course of his speech, however, he instanced the number of liberal and distinguished public men in England who had declared, in their places in the House of Commons, that they considered the Canadians to be most unjustly oppressed, and among the number of these he named Daniel O'Connell, upon which a scene of great uproar ensued, with cries of "No O'Connell! No O'Connell! he's an abolitionist!" "And so," exclaimed Mr. Callaghan, "am I an abolitionist;" upon which the uproar was increased, and mingled with cries of "Turn him out! turn him out!" Any comment on such a contrast as this, where men, met avowedly to applaud the self-emancipation of those whose grievances were at least comparatively light, condemned in the same breath all attempts in favour of the emancipation of others, whose grievances were of the heaviest kind, must be wholly unnecessary; and, but that this spirit is unfortunately as common among the Whigs and Conservatives of America as it is among the Democrats, it would make one repudiate the very name of democracy forever. If this, however, were to be deemed a sufficient reason, whiggism and conservatism, and even religion itself, would have to be repudiated also, as this inconsistency affects the professors of each in an almost equal degree.

I must still offer another example of this all-pervading prejudice, though I thought I had done. During my stay at New-York I delivered a course of lectures on Palestine at Chatham-street Chapel, one of four or five "free churches," as they are called, in this city, where the pews are not private property, but where every one who presents himself at the door is at liberty to take up his seat wherever he pleases; the churches and chapels so freed being generally built by subscription, and sustained by letting the buildings for public and religious meetings, and by collections made on such occasions at the door. The audience at this chapel in attendance on these lectures were very numerous, exceeding 2000 persons; and among them were perhaps four

of five negroes, extremely well-dressed and well-behaved, and from ten to twenty coloured persons, of different shades of brown complexion, according to the greater or less admixture of Anglo-American with their African blood. These individuals, most of whom were engaged in trade, behaved with the greatest humility and propriety, and in several instances, where they saw white persons standing near them, they rose to offer them their seats, and removed to a remoter part of the building. In the course of the first week I received a number of anonymous letters on this subject, but none with real signatures; they were all well-written, and were no doubt the productions of persons moving in the sphere of gentlemen; but one of these will suffice as an example of the rest. It was addressed to me in the following terms:

"Sir,

"New-York, Jan. 16, 1838.

"In company with several friends, I attended your first lecture at Chatham-street Chapel on Wednesday evening last, and although, in common with the rest of the party, I came off highly delighted and edified by the subject of the evening, I would beg leave, in the spirit of courtesy, and with the most friendly feelings, to suggest to you an evil which requires the most *immediate* correction. I allude to the practice of allowing coloured persons to mix with the audience, and occupy the ground-floor of the chapel. Their desire to appear at such a place, I admit, is highly commendable, but a place apart from the audience, in some part of the gallery, should be assigned to them. The building being under your control on the evening of your lecture, with you alone would seem to rest the corrective power, and, without its *immediate* application, you may rest assured that your lectures will not only lose their present popularity, but also their entire usefulness and respectability. This amalgamation of 'black spirits and white,' you may rest assured, will never be tolerated by a refined and intelligent community; but, on the contrary, is considered no less an outrage on decency and decorum, than an insult to the feelings of your audience."

Of course I took no public notice whatever of these anonymous communications, though I had occasion to know, verbally, from several quarters, that very many persons had been deterred from attending my lectures here (and those absentees were mostly persons professedly religious) because the "coloured people" were thus allowed to sit in the same part of the chapel with the whites. What makes this affected horror of "amalgamation" the more revolting is, that many of the very gentlemen who declare themselves to be so insulted and degraded by being placed so near the "coloured people" as to sit by them, have no scruple whatever to keep coloured women as mistresses, and have large families of children by them. Without this *actual* amalgamation, indeed, between the white races and the black, there

would be none of the mulatto or brown-coloured people in existence. Yet in the Northern States of America these "mixed races" are far more numerous than the pure African black; and, therefore, the pretended horror of the slight amalgamation which sitting together in the same chapel involves, while the fruits of a much closer amalgamation meet you at every step in the highways and by-ways of the country, is the very acmé of hypocrisy and pharisaical deceit.

It is remarkable that this prejudice against dark complexions does not extend to the aboriginal Indians, who are, many of them, of a deep reddish brown, almost as dark as the darkest mulattoes, and considerably darker than many other shades of the "coloured people" beyond the first remove from the offspring of white fathers and negro mothers. On the contrary, to have a mixture of dark Indian blood is rather a matter of pride than reproach; and, so far from its being attempted to be concealed, it is occasionally the subject of public self-congratulation. A remarkable instance of this occurred during my stay in New-York. The Rev. Dr. Hawks, one of the most popular and distinguished of the Episcopalian clergy here, was invited to deliver a lecture "On the History and Character of Pocahontas," the celebrated daughter of the Indian chief Powhatan, before the Historical Society of New-York. The Stuyvesant Institute, in which this discourse was delivered, was crowded to excess; the lecturer was peculiarly eloquent, and his address deservedly admired for the beauty of its composition and the finished style of its delivery; and when, at the close of his discourse, he placed his hand upon his heart, and apologized for the pride which he must naturally feel in the recollection that some of the blood of Pocahontas flowed in his own veins, the sympathy of the audience manifested itself in marks of universal approbation. This was even still more loudly expressed when he added that, though it had pleased the Almighty to clothe the creatures of his creation with skins of different hues, yet the Scriptures had emphatically declared that "God had made of one flesh all nations of the earth;" and that, therefore, despite these external varieties, it was our duty to regard all mankind as our brothers, being children of one great Father, by whom all were brought into being. But into this seemingly "universal family" the despised African race is not admitted, and could not at the time have been included, either by the speaker or the great majority of his auditory at New-York. Their toleration was for the red races, or reddish-blackish-brown

coloured tribes, but not for the blacks of Africa, or the mixed progeny of the white and the negro amalgamations, because Dr. Hawks is himself an openly-avowed anti-abolitionist, and so were the greater number of those who formed his admiring and sympathizing audience.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Catlin's Museum of Indian Costumes, Weapons, and Paintings.—Course of Lectures on the Indian Tribes.—Names of Indians in Mr. Catlin's Gallery of Portraits.—Hunting Excursions among the Indians.—Skilful Management of the Horse by them.—Indian Games of Amusement.—Dances.—Horrid Character of their War-dances.—Scalp-dance of the Sioux Tribe of Indians.—Bloody Scalps of their Enemies suspended by Women.—Dog-dance of the same Tribe.—Heart and Flesh eaten raw.—Flesh of Dogs served as Food at their greatest Festivals.

I HAD an opportunity of hearing much of the Indian tribes during our residence in this city from Mr. Catlin, who had travelled extensively in the "Far West," as the territories beyond the Mississippi are here called; and after a sojourn among the various tribes, from the eastern borders of the United States to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, near the Pacific, had returned to New-York with a collection of more than a hundred portraits of the most remarkable men and women in each tribe, with paintings of their landscape scenery, encampments, villages, hunting-parties, war-dances, religious festivals, games, tortures, and almost every occupation in which they engage; added to which, he had amassed a large collection of their dresses, weapons, and ornaments, which formed altogether the most complete museum of Indian curiosities that had ever, it was thought, been brought together into one spot.

Besides many private interviews with Mr. Catlin, in which he was most agreeably communicative, we attended a course of his lectures, delivered in the Stuyvesant Institute, where the portraits and other paintings were exhibited, and where the dresses, weapons, and ornaments were also shown, accompanied by a short explanation of each. I select a few of the most striking names of the warriors and others whose portraits were exhibited, each in his peculiar costume, and to the accuracy of which, in person and dress, the testimonies were abundant.

Mun-ne-pus-kee	He who is not afraid.
Wa-mash-ee-sherk	He who takes away.
Shing-ga-war-sa	The handsome Bird.
Muck-a-tah-mish-o-kah-kaik	The black Hawk.
Kee-o-Kuk	The running Fox.
Wah-pee-kee-suk	The white Cloud (a Prophet).
Nah-se-un-kuk	The whirling Thunder.
Jee-he-o-bo-shah	He who cannot be thrown down.
Chesh-oo-hon-ga	Man of good sense.
Ee-shah-ko-nee	The Bow and Quiver.
Jah-wah-que-nah	Mountain of Rocks.
Kots-o-ko-no-ko	Hair of the Bull's neck.
Kots-a-to-ah	The smoked Shield.
Ush-ee-kitz	He who fights with a Feather.
Ah-no-je-nage	He who stands on both sides.
Tah-zee-keh-da-cha	Torn Belly.
Chah-tee-wa-ne-chee	No heart.
Mah-to-rah-rish-nee-eeh-ee-rah	{ The Grisly Bear, that runs without regard.
Ee-hee-a-duck-chee-a	
Bi-eets-e-cure	He who ties his hair before.
Ba-da-a-chon-du	The very sweet Man.
Un-ka-ha-hon-shee-kou	He who leaps over every one.
Ba-na-rah-kah-tah	Long Finger Nails.
Au-nah-kwet-to-hau-pay-o	The broken Pot.
Auh-ka-nah-pau	The one sitting in the Clouds.
Chesh-ko-tong	The Earth standing.
Lay-lau-she-kau	He who sings the War-song.
Ten-squat-a-way	He who goes far up the river.
Cah-be-mub-bee	The open Door.
Ohj-ka-tchee-kum	He who sits everywhere.
Gitch-ee-gau-ga-osh	He who walks on the sea.
Wah-chee-hahs-ka (a Boxer)	The point that remains forever.
Eeh-tou-wees-ka-zelt	He who puts all out of doors.
	He who has eyes behind him.

These were all the names of males, and were generally characteristic of some quality, achievement, or habit of the persons bearing them; this being, no doubt, the origin of names in all countries, and in none more than in England, where the Strongs and the Swifts are very abundant; the Riders and the Walkers are not less so; the Browns and the Blacks, and the Whites and the Greens scattered everywhere; the Swans and the Cocks, the Doves and the Wrens, the Sparrows and the Nightingales, happily mingled and blended with the Foxes and Hares, the Otters and Beavers, the Wolfs and the Bulls; and these again varied with the Salmon, the Sturgeons, the Cods, and the Herrings; while there is no end to the tribes of the Masons, the Tylers, the Carpenters, the Painters, the Taylors, and the Smiths; or to the Butchers, the Bakers, and the Brewers, who follow in their train.

The names given to the female Indians exhibited in this collection of Mr. Catlin's portraits were quite as remarka-

ble, and generally very expressive of feminine softness, as well as of the admiration of the stronger sex. These are a few :

Hee-la-dee	The pure Fountain.
Mong-shong-sha	The bending Willow.
Ek-nis-kim	The crystal Stone.
Lay-loo-ah-pee-ai-shee-kau	Grass, bush, and blossom.
Tis-se-woo-na-tis	She who bathes her knees.
Pah-ta-coo-chee	The shooting Cedar.
Pshan-shau	The sweet-scented Grass.
Ha-das-ka-mon-me-nee	The Pipe-of-peace Bird.
Seet-se-he-a	The midday Sun.
Cos-pe-sau-que-te	The indescribable Thing.

In the course of his lectures Mr. Catlin related to us many interesting particulars respecting the manners and customs of the various Indian tribes among whom he had sojourned, and of most of these he exhibited pictorial representations, of which the following may be named as among the most remarkable.

In their hunting excursions, where they pursue the wild buffaloes either singly or in herds, they exhibit astonishing proofs of skill and horsemanship. Their aim is so unerring with the arrow that they never fail to pierce their victim; and such is the force as well as skill with which the arrow is sent out from the bow, that instances are not uncommon of their shooting it right through the trunk of a buffalo out on the other side: a fact testified to by many witnesses. The buffaloes being in natural enmity with the grisly bear, attack it wherever they meet; but the white wolves they permit to graze with their herds unmolested. The Indians, knowing this, often cover themselves with skins of the white wolf, previously prepared for the purpose, and under its cover creep towards them on all-fours, without exciting their suspicion, when, being within arrow-range, they draw their bow, and shoot their unsuspecting victim through the heart.

Another method of pursuing and decoying the buffaloes to destruction is thus related by Hinton, and its accuracy was confirmed by Mr. Catlin in all particulars. "The herds of buffaloes wander over the country in search of food, usually led by a bull most remarkable for its strength and fierceness. While feeding they are often scattered over a great extent of country; but when they move in a mass they form a dense and almost impenetrable column, which, once in motion, is scarcely to be impeded. Their line of march is seldom interrupted even by considerable rivers, across

which they swim without fear or hesitation, nearly in the order in which they traverse the plains. When flying before their pursuers, it would be in vain for the foremost to halt, or to attempt to obstruct the progress of the main body; as the throng in the rear still rush onward, the leaders must advance, although destruction awaits the movement. The Indians take advantage of this circumstance to destroy great quantities of this their favourite game; and certainly no mode could be resorted to more effectually destructive, nor could a more terrible devastation be produced, than by forcing a numerous herd of these large animals to leap together from the brink of a dreadful precipice upon a rocky and broken surface a hundred feet below. When the Indians determine to destroy a herd of buffaloes in this way, one of their swiftest-footed and most active young men is selected, who is disguised in a buffalo skin, having the head, ears, and horns adjusted to his own head, so as to make the deception very complete; and thus accoutred, he stations himself between the buffalo herd and some of the precipices, which often extend for several miles along the rivers. The Indians surround the herd as nearly as possible; when, at a given signal, they show themselves, and rush forward with loud yells. The animals being alarmed, and seeing no way open but in the direction of the disguised Indian, run towards him, and he, taking flight, dashes on to the precipice, where he suddenly secures himself in some previously-ascertained crevice. The foremost of the herd arrives at the brink; there is no possibility of retreat, no chance of escape; the foremost may for an instant shrink with terror, but the crowd behind, who are terrified by the approaching hunters, rush forward with increasing impetuosity, and the aggregated force hurls them successively from the cliffs, where certain death awaits them."*

In the management of their horses the Indians seem to be as skilful as the Arabs or the Mamelukes of the East. Some pictures were shown to us, in which were delineated Indians of the Camanché tribe hanging over one side of their horses, and shooting their arrows over the saddle towards their enemies, while they were themselves completely sheltered from their attack by the interposing body of the horse covering their whole person, which was coiled or gathered up so as to fill only the space between the hanging stirrup and the upper part of the saddle.

* Hinton's Topography of the United States, 4to, vol. II, p. 147.

Of their games or amusements the following were the most striking. Playing with the ball for stakes, or sums of money deposited on each side, is very frequent; and so much importance is attached to this game, that on the night previous to its performance four conjurers sit up to smoke to the Great Spirit at the point where the ball is to be started; and, while the stakeholders also sit up to guard the sums deposited, men and women dance around their respective stakes at intervals during the night. At some of these games the bodies of the one party are painted all over with white paint, while those of the other remain of the natural reddish-brown colour, to prevent their being mistaken or confounded.

Besides horse-racing, foot-racing, and course-racing, all of which are common, skill in archery is much cultivated, and with great success. In this they perhaps surpass all people in the world, bringing down single birds while flying at a great height, and shooting fish while darting with great rapidity in their rivers and lakes. In one of these games, the great object of the archers is to see who can accumulate the greatest number of arrows in the air, by the most rapid succession of shooting them, before the first arrow reaches the ground; and if the parties playing at this are numerous, the air becomes literally darkened with the showers of arrows that are sent forth.

Of dances they have a great variety. The "straw dance," among the tribe of the Sioux, consists in making young children dance naked, with burning straws tied to their bodies, to make them tough and brave. Another dance, among the tribes of the Sauks and Foxes, is called the "slave dance," and is performed by a very singular society of Indians, who volunteer to become slaves for two years, on the condition that they may elect their chief or master. Another dance, among the tribe of Ojibbeways, is called the "snow-shoe dance," from its taking place at the first fall of snow in the winter, and being danced in long snow-shoes, almost like small canoes, worn by all the party. The tribe of the Minnatarrees have a dance called "the green-corn dance," where they make an offering of the first-fruits to the Creator by "sacrificing the first kettle-full," to use their own language, "to the Great Spirit." The "buffalo dance" of the Mandans, another tribe, consists of men dressing themselves in the skins of buffaloes, two men erect generally sustaining the skin of one buffalo, placed horizontally above their heads, the sides of the skin falling around them and concealing their persons, and the head

and horns being sustained by the foremost person, so that, as they walk along or dance, they look at a distance like real buffaloes; and the object of this dance is to attract the herd in the direction of the spot where it takes place. The "scalp dance" of the Sioux is among the most revolting, where women, in the centre of a large circle, suspend the bloody scalps of their enemies taken in war on poles, while the warriors of the tribe dance around them, brandishing their weapons. This, however, is exceeded in ferocity by "the dog dance" of the same tribe, at which the heart and liver of a dog are taken, raw and bleeding, and, cut into strips, placed on a stand about the height of a man's face from the ground; to this each of the warriors advances in turn, and, biting off a piece of the flesh, utters a yell of exultation at having thus swallowed a piece of the warm and bleeding heart of his enemy. It may be added, that the flesh of the dog is accounted the greatest delicacy among the Sioux; and at an Indian feast given in 1803, at a Sioux village about 1400 miles above St. Louis, to Mr. Sanford, Mr. Choteau, Mr. M'Kenzie, and Mr. Catlin, a picture of which was in the collection, dogs' flesh was the only food served, and this was the highest honour they could confer upon strangers.

Nothing is more remarkable, however, in the character of the Indians, than their power of enduring torture, and the strength of the religious superstitions which sustain them. In one of the ceremonies of this description, represented in Mr. Catlin's pictures, several young candidates for fame were seen undergoing the various processes of pain to which they voluntarily and cheerfully submit themselves. They first lacerate the flesh with a sharp-edged but ragged flint-stone, by cutting open six or seven gashes across the muscular part of each thigh and each arm; a splint of wood, like a skewer, is then run transversely through the lips of each gash, and there they are permitted to bleed and swell, while the agonizing pain produces no sign of emotion on their countenances. They are then dragged around the circle of the tent on the inside, on the bare ground, sometimes by the hair of the head, and sometimes by the feet, the body trailing all the while along the rough and broken soil, and getting new lacerations at every turn. After this the bodies of the self-torturers are hung up by the splints in the flesh, around which cords are twined, and they are thus kept suspended for hours on a pole, without food or drink, looking steadfastly on the sun, from his rising to his setting, without an interval of rest.

Another remarkable form in which their superstition develops itself is that of reverence for magic and magicians. Attached to every tribe, and often to every encampment and every village, is a person who is called "the medicine man;" the "magician" would be the more appropriate term. It is believed by the rest of the tribe that he is gifted with prophetic knowledge and supernatural powers. He is consulted in all expeditions of war, on all negotiations of peace; his oracles are indisputable, and his charms are believed to be irresistible; he collects together in his wanderings all things supposed to possess any superior virtue or property: the skin, feathers, head, beak, and talons of the eagle and the hawk; the skins of serpents, lizards, and toads; the horns and hair of the buffalo; the skins of the grisly bear and the wolf; besides various animal and mineral compounds supposed to operate as charms. To each of the warriors he dispenses his talismans, which are worn with unlimited confidence in their virtues; and when any one is ill or sick from any disease or wounds, "the medicine man" is the only person thought likely to afford relief. This he does, not with medicine of any kind, for this is never attempted, but by coming to the tent or hut where the sufferer may be lying, and performing certain mysterious ceremonies, and administering certain charms; the "medicine man" being himself on these occasions so disguised with the skins of various animals placed over and around him, that he may be said to be as remote as possible from "the likeness of anything that is in the heaven above; or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth;" and when Mr. Catlin presented himself to his audience so arrayed, it was difficult to suppose that anything human could be so disguised.

An additional interest was given to these lectures by the paintings and descriptions with which they were illustrated, from their reminding me so often and so forcibly as they did of the Hindus. The complexion of the Indians generally resembles that of the natives of Hindustan more than that of any other people I had seen; they have the same fondness for gold and silver ornaments, and particularly for large silver bangles on the feet, and armlets on the arms; they paint their bodies, and especially their foreheads and chins, with various coloured paints, like the Brahmins; they load the ears with ornaments, and the neck with chains; they oil their bodies to soften the skin; they sit cross-legged on the ground, and are excessively fond of smoking. The

favourite colour for the painting of their persons is a bright scarlet; and in all the female portraits that I saw, the central seam occasioned by the parting of the hair, which is smoothed down on each side of the head, and oiled to keep it flat and glossy, was invariably painted with a bright scarlet paint, a custom almost universal among the women of Hindustan. But it is in the voluntary infliction of self-torture, and the power of sustaining pain without a murmur, that the resemblance between the Indians of America and of Asia is most striking. Whoever has witnessed the self-tortures of the Hindus, in their religious ceremonies of the "churruck-poojah," or festival of the wheel—where a man permits an iron hook to be passed through the fleshy muscles of his loins, and is thus hoisted up to a wheel and whirled around in the air with extraordinary velocity, as well as the many other descriptions of self-imposed torture practised in Hindustan—could not fail to be struck with this feature of resemblance between the tribes of Asia and America, who may possibly have descended from one common stock.

CHAPTER VII.

Personal Visit to some Indian Chiefs at New-York.—The Sauks and Foxes, Sioux and Ioway Tribes.—Anecdotes of Conversation with the Indian Chiefs.—Offering of Presents to the Wife and Children of Kee-o-kuk.—Stoical Indifference manifested by each.—Black-Hawk, the celebrated Warrior, and his Son.—Pantomimic Conversation of Mr. Vandenhoff with an Indian.—Invitation to visit their Camps in the Far West.—Anecdotes of Life among the Indians.—Arrival of a third Tribe of Indians in New-York.—Reply of Indian Chief to General Fox.—Anecdotes of Indians respecting Interest of Money.—Belief that the Indians are descended from the Jews.—Facts and Arguments of Major Noah and others.—Striking Similarity of many of their Customs to Jewish Rites.—Retention of some of the identical Expressions of the Hebrews.—Authority of Mr. Catlin in support of this Resemblance.

It was only a few weeks after hearing the lectures and examining the collection of Mr. Catlin that several Indian chiefs of different tribes arrived at New-York from Washington, on a tour through the United States, where, after they had concluded their treaties at the Capitol, it was thought desirable they should be taken to the principal towns, to impress them with a strong idea of the power and resources of the American people. Among them were the chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes, Kee-o-kuk and Black-Hawk, with the wife and younger son of the former, "the

Bearing Thunder." There were about thirty of these, who took up their abode at the City Hotel, on the west side of Broadway; while at another hotel, the National, on the opposite side of the way, were the chiefs of the Sioux and Ioways, the two latter being in such deadly hostility to the two former as to make it unsafe to place them in the same building.

We went to see both parties, having the advantage of a favourable introduction to each, and were accompanied in both our visits by a skilful interpreter, who had lived among the Indians from his childhood. The Sauks and Foxes were undoubtedly the finest race of men; they were as tall, stout, and muscular as the very best specimen of men that could be produced from the yeomanry of England, and they were as hardy and robust as they were large and well formed. Their costume was almost wholly made up of skins, furs, and feathers, with the occasional addition of a woollen blanket of a bright scarlet, saturated with the vermillion paint with which they so copiously bedaub the body. Their headdresses were mostly feathers, differently arranged. They all wore leather coverings for the legs, like long gaiters, but loose over the foot, and with innumerable strips of leather trailing after them at considerable length behind the heel, so as to make it difficult to follow them. To these gaiters were attached a number of silver bells, and, whenever they moved or walked, it was an evident delight to them to hear the tinkling of these bells and the rattle of the various plates of metal placed at different points about their garments. Their weapons were the tomahawk, the heavy-headed and spiked iron mace, and the bow and arrow; their conduct was characterized by a dignified reserve; and their great aim seemed to be, not to manifest the least feeling of admiration or surprise at anything they saw. They were sufficiently communicative to answer all our questions, but always briefly, and without asking others in their turn. I had taken in, as I was advised, some suitable presents for the principal personages of the party; but they were received without the slightest symptom of satisfaction by those to whom they were offered, excepting in one instance. To the wife of the chief Kee-o-kuk I presented a very handsome string of large and beautiful beads, suitable for a necklace of great richness and fulness; but, after taking them from my hands, she placed them in her bosom, and then, rolling herself in a vermillioned blanket, lay down at her husband's feet on the floor, without mat or pillow, and sunk almost instantly to sleep. I presented to her eldest son,

"The Whistling Thunder," a handsome ivory case, containing a knife, a looking-glass, and some other things, which he also received with the same indifference, and put by, as though the person presenting it was more honoured than himself by receiving it. To the younger son, a little fellow of about five years of age, I gave a silver whistle and bells, such as are commonly used by children in England, with a fine piece of red coral at the end; and this little creature, not having yet been trained in the Indian art of restraining the expression of his natural emotions, burst out into a paroxysm of delight, sounding the whistle, ringing the bells, shrieking with pleasure, and dancing about the room, exclaiming every now and then, "A-oo-A-ha-oo," good, very good, and clasping my knees and kissing my hand, to the great chagrin of the men, who talked to him with frowning countenances, but could not repress his hilarity.

The Sioux and Ioways, whom we visited at the National Hotel, were not so fine a race of men as the Sauks and Foxes, nor so well dressed, but they were far more communicative. Some of them, indeed, talked with us at great length. Mr. Vandenhoff, the English actor, happened to be in the room at the time, and, being struck with the appearance of scars from burns running up the arm of one of the chiefs from the wrist to the shoulder, he wished to know how it happened; but the interpreter being in another part of the room, and engaged, he was unable to communicate with the Indian except through the language of pantomime; he accordingly pointed to the scars, and then, by a variety of significant signs, indicated his wish to know how they occurred, upon which the chief performed these several motions: He first held his right hand horizontally before his body, as if grasping a cup or basin, while with his right he performed the motion of lifting something from the ground, out of which he poured liquid into the stationary vessel. He then lifted this vessel to his mouth, and, turning back his head and gurgling his throat, made signs of drinking copiously. His next action was to rise and reel about, as though growing gradually intoxicated, until he became unable to stand, when he described a large heap of something, with flames ascending and falling; on this he began to roll about with agony, and rub his right arm as the part chiefly affected. Mr. Vandenhoff exclaimed, "I see it! whiskey, whiskey!" at which the old man nodded assent with a smile. The fact was, as we afterward learned, that the white people had made him drunk, as they too often do, with ardent spirits,

and he had fallen on a large wood fire, and thus got dreadfully burned.

In the course of conversation with the chiefs of this tribe, they expressed great admiration of my wife's dress and ornaments, and were especially enamoured with the feathers which she happened then to wear in her bonnet. With my younger son, Leicester, they were even still more pleased, and were quite astonished that one so young should come so far away from home, over the "great sea," of which they seem to have a most terrible idea. They asked us whether, in the course of our journey, we intended to come so far west as their prairies and forests; and we answered that this was what we intended, and hoped to accomplish; but that our stay would be short, as we should desire only to see their country, and then return home, without settling in it. This was no sooner interpreted to them than several Indian voices exclaimed, as we afterward learned, "Does he say so? does he say so? He is welcome! he is welcome!" And, when this assurance was repeated, the principal chief of the tribe advanced to me, and grasping my hand firmly, he said, with a grave countenance, looking at me, but addressing himself to the interpreter, "Tell this white man that if he comes to see us, and goes away again, leaving us in possession of our lands undisturbed, we will bless his name forever. The white men come, they look at our lands, they take them from us, they drive us far off; we become settled, they disturb us, and drive us farther off again, because they want our lands for themselves, and, therefore, we like not their footsteps; but if he will come, and share our feasts, and smoke our calumet, and then return to his own home, we will give him a welcome such as white men do not often receive." I repeated my assurance, and even ventured to add my deep regret that all white men could not be prevailed upon to leave them in the quiet possession of the hunting-grounds and graves of their fathers; and the sentiment was one that evidently touched all their sympathies.

It would be a long and a melancholy narrative to relate the half of what it fell to my lot to hear, without leaving New-York, of the ill-treatment of the Indians by the whites, who teach them all our vices, but especially drunkenness, for the purpose of defrauding them, while thus intoxicated, in the various bargains of traffic and sale in which they are engaged. In addition to this, still more deliberate and cold-blooded injuries are practised by whites of comparative opulence upon their unsuspecting females. The following is

abridged from a very interesting but little-known work, entitled "Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains," written by a young gentleman of New-York, who presented me with a copy, and who states that he had the facts from the mouth of an old Indian in the Far West, who appeared to be sinking under the weight of his years.

In 1814, an American trader of considerable influence, thinking he should strengthen his mercantile connexions among the Missouri Indians, succeeded in prevailing on one of the principal families of the Omawha tribe of Indians to permit him to marry one of their daughters, who was remarkably beautiful. The marriage being consummated, she soon bore him a son and a daughter, one of which she permitted the father to take with him to the country of the whites, and the other she retained with her. On his return, however, to the Indian territory, it was found that he had married a white wife in his absence, and that he now demanded the surrender of the second child, and the repudiation of its mother. To this, of course, she refused her assent. The trader then offered her a considerable present if she would go away and leave her child; upon which she exclaimed, "Is my child a dog, that I should sell him for merchandise? You cannot drive me away; you may beat me, it is true, and otherwise abuse me, but I will still remain with you. When you married me, you promised to use me kindly as long as I should be faithful to you. That I have been so, no one can deny. Ours was not a marriage contracted for a season; no, it was to terminate only with our lives. I was then a young girl, and might have been united to an Omawha chief; but I am now an old woman, having had two children, and what Omawha will regard me? Is not my right paramount to that of your other wife? She had not heard of me before you possessed her. It is true, her skin is whiter than mine, but her heart cannot be more pure towards you, nor her fidelity more rigid." Happily, the infant was secured to its devoted mother, but the heartless wretch of a trader abandoned her forever. Who can wonder, therefore, when the Indians are continually receiving injuries, and rarely, if ever, blessings from the hand of the white man, that they should not "like his footsteps?"

Soon after the visit of the Sauks and Foxes, and Sioux and Ioways, another party of Indians arrived at New-York, consisting of Pawnees, Omawhas, and Otoes. We saw the whole of these also, but there was nothing peculiar in them to deserve a detailed description. The following account of

their visit, with their names, is given in the New-York ~~Ex~~press of November, 30 1837 :

"The delegation from several tribes of Indians, under charge of Major Dougherty, left this city yesterday for Washington, where they are to hold a council with the secretary of war.

"They appeared to be much pleased with their visit to the city, having spent a week, and visited the Navy-yard, theatres, museums, &c. On Saturday they visited Mr. Catlin at his exhibition-room in Broadway, who has spent several years among them and other tribes of Indians. After viewing his splendid collection of Indian portraits, landscapes, and curiosities, he took them into another room, where he had several of their own portraits, which they discovered at once, and appeared to be much delighted at the sight of their own faces on the canvass.

"They were received by the mayor and Common Council at the City Hall on Saturday, and a great variety of presents were made them, consisting of red and blue broadcloths, knives, glasses, beads, &c.

"During their visit at the Navy-yard, one of them applied the match to a loaded cannon on board the Hudson : the effect astonished them : one of them said he thought the Great Spirit could only produce thunder, but he had now seen it among the white men ; that, for the future, the Indian would avoid collision with his white brethren, as he was convinced they were too powerful for them.

"The following are the names of the tribes and chiefs :

GRAND PAWNEE TRIBE.

Shonk-ka-ki-he-gah	Horse chief.
La-char-e-ta-roox	Fearless chief.
La-do-ke-ah	Buffalo bull.
Ah-shaw-waw-zook- ke	Medicine horse.

PAWNEE TAPAGE TRIBE.

La-kee-too-me-ra-sha	Little chief.
La-paw-koo-re-loo	Chief partisan.
Loo-ra-we-re-coo	Bird that goes to war
Ta-la-coosh-ca-roo-mah-an	Partisan that sings.

PAWNEE REPUBLICAN TRIBE.

Ah-shaw-la-coots-ah	Mole in the face.
La-shaw-le-straw-hix	Man chief.
La-wee-re-coo-re-shaw-we	War chief.
Se-ah-ke-ra-le-re-coo	The Chyenne.

PAWNEE LOUP TRIBE.

Le-shaw-loo-la-le-hoo	Big chief.
Lo-lock-to-hoo-lah	Handsome pipe in his hand.
La-wa-he-coots-la-sha-no	Brave chief.
Shar-e-tar-reesh	Ill-natured man.

OMAWHA HACO TRIBE.

Ki-he-gah-waw-shu-she	Brave chief.
Om-pah-tong-gah	Big elk.
Sha-dah-mon-ne	There he goes.
Nom-bah-mon-ne	Double-walker.

OTOE TRIBE.

Maw-do-ne-sah	He who surrounds.
No-way-ke-vug-ga	He who strikes two at once.
Raw-no-way-waw-krah	Loose pipe-handle.
We-ree-roo-ta	He who exchanges.

MISSOURI TRIBE.

During the stay of these Indians in New-York, they were as much objects of curiosity to the inhabitants as they would have been to the residents of London. Wherever they went, whether to the theatre or the museum, the Battery or the steamboat, crowds of persons of both sexes, who had never before, perhaps, seen so many Indians, and of such distant tribes, in their lives, followed them in the streets, and their hotels were crowded at all hours of the day. Such are the revolutions of things, that the aboriginal Indians, who less than two centuries ago were the sole occupants of the very island on which New-York is built, are now strangers in the land of their fathers.

The reply made by one of the Indian chiefs to General Knox, who was entertaining in the city of New-York a deputation from the tribes, is full of melancholy truth; and perhaps it interested me the more, from the resemblance of the fate of the Indians of the West to those of the East, as both have been dispossessed of their lands and dominions by their white conquerors; for the language used by the Indian of America is precisely that which might, with equal propriety, be used by a native Indian of Malabar, of Coromandel, or of Bengal.

"What makes you so melancholy?" said General Knox to the Indian chief, who was observed to be very thoughtful amid the gayeties of the entertainment prepared for himself and his brethren of the forest. "I will tell you, brother," was the chief's reply: "I have been looking at your beautiful city, your great waters, full of ships, your fine country, and I see how prosperous you all are. But, then, I could not help thinking that this fine country was once ours. Our ancestors lived here. They enjoyed it as their own, in peace. It was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and to their children. At last white men came in a great canoe; they only asked to let them tie it to a tree, lest the water should carry it away. We consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land them, and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice came, and they could not go away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter. We granted it to them. They then asked corn to keep them from starving. We furnished it out of our own scanty supply. They promised to go away when the ice melted.

When this happened, instead of going away as they had promised, they pointed to the big guns round the wigwams, and they said, 'We shall stay here.' Afterward came more. They brought intoxicating drinks, of which the Indians became fond. They persuaded them to sell them our land, and, finally, have driven us back, from time to time, to the wilderness, far from the water, the fish, and the oysters. They have scared away our game. My people are wasting away. We live in the want of all things, while you are enjoying abundance in our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it."

The following anecdote was related to me at New-York by an elderly gentleman, nearly seventy, who had passed many years with the Indians, both in the early and middle periods of his life. He was at one time deputed to treat with the tribe of Oneidas, west of Lake Erie, for the purchase of a large tract of their land, and the payment of 100,000 dollars was agreed to be given to them for it. The Indians, who have no conception of numbers beyond a hundred, could not be made to comprehend how much this sum was, until a number of kegs or barrels were procured and ranged along in line, and the number of these kegs which 100,000 dollars would fill gave them some idea of their multiplicity; while a conception of their weight was conveyed by describing how many horses it would require to carry them if they were loaded on their backs. It was then thought that this great sum was too large to be divided among the Indians at one time, as it would probably soon be all spent, and they would then be destitute. To provide against this, it was suggested that the principal sum should be deposited in the United States' Bank; that the government for the time being should be made perpetual trustees for its custody; and that the interest of this sum, at seven per cent., or 7000 dollars, should be divided among them every year forever.

This proposition was much approved of; but the Indians could not be made to comprehend what a bank was, or how 7000 dollars could be paid to them every year from this bank, and the 100,000 still remain undiminished. Among the various suppositions in which they indulged on this subject, one was, that the bank was a place where, by some extraordinary process, silver increased in bulk and size by one seventh in every year, and that the 7000 dollars was to be made out of the yearly increase of the metal by growth, when the surplus would be cut off, and the remainder al-

lowed to grow again. Another belief was, that when the dollars were put into this mysterious bank, they propagated and increased their kind, and that the 7000 full-grown dollars were taken out of the 100,000, and their places left to be supplied by the little dollars growing up to be big ones, like the rest. The more general belief was, however, that the bank was a place where a peculiar soil existed, in which the dollars were sown, like grain, and every year produced a crop, which was to furnish the 7000 dollars of annual interest. So general was this belief, that the gentleman who made the purchase was often afterward asked whether the seasons were favourable, and the crop promising at Philadelphia, so that they might be certain of receiving their full share.

In the annual division of this sum, he said that each father received a share proportioned to the number of his children; and that each person coming to the place of division brought his blanket, which he spread on the ground, laying on it a number of short sticks, indicating the number of his family, and the youngest and the oldest of these had an equal portion. They have no individual property except in their tents, horses, weapons, and apparel; all else is held in community, and the chief and the humbler Indians all share alike.

An opinion has often been expressed that the Indians of America are descendants of some of the lost tribes of Israel; but this opinion had never, perhaps, been put forth, with all the data on which it was founded, until of late. So recently as the year 1837, Major Noah, the editor of the New-York Evening Star, and himself a Jew of some learning, delivered a public lecture before the Mercantile Library Association of New-York, at Clinton Hall, intended to establish this fact; and the following are among the most prominent points established in that discourse.

The latest notice that is given of the dispersed tribes of Israel in the Sacred Writings is in the Book of Esdras, where the following verses occur:

"Whereas thou sawest another peaceable multitude: these are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea, whom Salmanazar, king of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them *over the waters*, so that they came unto another land."

"They took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the *heathen*, and go into a farther country, *wherein mankind never dwell*, that they might

there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land (Assyria): and there was a great way to go, namely, *a-year and a half.*"

It is supposed that these tribes marched from the banks of the Euphrates to the northeast of Asia, some remaining by the way in Tartary and China; in proof of which, Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the eleventh century through Persia, mentions, that in some of the provinces of that country, at the time of the decree of Ahasuerus, there were at least 300,000 Jews. Alvarez, in his history of China, states that there had been Jews living in that kingdom for many hundreds of years. Some went to India, as a Hebrew letter of the Jews of Cochin-China, written to their brethren at Amsterdam, gives, as the date of their coming into that country, the period when the Romans first conquered the Holy Land, and made Judea a province of the Roman empire, which was some time before the birth of Christ.

From the various parts of Asia it is believed that the more enterprising and persevering went on gradually advancing by degrees to its northeastern extremity, till they arrived at Behring's Straits, where, during the winter, it would be perfectly easy to cross over to the nearest part of the Continent of America, a distance of less than thirty miles, and this rendered more easy by the existence of the Copper Islands in the way. Here it is believed that, during a course of two thousand years, they spread themselves from this point northward to Labrador, and southward to Cape Horn, multiplying as they proceeded; some settling in every part, but more populously in the rich countries and agreeable climate of Central America, including California, Texas, Mexico, and Peru.

On the first discovery of this continent by Columbus, those races now called Indians were found in very different stages of civilization. They were not all either rude, or savage, or ferocious; but, on the contrary, the greater number of them were remarkable for qualities that bespoke a noble origin. They had simple but sublime ideas of a Supreme Being, unmixed with the least tincture of idolatry; they had courage, constancy, humanity, hospitality, eloquence, love of their families, and fidelity to friends. It is, however, in the religious belief and ceremonies of the Indians, more than in anything else, that their resemblance to the people from whom they are believed to have descended is to be traced; and the chief points of these are thus enu-

merated: 1st, Their belief in one God. 2d, Their computation of time by the ceremonies of the new moon. 3d, Their division of the year into seasons corresponding with the Jewish festivals, of the feast of flowers, the day of atonement, the feast of the tabernacle, and other religious holydays. 4th, The erection of a temple after the manner of the Jews, with an ark of the covenant and altars. 5th, The division of their nation into tribes, with a chief or grand sachem at their head. 6th, Their laws of sacrifices, ablutions, marriages, ceremonies in war and peace, the prohibition of certain food, according to the Mosaic rule, their traditions, history, character, appearance, affinity of their language to the Hebrew, and, finally, by that everlasting covenant of heirship exhibited in a perpetual transmission of its seal in their flesh.

Such are the points enumerated by Major Noah in his discourse; and in the subsequent parts of it he adduces proofs, strengthened by the opinions of very eminent persons, whose authorities he cites. Among these are named Adair, Heckewelder, Charlevoix, M'Kenzie, Bartram, Beltrami, Smith, Penn, and Mr. Simon, the last of whom had written a highly-interesting work on this subject. Major Noah says that all these writers were struck with resemblances among the customs of the Indians to those with which they were acquainted as peculiar to the Jews; but the fact of Major Noah being a Jew himself, gives him great advantage over even all these, from his personal acquaintance with Jewish opinions, ceremonies, and usages, in all the minutiae of their details.

They call the Supreme Being *Lo-ak* (Light) *Ish-ta-hoola-aba*; which, says the writer, is distinctly Hebrew, and means "The great, supreme, beneficent Holy Spirit of Fire, who resides above." They have another name for the Deity, which, like the Jews, they never use in common speech, but only when performing their most sacred religious rites, and then they most solemnly divide it into syllables, with intermediate words, so as not to pronounce the ineffable name at once. In the sacred dances at the feast of the first-fruits, they sing *Alelujah* and *Mesheha*, from the Hebrew of *Mesheach*, the Messiah, "the anointed one," exclaiming "Yo, mesheha," "He, mesheha," "Wah, mesheha," thus making the Alelujah, the Meshiah, the Jehovah. On some occasions they sing "*Shilu-yo, Shilu-he, Shilu-wah*," the three terminations making up, in their order, the four-lettered Divine name in Hebrew, and *Shilu* being evident-

ly "Shiloth the messenger, the peace-maker." The number of Hebrew words used in their religious services is, says Major Noah, incredible, and he gives abundant instances; among which, the name of lightning is *Eloah*, and the rumbling of thunder is called *Rowah*, from the Hebrew word *Ruach*, or spirit.

The Indians divide the year into four seasons, with festivals peculiar to each; they calculate by moons, and celebrate, as the Jews do, the *berachah helebana*, "the blessing for the new moon." The chief priest wears a breastplate of a white conch-shell, ornamented so as to resemble the precious stones in the *Urim*, and he binds his brow with a wreath of swan's feathers, and wears a tuft of white feathers which he calls *Yatina*. The Indians have their ark, which they invariably carry with them to battle, and never suffer it to rest on the ground or to be unguarded; and they have as great faith in the power of their ark as the Israelites ever had in theirs. "No person," says Adair, "is ever permitted to open all the coverings of this ark; and tradition informs them that curiosity having induced three different persons to examine the mysterious shell, they were immediately punished for their profanation by blindness, the very punishment threatened to the Jews for daring to look upon the Holy of Holies."

Their observance of a great day of atonement, about the same period of the year at which it is observed by the Jews, attended with many of the same ceremonies, and for the same object, is extremely remarkable; and as it respects sacrifices, the resemblance is even still more striking. The bathings, ablutions, and anointings are Jewish in their character, as is also the abstaining from eating the blood of any animal, from the use of swine's flesh, of fish without scales, and other animals and birds deemed by the Mosaic law to be impure. Women caught in adultery are stoned to death, as among the Jews of old; and, as in the Mosaic law, the brother is obliged to marry the widow of his brother if he die without issue.

Of the authors who have written in support of these views there is a very long catalogue, and some of very early date. Manasseh Ben Israel, a learned Jew, who flourished about 1650, wrote a treatise to prove that the Indians were descended from the Israelites; this was soon after the discovery of America by Columbus. William Penn, the Quaker, founder of Pennsylvania, though he does not appear to have suspected this descent, says, in one of his letters to his friends

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in England, of the Indians, "I found them with like countenances to the Hebrew races. I consider these people as under a dark night, yet they believe in God and immortality, without the aid of metaphysics. They reckon by moons, they offer their first-ripe fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles, they are said to lay their altars with twelve stones; they mourn a year, and observe the Jewish law with respect to separation." The Rev. Mr. Beatty, a missionary among the Indians, Emanuel de Mezeray, a Portuguese historian of the Brazils, Monsieur de Guignes, the French historian of China, Beltrami, the Italian traveller, who discovered the sources of the Mississippi, all concur in this view; and the Earl of Crawford and Lindsey, who published his *Travels in America* in 1801, says, "It is curious and pleasing to find how the customs of these people comport with the laws of Moses." He afterward adds, "It is a sound truth that the Indians *are* descended from the ten tribes; and time and investigation will more and more enforce its acknowledgment."

Among the Indians of Mexico and Peru, who were the most enlightened and civilized, though all springing from the same stock, the resemblances were more manifest. Montesini, who travelled in South America, states that "his Indian guide admitted to him that his God was called *Adonai*; and he acknowledged Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as his ancestors, and claimed to be descended from the tribe of Reuben. He was, in short, a perfect Jew; immense numbers like himself were said by him to live behind the Cordilleras." Acoasta mentions that they have a tradition relative to the great deluge; that they preserve the rite of circumcision; and in Peru they eat the paschal lamb. He adds that the Mexicans point out the various stations by which their ancestors advanced into the country, and it is precisely the route by which they must have come to America, supposing them to have emigrated from Asia. Manasseh Ben Israel declares that the Indians of Mexico had a tradition that their magnificent places of worship had been built by a people who wore their beards, and were more ancient than their incas. Escobartus affirms that he frequently heard the southern tribes repeat the sacred notes *Hal-le-lu-yah*; and Malvenda states that several tombstones were found on St. Michael's with ancient Hebrew characters. When the Spaniards invaded Mexico, the Cholula was considered a holy city by the natives, in which the high-priest, Quetzacolt, preached "peace to man," and would permit

no other offerings to the Master of Life than the first-fruits of the harvest. "We know by our traditions," said the venerable prince Montezuma to the Spanish general Cortes, "that we who inhabit the country are not the natives, but strangers who came from a great distance."

As striking a resemblance as any of the preceding is presented between the great temple founded in Mexico by the Inca Yupanque and the Temple of Solomon, of which many think it was a copy; so remarkable was it for its resemblance to this in its size, its plan, and its wealth. Clavagero and De Vega, speaking of the Indian temple, say thus: "The altar was on the east side of the temple; there were many doors to the building, all of which were plated with gold; and the four walls, the whole way round, were crowned with a rich golden garland more than an ell in width. Round the temple were five square pavilions, whose tops were in the form of pyramids. The fifth was lined entirely with gold, and was for the use of the royal high-priest of sacrifices." Lord Kingsborough, in his Travels, not only declares that this temple at Palenque *was* built by the Jews, but that he considers it to be an exact copy of Solomon's Temple, being precisely after the model described by Ezekiel.

All this is so remarkable—and much more than is here condensed is adduced in the form of evidence in Major Noah's Discourse—that it is impossible not to be struck with it; and if the opinions of competent authorities, the customs of the people still preserved and now existing, as well as their own traditions as to their origin, all tend to the same conclusion, the inference is irresistible. Du Pratz, in answer to the question which he put to the Natchez tribe, "Whence come you?" says that they answered him thus: "All that we know is, that our fathers, to come hither, followed the course of the sun, and came from the place where he rises. They were long in their journey, they were nearly perishing, and were brought to this wilderness of the sun-setting without seeking it."

The latest, and, in many respects, the best authority as to the appearance of the Indians, is Mr. Catlin, who lived so many years among them, and whom we so often saw in New-York, with his extensive and interesting collection of Indian portraits, dresses, weapons, and curiosities. This gentleman, while he enumerates very many of the customs and usages of the Indians, which he thinks are clearly of Jewish origin, says, "The first thing that strikes the traveler in an Indian country as evidence of the Indians being of

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Jewish origin (and it is certainly a very forcible one), is the close resemblance which they generally bear, in certain expression of countenance, to those people."

This subject might be pursued to great length ; but I purposely refrain, from the conviction that enough has been adduced of fact, reasoning, and authority, to prove at least the extreme probability of the Indians of America being really the descendants of the Israelites of old ; and I may add, that the belief in their Asiatic origin was strongly impressed on my own mind from all I saw of the Indians here ; while there appears to me nothing in their present state and condition which may not be easily accounted for by the long lapse of ages which have passed since their migrations first began.

CHAPTER VIII.

Benevolent Institutions of the Americans.—This a very prominent Feature of the National Policy.—Alms-house for the Poor at Bellevue.—Dutch Farm for charitable Labour on Long Island.—House of Refuge for destitute Boys and Girls.—Asylum for the Insane at Bloomingdale.—Instances of ferocious Manners in the Western States.—Indifference of the American Editors to such things.—Murder of a Member of the Legislature by the Speaker.—Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at New-York.—Visit of the Indians to this Institution.—Benevolent Institutions for Seamen.—Quarantine Hospital on Staten Island.—Seaman's Retreat supported by the Funds of the State.—Seaman's Snug Harbour, for the Merchant Service.—Benevolent Institutions for Seamen continued.—Asylum for the Blind at Bellevue.—American Seaman's Friend Society, in Foreign Ports.—Sailor's Magazine, and Sailor's Library supplied.—Seaman's Savings Bank, Mariner's Church, Bethel Society.—Institution for the Support and Instruction of the Blind.—Origin, Progress, and present Condition of this Establishment.—Asylum for Lying-in Women, and Dispensary.—Society for the reformation of Juvenile Delinquents.

I TURN to that which forms one of the most prominent and praiseworthy features in the American character, their steady and liberal patronage of benevolent institutions, a great number of which we visited, and all with much pleasure, from the excellence of their management, the evident utility of the purposes for which they were established, and the amount of the good they effect.

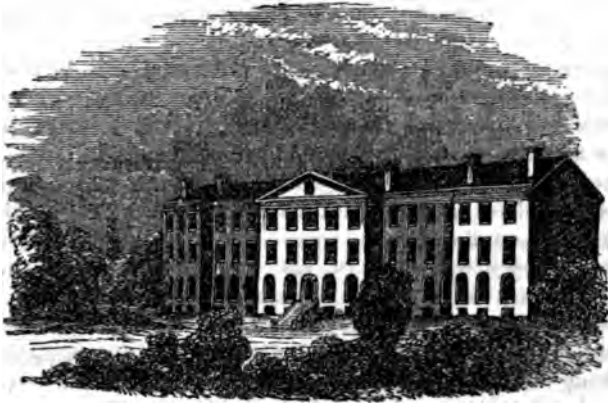
The first of these is a spacious almshouse, situated at a place called Bellevue, about three miles beyond New-York, on the shore of the East River. Into this asylum are received all persons who are destitute of the means of subsistence, and the opportunity of acquiring them, from whatever cause. Real and undoubted want is the only qualifica-

tion for admission. The expenses of this establishment are thus defrayed: For such of the inmates as are citizens of the City of New-York, the municipal authorities pay a stipulated sum per head, per day, out of the municipal taxes; for those who belong to particular counties in the State of New-York, the financial authorities of such counties pay the same rate; those that belong to other states are, after a given period, transferred to the almshouses of such states; and all foreigners, who are principally emigrants, have their expenses paid by the General Government of the United States. In general there are from three to four hundred persons in this establishment; but the late pressure on the mercantile classes having led to a great stagnation of employment among the labouring classes, the number is accordingly much augmented.

Another excellent establishment exists on Long Island, called the Dutch Farm, where a large area of ground has been purchased, and buildings erected; and to which all boys taken up as vagrants, without any visible means of subsistence, but who have not been convicted of crime, are taken and put to labour at various occupations, in which they nearly maintain themselves by their own industry, and are, at the same time, subjected to the wholesome discipline of mental culture and moral training, so that many of them become, in after life, worthy members of society, and almost all acquire the power of maintaining themselves in honesty and independence.

A third is the House of Refuge, to which all youths of both sexes, under maturity, who have been convicted of crime, are taken for reformation. When we visited this establishment, we found there about two hundred boys and fifty girls. They were kept in separate apartments, each under superintendents of their own sex; and what struck us as remarkable was, that, though it might be supposed that the conviction of crime would level all distinctions, as they were all convicted criminals alike, yet here the black and coloured children were made to sit in one part of the room, and the whites in another. Both were subjected to a rigid discipline, and every hour of their time was fully employed in some useful or improving labour. They exhibited, as we thought, the worst collection of countenances we had ever seen; and in their heads and faces the phrenologist and physiognomist would both have found abundant proofs of the general truth of their theories, that the shape of the cranium and the expression of the features are often faithful indexes of the minds within.

The Asylum for the Insane was another of the benevolent institutions which we visited here. It is situated at a beautiful spot called Bloomingdale, about seven miles beyond the limits of the city of New-York to the northward, the House of Refuge being only about two miles out of town in the same direction. The founder of this institution was a Quaker, and the members of this exemplary and benevolent body still take the warmest interest in its superintendence and direction. It was in the company of a worthy family of the Society of Friends, Mr. Samuel F. Mott, that we visited most of these institutions, and we spent the entire day with them at the Asylum in Bloomingdale.



The house is pleasantly situated, in the centre of a narrow part of the Island of Manhattan, so that from its terrace the view is at once extensive and beautiful; the noble Hudson, with its lofty western cliffs, appearing on the one side, and the East River on the other. It is surrounded with pleasure grounds and spacious buildings, all adapted to the general purposes of the establishment, and is well placed for health, beauty of prospect, and exercise. It is a melancholy duty to visit those who are afflicted with the loss of reason, and painful to narrate in detail the peculiarities of each individual case. For myself, indeed, after seeing and conversing with some of these unfortunate beings, though I found them more happy than I had expected in their persons and minds—though they were provided with every comfort, in space, cleanliness, apparel, bedding, books, instruments, music, flowers, and, indeed, everything that could cheer and de-

light them—I was so overcome by the strength of my feelings as to be obliged to retire for a period into a room alone, and seek relief in tears, while the recollection of all that I heard and saw made me dejected for several days. Mr. Mott told me that this was the effect produced frequently on him; but that a sense of duty, and a frequent repetition of his visits, had enabled him to fortify himself in some degree for the discharge of his functions as a director and visiter, though never without some pain.

It would be impossible to speak too highly of the whole management of this establishment, as it respects the arrangement of the building, the furniture, the food, the ventilation, the amusements and recreations, and, indeed, all that can promote the health and comfort of the inmates. They go out in parties to take exercise, by walking or riding in the open air every day, under the care of their respective keepers, and behave with great propriety; once a month they are indulged with a ball, under the inspection of the superintendent; and it was stated that all parties, but especially the females, look forward to this monthly ball with the most pleasing anticipations, prepare dresses for it with great care, and are more frequently sobered down from an approaching fit of anger or violence by being told that, if they do not behave well, they shall not go to the ball, than by almost any other means that have yet been tried. The whole system of treatment is conducted on the principle of exciting all the good feelings and repressing the bad; of substituting the allurements of hope for the terror of fear; of making affection and respect the leading motives of action: and the success that has attended this mode of treatment justifies its permanent adoption.

There are, undoubtedly, a number of persons in the United States, many of them filling important and distinguished stations in life, who might be more appropriately placed as inmates of this Asylum than suffered to remain at large, and commit the outrages upon society of which they are guilty. The American papers daily teem with proofs of this; but, as specimens of life and manners in the Western and Southern States, the following may be deemed sufficient:

"A FATAL RENCONTRE."

"A fatal rencontre took place on the 18th inst. (Nov.) at the Opelousas racecourse, between Thomas Reeves and Samuel Fisher, the former a young man of about twenty-three years of age, and the latter an elderly gentleman of sixty.

"It appears that Reeves came armed to the place with a very large bowie-knife. By some means, his clothes were disarranged, and the knife became visible to the surrounding spectators. Mr. Fisher, noticing the appearance of the weapon, asked Mr. Reeves, playfully and in jest, for what purpose he carried such a deadly instrument. Reeves immediately answered, 'To kill you, God d—n you.' whereupon he instantly drew the knife, and was in the act of plunging it into the body of Fisher, when he was arrested in the act by a by-stander, who, picking up a club that presented itself, told Reeves that if he did not desist he would strike him down with the club. This afforded Fisher a moment for reflection, after which he closed with Reeves, and succeeded in taking the knife from him, having his hand cut severely in the struggle. During the combat both fell to the ground, Reeves falling uppermost, who immediately commenced gouging his adversary. Fisher then ran him through the body with the knife. Reeves arose, remarking that he was 'a dead man.' Fisher immediately gave himself up to the magistrate, who acquitted him. Public opinion, it appears, fully justifies him in the act."—*Planter's Intelligencer*.

"TWO LIVES SACRIFICED IN A PRIVATE QUARREL.

"The following very extraordinary outrage against the supremacy of the laws and the peace of society we copy from a Western paper :

"A very savage act of assassination occurred on the 7th instant at Clinton, Hickman county, Kentucky, between Judge James, a state senator, and Mr. Robert Binford, a candidate to fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives.

"The parties had a preliminary quarrel near the residence of Judge James a few days before, relative to some expression of the judge's unfavourable to Binford's election. They met again, however, on this occasion, accidentally at Clinton. The particulars we gather from the Louisville Advertiser.

"James asked Binford if he came to assassinate him on Sunday. Binford answered, 'What I came for, I came for.' Both drew, and fired immediately. The ball from James's pistol killed Binford, and Binford shot two balls into the head of Mr. Collins, a disinterested young gentleman, on a visit from Mississippi, who died in thirty or forty minutes. Binford, it is said, after firing his pistol, knocked James down with it, and commenced beating him furiously, when a younger brother of the judge's drew a pistol, and put the second ball into the body of Binford.

"Judge James was arrested, tried, and acquitted by an examining court, consisting of four highly-respectable magistrates, the killing of Binford being considered justifiable homicide."—*New-York Transcript*, Nov. 30, 1837.

"THE MOST HORRIBLE YET.

"Of all the horrible tales from the West which have yet reached me, one contained in the Louisville (Ken.) Journal of Saturday last caps the climax. It is no less than the murder of H. S. Julian, the treasurer, and Mr. Owen Parker, the clerk of the Mechanics' Savings' Institution of that city, at twelve o'clock in the day, in the banking-house, by Captain Clarendon E. Dix, for the purpose of robbing the money-drawer; and he closed the dreadful tragedy by blowing out his own brains. The death of Julian and Parker was achieved by beating in their skulls with the cancelling hammer of the bank. Dix had been esteemed generally as a respectable young gentleman, and was but recently married; his victims were of the most unexceptionable character, and left dependant families."

The American editor who prefixed to this last paragraph the words "The most Horrible Yet," was not aware of what was soon to succeed it; for in less than three weeks after this had appeared, an announcement was made of the following extraordinary and unparalleled atrocity. The Speaker of the House of Assembly in Arkansas, having taken offence at something said by one of the members of that legislative body, instead of calling him to order or appealing to the sense of the house, went deliberately from his chair towards the member, and then drawing a bowie-knife, plunged it into his bosom, and killed him on the spot.

For myself, much as I had heard and read of the savage barbarities of the people of the West, I did not believe this to be true. The gravity of a legislative assembly, the dignity of a speaker of such a body, and the presence of a large number of colleagues, would, as it seemed to me, so operate as to render such a scene impossible. But a few days brought full confirmation of this unprecedented outrage; and my surprise at the fact itself was hardly greater than my astonishment at the indifference with which such an atrocious affair was passed over both by the press and the people, all of whom seemed too much engrossed in some present affair to think it worth their while to utter more than a passing word upon it; and this, in many instances, hardly amounting to more than a very cold condemnation. The following is the brief manner in which the confirmation of the fact is given in the paper that first announced the intelligence, the New-York Sun of Dec. 29, 1837:

"THE TRAGEDY IN ARKANSAS.

"We published on Monday a short paragraph, stating that a Mr. Anthony, a member of the Arkansas Legislature, had been killed in a rencounter with Colonel Wilson, the speaker of the lower House. It appears, from the particulars since received, that this murderous outrage was actually committed on the floor of the House while in session; the speaker, in consequence of some offensive remark directed against him by the unfortunate member, having come down from his seat armed with a bowie-knife! The member, it is stated, was also armed with the same weapon, but the rencounter lasted only for a moment, the latter having been left dead on the floor, and the speaker having had one hand nearly cut off, and the other severely injured. Wilson was forthwith arrested by the civil authorities, and his name stricken from the roll of the House by nearly a unanimous vote."

It was not entirely by a unanimous vote, it would seem from this, that the murderous speaker was expelled from the House; there were *some* of the members who refused to join in this vote, thinking, like the mob at Alton who murdered

Mr. Lovejoy, and the magistrates who acquit murderers so often in the West, that wilful spilling of blood is "justifiable homicide." It appeared from a subsequent paragraph that this speaker had been released on a bail of 2000 dollars (about 400*l.* sterling), and it is thought that even this atrocious murder will never be judicially punished.* Whether persons of such ungovernable passions might not be advantageously lodged in the Bloomingdale Asylum rather than be permitted to go at large, is a question which every one may easily decide for themselves.

One of the most pleasing of the benevolent institutions that we visited while in New-York was the establishment for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, on the Hærlem road at a distance of about three miles from the city.



This institution, like that at Bloomingdale, is pleasingly and advantageously situated for good air, agreeable scenery, and facility of pleasurable exercise. It is presided over by Mr. Peet, a gentleman eminently qualified for the office of superintendent by his great skill in the art of teaching mutes, by his mildness, urbanity, and piety, and by the earnest zeal which he manifests in the progress of his pupils, and the general welfare of the institution. At the period of my first visit, a commission appointed by the State was engaged in examining the pupils previous to their drawing up the annual report of its condition; and, besides a great number of visitors, the mayor and aldermen of the city attended in their official capacity. The appearance of the pupils, in health, apparel, and manners, was highly agreeable, and the num-

* He was subsequently acquitted.

ber of both sexes was nearly 200. The teachers were numerous and competent, and the examination of the pupils in classes evinced extraordinary quickness and attainments in the majority of them. Without witnessing it, one could scarcely believe that a person deaf and dumb from birth could be put so nearly on a par, by education, with those who possess entire the faculties of hearing and speaking. Among other persons who visited this institution during my stay here were the Indian chiefs; and as the account of their impressions and observations, as well as of the proceedings of the day generally, was very faithfully reported by one of the party for the Commercial Advertiser of the following day, the 25th of November, it is here transcribed.

**"VISIT OF THE INDIANS TO THE INSTITUTION FOR THE
DEAF AND DUMB.**

"The Indian delegations now in this city, accompanied by the United States' agent and a committee of the Common Council, paid a visit yesterday, at eleven o'clock, to the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Some circumstances connected with this incident gave it more than ordinary interest. The natural language of gestures, in which deaf mutes converse, is quite familiar to all the savage tribes of the West. The individual signs in some cases differ, but the basis of the language is the same everywhere. It was quite interesting to observe the pleased attention paid by these sons of the forest to the various gesticulations employed by the pupils, as well as to the wonder and unfeigned terror with which, on their first arrival, they were in turn regarded by the mutes themselves.

"In the first instance, an intelligent lad belonging to the school was brought forward, who described by signs the Indian processes of hunting and fishing. The eyes of the whole circle were fixed intently on him, and faces at first expressive of utter indifference lighted up with smiles of satisfaction as he proceeded. Occasionally one would respond by a sign, signifying 'I know.' One of the teachers then addressed them by signs as follows: 'You have come from a country very far to the West. You have travelled in steamboats and cars. You have visited great cities. You have arrived here, and come to this building to visit the deaf and dumb. We are pleased to see you. We are all alike children of the Great Spirit.' Emphatic signs of assent followed each proposition; and one of the chiefs interrupted the gesticulator to describe the fires in the steamboats which had conveyed them. This individual seemed to enter into the conversation with uncommon interest. He told, by signs on his own part, how they chased the deer and buffalo, and how they skinned the slaughtered animals and ate their flesh. He told the number of his wives and children, measuring the height of the latter with his hand. Various other communications were made by different individuals through the same medium.

"In the mean time, however, some among them appeared disposed to doubt the fact that all these children, amounting to some hundred and fifty, were really deaf mutes. They expressed themselves in an amusing manner, intimating that they were not to be deceived in that sort of way. But shortly afterward, having been conducted to one of the

schoolrooms, and having seen the performance of a class under the direction of the principal, Mr. Peet, they gave it up, and allowed that the thing was possible.

"They asserted, however, that they had never seen a deaf mute among their own people. This is a remarkable fact; for of the existence of such among some tribes there can be no doubt.

"After the assemblage had been collected in the chapel of the institution, the delegation were addressed by Mr. Peet as follows:

"*Brothers*—I am happy to see you here. The object of this institution is to teach the deaf and dumb. These children, whom you see around you, cannot hear or speak. They are assembled here from all parts of the country. We do not leave them on the prairie or in the forest. We give them food and clothing. We teach them to read and write, to make shoes, clothes, and furniture, and to bind books and raise vegetables. We also teach them concerning the Great Spirit, who takes care of them, and gives them every blessing; so that when they leave this place and return to their friends, they may know how to work and support themselves, and to be virtuous and happy. *Brothers*, I thank you for your visit. I wish you prosperity and happiness. I have done."

"This address having been communicated to the Indians, was responded to by a chief of the Pawnees in the following manner:

"*My Father*—We are glad to come here. When we saw these children, we did not believe that they could not hear and speak; but since we have seen you make signs to them, and that they write down what you say, we believe that they are deaf and dumb. My father, I thank you, I thank you. When I go back to my country, I shall tell my people what I have seen. I shall remember what you have said. I shall imitate your good example."

"The extreme fondness of these simple children of nature for glittering ornaments was manifested in a thousand ways during their visit. Upon all beads, chains, and rings they looked with eager eyes. From many of the mutes and others they received gifts of trifling value, with expressions of the highest gratification.

"The visit to the institution has not been without its use to the pupils themselves. It has served better than a thousand descriptive lessons to convey to them an adequate idea of the inhabitants of our Western wilds. They have now clear ideas of a portion of the human race of whom they read and are told much. And as there is no doubt that their uncivilized visitants will fulfil their promise to remember what they have seen, so there is quite as little that the remembrance will be reciprocal.

"It appears from the nineteenth annual report of the institution, that the whole number of pupils is 150, of whom 112 are supported by the state, 14 by the institution, 3 by the corporation of this city, 2 by the supervisors of Montgomery county, 1 by the supervisors of Dutchess county, 8 by the State of New-Jersey, and 10 by their friends. The expenditure in 1837 amounted to 27,873 dollars. Receipts, 26,866 dollars, including 14,926 dollars from the comptroller for state pupils, and 5000 dollars from ditto under the act of April 3, 1834."

The benevolent institutions for the benefit of seamen are numerous and efficient; and the condition of the mariners of America is far more honourable to it as a maritime nation than the condition of the same classes in Great Britain. It is estimated that there are in the United States about

200,000 seamen, of whom there are 50,000 in the foreign, and 50,000 in the coasting-trade and fisheries, and about 100,000 in the ships of war in commission at home and abroad; in addition to which, there are at least 50,000 more employed in navigating the large rivers and lakes of the interior of the country. For these the following institutions provide the comforts and advantages attached to each respectively.

The Quarantine Hospital is established in a healthy and agreeable situation at Staten Island. It is an institution of the United States, and, as such, is under the control of the General Government. It is supported by a tax of 20 cents, or about tenpence English, per month on the wages of seamen, which sum is paid by the captain of each ship that enters at the Custom-house, and deducted from the seaman's wages in his settlement. To this hospital every seaman who has ever paid the hospital money at any period of his life, has a right of admission, to remain there as long as may be necessary for his complete recovery. During all the time of his stay here he is fed and lodged comfortably, as well as provided with medical attendance, all without charge.

The Seaman's Retreat is also situated at Staten Island. This belongs to the local government of the State of New-York, by whom it was founded, and it is supported by a State tax of one dollar per voyage, long or short, from every foreign port, to which ships entering ports in the State of New-York are subject. Masters of ships pay a dollar and a half, mates and seamen a dollar each, and all persons performing trips coastwise a quarter of a dollar per voyage. This is collected at the Custom-house like the former, and is applied, in a similar manner, to the maintenance of this State asylum, in aid of that of the General Government, which, but for this auxiliary, would be insufficient to receive all the applicants: the treatment here is most liberal, and the care and attention to the inmates deserving all praise.

The Sailors' Snug Harbour is also on Staten Island. This was first established by a munificent bequest of Mr. Randall. It is intended for the permanent accommodation, for life, of a limited number of superannuated and worn-out seamen: and from the interest taken in this institution by the leading friends of the seamen here, and the judicious management of the property from which its funds are derived, it is one of the best and most efficient of all the maritime establishments of the country.

The American Seaman's Friend Society has for its great object the maintaining chaplains for American seamen in foreign ports. It was first organized in 1826, and has for nearly the whole of that time supported chaplains in fifteen foreign ports. This society publishes at New-York the *Sailor's Magazine*, and furnishes vessels with libraries for the use of seamen. It has been particularly instrumental in forming the "Sailors' Homes," a name given to the sober and orderly boarding-houses established, under the care of the society, to rescue the seaman from the grasp of the harpies who usually surround him on his landing, and never quit him till they have plundered him of all he possesses. These Homes have happily increased in all the principal ports, especially in Boston, Portland, New-York, and Charleston; and lists of them, for the sailor's guidance, are published monthly on the cover of the *Sailor's Magazine*.

The Seaman's Savings' Bank is another excellent institution, in which, under the superintendence of the American Seaman's Friend Society, many mariners are induced to deposite a good portion of their hard-earned wages so as to save it from dissipation; and the best effects have already been produced by this and kindred institutions in the other ports of the United States.

In addition to all these, there are several religious associations, which confine their labours to the class of seamen only; such as the New-York Port Society, to sustain the Mariner's Church; the Bethel Union, for promoting prayers and Divine service on board ships lying in the harbour and at the wharves; and the Marine Bible Society, for the supply of the Scriptures to such seamen as may be ready and willing to receive, and are able and disposed to read them.

One of the most interesting of the benevolent institutions of New-York is the Asylum for the Blind. This is agreeably situated at a short distance from New-York, at a place called Bellevue, overlooking the Hudson River and the Jersey shore, where a suitable building, with all the requisite auxiliaries for the purposes of the institution, has been erected on ground worth 10,000 dollars, which was liberally given for the purpose by Mr. James Boorman, a merchant of New-York. The society was first organized in 1831, and owes its origin to Dr. Samuel Ackerly, a benevolent physician, and Mr. Samuel Wood, a member of the Society of Friends, who were afterward joined by Dr. John Russ. These gentlemen presented a petition to the Legislature of the state, praying for the incorporation of the Society, which

was granted ; and in March, 1832, the institution was first opened, with three blind children from the almshouse of New-York, who had lost their sight by ophthalmia, to which three others were added in May of the same year ; and with these six the school of instruction first began. In 1833 the directors were engaged in obtaining from Europe all the information they could collect respecting the best method of teaching the blind, and in 1838 they had so far succeeded as to be able to hold a public exhibition of the proficiency of the pupils in various branches of manual labour, as well as of mental exercise, in both of which there were performers scarcely inferior to those of youth of the same age possessing sight. In 1834 the number of pupils had increased to 26 ; in 1835 there were 41 ; in 1836 there were 58 ; and in 1837 there were 60 ; the increased numbers being occasioned by the increased means of the institution to provide for their support and instruction, though still forming a very small proportion of the whole number of blind in the State of New-York, which had been ascertained, by the census of 1830, to be more than 800 persons.

The funds by which this institution is supported are contributed partly by voluntary contributions and partly by the state, according to a usage very common in America, and well worthy of imitation in other countries, namely, that whenever private individuals raise by voluntary contribution a sum for any given benevolent purpose, the state contributes an equal or sometimes a larger sum ; in return for which, it enjoys a share of the superintendence, and the power of placing claimants who are destitute of other patronage within the reach of its benefits. Where individuals contribute the whole support to such institutions, it is generally found that they languish for want of funds ; and where the state contributes the whole, it is as generally found that they decline for want of due vigilance in the superintendence. But both of these evils are avoided by this joint contribution of means, and joint interest and responsibility, and the practical working of the system shows its decided superiority to every other. In the instance of the Institution for the Blind, the state agreed that, so soon as 8000 dollars were raised by voluntary contributions and placed in a given bank, the public funds should furnish 12,000 dollars, to make the capital of the institution 20,000 ; and the interest of this, with the annual subscriptions, legacies, donations, collections at public meetings, exhibitions of manufactures, and concerts of music held by the blind pupils at stated periods of the

year, furnish ample funds for the support of the institution, and the gradual increase of its accommodation for pupils.

The time of the pupils is divided into three parts, and their instruction is arranged and organized into three departments: intellectual, mechanical, and musical. The superintendent has the entire direction of all the internal concerns of the institution, besides which, he gives daily lectures to the pupils on various subjects of knowledge and science adapted to their capacities, and occasionally takes part in the instruction of a class.

The school is regularly opened twice a day for instruction in reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, and history. Reading is accomplished by feeling the pages of a book with embossed or raised letters. Perfection in this is readily acquired by some of the blind, and with difficulty by others. Children have a greater sensibility of feeling in the extremity of the fingers than grown persons; and those whose hands have been hardened by work have this feeling blunted. Even those whose sensibility of touch is so great as to enable them to read with facility the books printed for the blind, have this capacity greatly abated or destroyed when the fingers are cold, dirty, wet with perspiration, or rough with mechanical employments. Hence it is that all the pupils do not engage in this exercise, and that the best class of readers is composed of young females, and of male children not engaged in the workshops.

Writing is best performed with a pencil, as a blind person cannot see to the perfection of the pen or the flow of the ink, and its regular supply; and when the pen is raised, the place to recommence cannot be correctly ascertained. Various contrivances have been suggested and tried for this purpose; but the simplest is that of a grooved pasteboard, on which the paper is placed, and the grooves guide the pencil of the writer in a straight line.

Much of the instruction conveyed to the blind is oral. Their want of sight abstracts them from external objects, and in many cases renders them highly intellectual. Hence their memories are very tenacious and retentive, and they acquire a perfect knowledge of grammar, geography, and history by oral communication with their teachers. Among the pupils in the school of this institution, the superintendent feels confident he can turn out a class (and some of them quite young) equal in grammar and geography to any class of the same number in any other school. The details of geography are also conveyed by oral instruction, but maps

and globes with raised lines, grooves, prominences, points, &c., have been prepared for the blind, and the pupils are exercised upon them by feeling out rivers, lakes, mountains, coasts, bays, towns, and other things thereon delineated. A knowledge of history depends altogether upon the tenacity of the memory in retaining what the teachers read to them.

Arithmetic is acquired both mentally and mechanically. Several have a remarkable capacity for this science, and in them the organ of numbers is largely developed; hence they find no difficulty in calculating, mentally, problems in arithmetic involving many figures.

Music is also cultivated, both vocal and instrumental; and considerable proficiency has been attained in both by the pupils, so that public concerts are occasionally given by them for the benefit of the institution, at which none but the pupils perform, and this they do with great credit to themselves.

Many are thus taught, beyond mere literary attainments, the knowledge of some useful art, by the practice of which they can maintain themselves independently when they leave the institution; and the only matter of regret is, that such asylums are not sufficiently numerous in all countries to secure to every person afflicted with blindness the enjoyment and independence which study and the pursuit of some useful occupation are certain to secure, and which might be thus easily brought within the reach of all.

There is an Asylum for Lying-in Women, which affords relief to poor but respectable females whose marriages are capable of proof, and whose characters are good. Some of these are taken to the asylum and attended there, and others receive medical aid and other assistance at their own homes. It is superintended chiefly by benevolent ladies, and conducted by a matron with proper assistants; and during the fourteen years of its existence, 964 of the applicants to it have been safely and effectually relieved, while only eight deaths have occurred in the whole period. It is supported entirely by voluntary subscription, and is the only similar institution in the city.

A Dispensary also exists, for supplying medical advice as well as medicine gratuitously to the poor, which is supported by voluntary contributions. It has subsisted for forty-six years, and during that period 17,544 persons have been relieved through its instrumentality, at the moderate cost of about 3000 dollars for the whole period.

One of the most valuable of the benevolent institutions in the city is the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. This institution was established for the purpose of taking charge of the youthful criminals and vagrants taken up by the police in the streets and highways, and endeavouring to effect these three great objects : first, of reforming their bad habits, and giving them a moral, and, if possible, a religious character ; next, of giving them some mental acquirements by education ; and, thirdly, teaching them some honest trade or calling, by which they might obtain a subsistence. It has been in operation for twelve years, and has hitherto produced the best results.

The number of the boys in this institution is at present 145, and of girls 69. The two sexes are taught in different apartments, and exercised in different sections of the building, and each is attended by teachers of its own sex only. The coloured are also separated from the white delinquents ; for even among criminals this distinction of colour is rigidly observed.

We were struck with the testimony of the teachers and superintendent as to the large share which intemperance had in producing the crimes of which these very young persons were the victims, some of them not more than seven or eight years of age, and none above fifteen or sixteen ; and this was so strongly impressed on the minds of the directors of the institution, that in their last annual report for 1837, they advert to it in the following terms :

“ In enumerating a few of the chief causes of crime in this country, as discovered in the experience of the managers, we have, as usual, to commence with that hydra-headed monster, intemperance ! Such is the general demand for labourers and mechanics in every branch of business, and so remunerating are the wages to be obtained by the industrious, that there would seem to be but little incentive to crime occasioned by want, as a person has only to be sober and industrious to obtain the means of support. That morality and religion are practised and revered by thousands of the labouring classes, is a fact evident to every person of observation ; that such *might* be the case much more extensively in every class, nobody will deny : what is done by some can be done by others in similar circumstances. But, alas ! the never-failing supply of ardent spirits, and at so cheap a price as to bring them within the compass of every man's purse, is so direct and constant a temptation, that it seems to require something more than human nature to withstand it. When once the first feelings of propriety are overcome, and the Rubicon passed, there is but little hope that any self-control afterward will be exercised to expel the tempter from his new abode. The same indescribable fascination which binds the ambitious man in the pursuit of his favourite object, whatever it may be, exercises a similar or even a more potent influence over the drunkard. He first sacrifices himself, then his wife and children, until all are re-

duced to the lowest grade of human misery. Although, in most cases, we are ready to believe that the unfortunate wife will stem the torrent of affliction without contamination, and preserve her tender babes from the moral pollution which surrounds them, yet, alas! it sometimes happens that she too becomes the victim, corrupted by her husband's example, and, as a necessary consequence, the poor children, until *then* innocent, are forced into the paths of vice by their unnatural parents! This is no 'fancy sketch'; it is an every-day truth; and the records of the House of Refuge most distinctly prove that by far the greater number of its inmates have been brought to their unfortunate condition by the intemperance of a father or a mother, or both.

"The book which contains the histories of the children who have been admitted into the house is a most instructive one to read, and should not be beneath the notice of a legislator. Its pages may almost be called a 'succinct account of the rise and progress of intemperance.' The philanthropist who peruses its simple and unpretending details, will exclaim when he finishes it, 'Could we but abolish drunkenness, where would we find candidates for admission into our prisons?'

"If the effects of this dreadful plague be such as we describe (and who can call our statement into question?), is it not an act of duty on the part of the *constituted authorities*, to whom power is given for the benefit of the whole community, to do all they can to lessen, if they cannot eradicate, this vice?

"There is another evil, of serious magnitude in this city, which we think requires correction: we allude to those petty pawnbrokers' shops which are to be found in many of our most public streets.

"The facility with which money can be obtained on any article, whether new or old, whether of great or little value, holds out strong temptations to theft.

"A pawnbroker who would not knowingly receive stolen goods, is still very liable to be imposed upon, while one of a different character has numerous ways of encouraging thieves to continue their evil practices. Persons in distressed circumstances who are ashamed to beg, will thankfully take whatever sum, be it ever so small, they can obtain in the pawnbroker's shop, and submit to the loss of interest, or to the sale of their goods, if they cannot in time redeem them. Those who *steal* will also take whatever they can get advanced as a loan, because it is all clear gain to them. Many a thief would steal an article worth ten shillings, and pawn it for ten cents. Finding the ease with which they succeed in obtaining money, one petty theft follows another, until they become more bold in their depredations, and rob on a larger scale.

"The system of loaning money to the poor can certainly be improved upon, and none calls more loudly for legislative interference. We have our chartered banks and insurance companies for the benefit of the community, as by these means accommodation and security can be furnished on better terms to the upper and middle classes of society, while for the poor and needy little provision has been made, so that they are left a prey to the arts of those who take advantage of their necessities."

I have given these passages of the report in the hope that they will meet the eyes of some of our British legislators and philanthropists, having been myself for years past convinced that public houses for drinking, and pawnbrokers' shops for lending, are two of the greatest curses that afflict our country; and that the entire extirpation of both would be the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon our land.

CHAPTER IX.

Misery and Crime among the poorer Classes.—Levity of the public Journals in recording this.—Bennett's slanderous Paper, the Morning Herald.—Bodies of dead Negroes salted for Exportation.—Deaths from Want and Destitution.—American Importation of foreign Grain.—Reversion of the Order of Nature in this.—Causes which led to this singular State of Things.—Instances of Robbery, Murder, and Fraud.—Occupations for the Members of the Law.—Highwaymen in the Suburbs of New-York.—Depravity of Morals in the Country.—Intemperance and Wretchedness in the Towns.—Authentic Proofs of this from public Records.—Opinions as to the Causes of so much Depravity.—Exposition of the Progress of American Embarrassment.—Effects of these Causes on the general Condition of Society.—Party Misrepresentations of the public Press.—Caste of the Populace for Shows and Sights.—Celebration of the Anniversary of Evacuation-day.—Description of this Festival from an American Pen.

NOTWITHSTANDING the number and efficiency of the benevolent institutions of New-York, there is still a large amount of misery and crime, of destitution in its most abject state, and of intemperance in its most fearful forms, existing in that city. A very painful part of this picture is the indifference, and even levity, with which this subject is treated in the public papers, where facts that ought to thrill the heart with horror, or melt it with pity, are treated of with all the flippancy of a jest, and their readers are thus habituated to see crime and wretchedness made subjects of amusement rather than of commiseration. The manner in which most of the police cases are treated (and the London papers have had their pernicious example too closely followed in this respect) is such as to take away all disgust at the crimes committed, and destroy all sympathy for its unhappy victims. Provided a laugh can be excited by the air of the ludicrous with which the personages and their offences are invested, the object of the reporter appears to be answered; and if the sale of the paper is thereby increased, the gains of the editor are also promoted; but the healthy feeling of indignation against crime, and of sympathy for human suffering, is by this means daily and hourly vitiated and destroyed. I offer as examples of this two paragraphs out of fifty similar ones, at least, that fell under my eye during my stay in this city.

"WELL FILLED.

"The Courier of this morning states that some police-officers had occasion to visit a house in Cross-street a few days since. They found that it was tenanted by seventy-two women, sixty-five men, and one hundred and thirty-five children, exclusive of the *live-stock* attendant upon such a family."

This paragraph, which was taken from the Commercial Advertiser in December, one of the leading Whig daily pa-

pers, was copied into nearly all the others, with the heading of "Well Filled" preserved in each; and in no instance did I perceive added to it the slightest expression of regret that this opulent city should contain within its bosom such a number of unhappy beings huddled together in so confined a space, while hundreds were living in palaces, and could feed, by the surplus of their daily tables, the wretched inmates of these crowded dwellings. The terms "well filled" and "live-stock" were the parts of the paragraph that excited a laugh, while the amount of suffering indicated by the excessive numbers and limited space were passed over without comment or observation. The following is just as heartless in its way. It is taken from the New-York Daily Whig:

"A HUSKING FROLIC IN KENTUCKY.

"A fight came off at Maysville, Kentucky, on the 20th, in which a Mr. Coulster was stabbed in the side, and *is dead*; a Mr. Gibson was *well hacked* with a knife; a Mr. Farrs was dangerously wounded in the head, and another of the same name in the hip; a Mr. Shoemaker was *severely beaten*, and several others seriously hurt in various ways. *This entertainment* was the winding-up of a corn *husking frolic*, when all, doubtless, were *right merry with good whiskey*."

What must be the indifference to human life, the contempt of morals, and the indulgent estimate of drunkenness, in the mind of the editor who could pen such a paragraph as this (for this and its predecessor were printed in large open type, like the leading articles of the respective papers), may be easily inferred. How then is it possible, while such heartless and unfeeling guides and teachers regulate the public taste, and supply the public appetite with mental food, that the community should not have their taste corrupted, their moral perceptions deadened, and their horror of crime frittered away to indifference? Thus it is that announcements of the most revolting description are made with a coolness and nonchalance which is almost incredible. In the New-York Transcript of January 14, 1838, the editor of which professes to be a religious man, the following astounding assertion is made, without note or comment; and whether the statement be true or false (and, for the reputation of the city named, I would hope for the latter), yet the heartlessness of the editor who could make such a statement without expressing the slightest mark of surprise or disapprobation, is the same. It is as follows:

"The business of supplying brothel-keepers with unsuspecting victims has been adopted by the Boston intelligence-office keepers in Boston."

The demoralizing effect which the daily perusal of such paragraphs as these must produce on the rising generation, is impossible to be calculated, from its familiarizing them with scenes of vice of which they would otherwise have remained ignorant ; but still more from its making crime and wretchedness the subject of jest and ridicule, by which the understanding becomes blunted to the perception of evil, and the heart rendered callous to human suffering.

There is one daily newspaper in New-York, however, which carries on such a trade of infamy in pandering to the public appetite for slander and obscenity, that it deserves to be held up to public reprobation by name. It is called the *Morning Herald* ; it is written and published by its proprietor, James Gordon Bennett, a native of Scotland by birth, but long domiciled in New-York ; it is published in three editions, a morning, an evening, and a weekly *Herald* ; the two former at a penny, and the latter at threepence each. Its practice is to employ persons to collect all the gossip and scandal of the town relating to private families and individuals, and upon a grain or two of truth to heap up a superstructure of falsehood, and then interlard this with expressions or allusions of the grossest obscenity, and send it forth for the gratification of the depraved. Private dinner-parties, balls, and social meetings are pretended to be reported in its pages, some of them having no existence, and others wholly misrepresented ; and the only way of securing exemption from the attacks of his slanderous pen is to advertise largely in the paper, and pay most extravagant prices, or to send the editor presents in money or other direct bribes. Several individuals have had letters addressed to them from the office of this paper, saying that communications were in their possession which they would not like to see in print, but that the only way of preventing their appearance would be to pay the amount which had been offered for their insertion ; and some timid persons have been thus awed into the payment of the " hush-money " required, though others have resisted it. The following circumstance occurred to myself with this paper : On my arrival in New-York, a gentleman whom I had known in England offered to allow his clerk to transact for me any business connected with advertising in the newspapers, to save me the trouble. I very gladly availed myself of this offer ; and the clerk accordingly took round the first advertisement of my lectures to each of the papers of the city, as he was directed to have it inserted in all, without distinction of party. At the offices

generally the charge varied between one and two dollars, but never exceeded the latter, for one insertion. At the office of the Morning Herald ten dollars were demanded; the great disproportion of the charge induced the clerk to decline leaving it there till he had consulted his employer; and, accordingly, the excessive charge demanded was communicated to me. Being then entirely ignorant of the characters of any of the papers, as I had been in the country but a few days, I asked whether there was anything in the great circulation or high reputation of the Morning Herald that could warrant its asking ten dollars for what other papers charged but two; and the answer was "No: on the contrary, the paper has the worst reputation of any journal in the city; its circulation is confined to the lovers of scandal rather than of news; and the editor is considered as a man of the most abandoned and unprincipled character." But, it was added, this is his method of asking and obtaining "hush-money;" and I was strongly recommended to pay it, as the only method of escaping from his lash. My reply was, "Never: I would rather submit to any amount of vituperation that his press could pour forth against me, than purchase his silence by this degrading and demoralizing payment of hush-money. I will neither advertise in his paper, nor read it, while I remain in the city." I was told what would happen; that I should be abused daily; and this was really the fact, as I learned from others; for I was true to my promise of never seeing it myself. I was told, also, that I should repent the course I had taken; but this prediction was not fulfilled. Mr. Bennett was tired of his task, as far as I was the subject of his abuse, in a very short time, and soon gave it up; and if this course of neither paying for suppression nor reading his vituperations were more generally followed by the community, it would extinguish his paper in a very short period. Others have followed a different method, but with a less favourable issue. By some Mr. Bennett has been publicly horsewhipped in the street; by others he has been prosecuted at law; but the result of both these modes of treatment has been to give himself and his paper greater notoriety than before, and to promote rather than retard the farther extension of the mischief.

Another instance of the habit of treating with levity incidents which in any other country would excite feelings of indignation and horror, may be given. It had been discovered that of late it was a common practice in New-York to ship off the bodies of dead negroes, male and fe-

male, for various ports, but especially the South, to the medical students, for dissection; and, to elude suspicion, these dead bodies were put up in salt and brine, and packed in the same kinds of casks as those in which salted provisions are exported from hence. A third or fourth discovery of this description was made during the month of January; and the following is the manner in which it is headed and described in the papers of the day:

"MORE PORK FOR THE SOUTH.

"Yesterday morning it was discovered that a barrel, which had been put into the office of the Charleston packet line—store of George Buckley, No. 88 South-street—for the purpose of being shipped to Charleston, contained the bodies of two dead negroes. The cask and contents were sent up to the police-office, and placed in the dead-house for the coroner's inspection; but as he had no opportunity to hold an inquest on them yesterday, the particulars of the affair have not yet transpired."

The verdict of the inquest, subsequently given, was, that the negroes had died of disease; but no farther inquiry appears to have been made into the matter, as if it were altogether beneath the notice of the white men to trace out these traders in the dead bodies of the blacks.

The instances of death from destitution and want are much more numerous than I had thought possible in a country like this, where food of every kind is abundant and cheap, and where labour of every description is largely remunerated. Besides the subscriptions raised in the different wards of this city to relieve the indigent and distressed classes, who, under any proper arrangement of things, ought not to exhibit instances of want in large numbers in a land of plenty, the Philadelphia Commercial Herald of January announces that "five hundred persons in indigent circumstances in that city were daily supplied with good soup, at the Western soup-house there." This indigence in a country where food can be raised so cheap, where labour is in such demand, and always paid so well, would seem unaccountable but for the fact that, in the late mania for speculation, the cultivators of the soil, instead of following up their agricultural pursuits, had left off farming to become speculators in stocks, buyers of shares in railroads never begun and canals never opened, as well as purchasers of lots of land on which towns were *intended* to be built, in which extravagant schemes they spent all their time and money; so that agriculture, the great basis of the national wealth, and the surest and steadiest security of individual prosperity in these fertile States, was so neglected that the

country was obliged to import grain for its own consumption, instead of supplying, as it ought to do, from its own surplus, the older countries of Europe. From the vast amount of grain grown in America subjected to distillation, thus converting what nature has bountifully supplied for wholesome food into the poisonous and crime-engendering drink of ardent spirits, and from the deficiency of the supply of grain from its own soil for the reason before assigned, this finest grain-producing country on the globe was obliged to import its own food; and it is stated in the public journals of this city, that in the year 1837, the single port of Baltimore alone received 800,000 bushels of wheat and 140,000 bushels of rye from Europe. The following is the paragraph, verbatim:

"The amount of foreign grain imported into Baltimore during the year 1837 was not far from eight hundred thousand bushels of wheat and one hundred and forty thousand bushels of rye."

The inordinate love of gain, which has led to all these perversions of things from their right and proper channels, is working more mischief in this country, and undermining the moral principle of its inhabitants more powerfully, than all other causes combined, except perhaps intemperance, the giant-destroyer that sweeps away thousands every year to a premature grave, and hurries its victims from a life of comparative virtue and honesty to a career of vice and infamy. The newspapers from all quarters of the Union teem with proofs of the recklessness with which this love of gain is indulged; and every barrier that stands in the way of its acquisition seems to be broken down without scruple. Not long since, a young man who had entered life with brilliant prospects, and was engaged in a respectable house of business, acquired a taste for card-playing in the steamboats, where, it is said, the passengers generally play for several hours a day while on their voyage, and where professed gamblers and sharpers are ready to profit by the occasion, at first ruining, and then seducing into their own ranks, the unguarded and the young. He soon became infatuated with the passion, quitted his regular business, played, lost, and betook himself to robbery: when, every new exploit making him more and more desperate, he entered one of the banks at Nashville, in Tennessee, at a period of the day when the clerks were absent at dinner, and finding there the cashier, seized him, and killed him at a blow, by beating his brains out with a hammer. The cries of the

victim brought a person from an adjoining room to his relief, and he was despatched in a similar manner; when others soon after arriving, he was interrupted in his plunder of the drawers of the bank, with which he was proceeding, till, seeing all hope of escape vain, he drew a loaded pistol, with which he had furnished himself, for the murder of another, and with it blew out his own brains on the spot.

This had scarcely been communicated through the papers before the following paragraph appeared in the New-York Sun of January 29.

"THE ROBBERY OF THE MAIL AND MURDER OF THE DRIVER.

"The Mobile Advertiser of the 29d states, that on the previous Friday night, within a mile and a half of Stockton, the mail bags were ripped open and their contents rifled. The bags were found next morning in the neighbourhood. The stage contained the New-Orleans mails of Wednesday and Thursday, and the mail of Friday from Mobile. The driver had two balls shot through his head. Suspicion rests upon two men who had been lurking about Stockton for some days previously."

But to show that these robberies and frauds are not confined to the South, though no doubt they are more abundant there than in the North, the following short summary may be given from the New-York Transcript of the same day, January 29, 1838:

"ATTEMPT AT EXTENSIVE FRAUD.

"A considerable excitement was produced in Wall-street circles on Friday and Saturday, in consequence of the discovery of an attempt to perpetrate extensive frauds by several persons in this city, some of whom have hitherto maintained characters highly respectable for honour, honesty, and wealth. It appears that, by forging a letter in the name of a bank in Kentucky, addressed to the president or cashier of the Union Bank of this city, in which the plates of the Kentucky bank were deposited, those plates were obtained, taken to the printers, Messrs. Burton & Co., and 370,000 dollars of bills of the Kentucky bank struck off, ready for signature. A man calling himself Scott, who came, as is stated, from Cleveland, Ohio, and who brought the letter to the office of the Union Bank, having gone on to Boston while the bills were printing off, returned at night, and, owing to the unseasonable hour at which he called upon the printer, the latter suspected that there was something wrong in the transaction, when, going to the president of the Union Bank and stating his suspicions, that officer, on looking at the letter from the president of the Kentucky bank, ascertained that it was a forgery.

"The 370,000 dollars of bills of Kentucky that had been struck off were then handed over to the Union Bank, and Scott, whose real name is Pitcher, was arrested and imprisoned, as was also Mr. Charles Stearns, of Waverley Place, in this city, who whilom figured as the getter-up of some Illinois shinplasters, which he advertised to be redeemed in this city, at his own house in Waverley Place, and many of which, though worthless, were pushed into circulation. Both these men are now in prison, and many others of no less note are said to be implicated, whose names, when arrested, will be given to the public."

Two days after this, in the Sun of January 31, another species of fraud was announced in the following paragraph :

" FALSE TOKENS.

" Is there no way to reach the knaves who have flooded this city with checks, made in form of bills upon banks in which they have not a dollar deposited ! It is one of the most palpable descriptions of knavery ever attempted, and fully equal in moral guilt to the counterfeiting of bank notes. In its purpose and in its operation it is no less than counterfeiting ; and we recommend every citizen who receives a note of this description to commence a prosecution forthwith against the person of whom he received it. The laws against small notes, and against the notes of other states, may be improved for this purpose, if for no other."

My apology for these quotations, if any indeed be necessary, is the apprehension that, if such statements were made by me of the condition of society here, without an exhibition of the *authorities* for the facts, it would be thought an exaggerated picture, and I should be open to the imputation of having overcharged the colouring. But it is only necessary to consult American authorities, and not English ones, to show that recklessness and fraud are far more prevalent in this community than in most others of a mercantile character in Europe, and that an inordinate thirst after gain, and a determination to acquire it by any means that are practicable, is one of the chief causes of this evil.

Another form in which this passion displays itself is in the frequency of fires in this country. That, with the utmost degree of prudence, fires will occasionally happen, and prove destructive in spite of every precaution, is undeniable. But the extreme frequency of fires in this city is so much greater than could be accounted for by ordinary causes, that the almost universal belief here is, that the majority of them are intentional ; some being occasioned by persons desiring to realize a large insurance, and thus defraud the insurance offices ; some by persons wishing to furnish an excuse for the destruction of papers, books, and obligations, so as to defraud their creditors ; some for the purpose of evading the payment of rent due, by removal of furniture, so as to leave nothing to seize ; and some by wretches who desire only an opportunity to plunder. The last fire that happened during our stay in New-York, and which occurred on the 30th of January, was one originated by persons of the latter description, who were traced out distinctly as the perpetrators of the act, and seen afterward engaged in carrying off some of the effects as plunder. By this calamity about sixty houses were destroyed, the wind raging so high as to defeat all the efforts of the firemen and

engines to subdue the flames, and more than a hundred families were thus thrown naked and houseless into the streets, in a night of the severest cold we had yet experienced for the winter.

The indifference with which all this is regarded is almost as painful as the frequent occurrence of the calamity itself, because it shows the utter want of that most amiable of all social qualities, sympathy in the sufferings of others, and a desire to relieve them in their distress. It is a custom in this city, when a fire breaks out, for the bell of the City Hall to be rung in a particular manner, so as to indicate the locality of the fire, while the other churches have their bells rung in a different manner, merely to apprise the town of the event. In any other city than this, the ringing of these bells would excite great attention; but the very frequency with which fires occur is urged as an excuse for taking no notice of them; and it is a common saying, "that the only fit test of determining whether a person should disturb himself on hearing the bells ringing and engines rattling along the pavement, is this: to put his hand up to the wall at the head of his bed, and if it be very hot, it is time to move; but if not, he had better remain where he is." That fires produced by incendiaries are not confined to New-York, however, the following paragraph, taken from the New-York Sun of January 31, will show.

"WHOLESALE INCENDIARISM.

"On the morning of the 29d instant, no less than three of the principal stables in the most thickly-settled part of Somerset, Pennsylvania, were set fire to by incendiaries. That in the stable from which the most destruction would have spread fortunately went out; the other two stables were consumed, together with nine valuable horses, a number of cows, carriages, grain, hay, &c. The citizens of Somerset have since held a meeting in reference to the matter, and offer a reward of 500 dollars for the detection of the incendiaries."

In such a state of society as this, it may be readily imagined that there is abundant occupation for the members of the legal profession; and such is the fact, as well as for the agents of the police. It may be thought that the existence of highwaymen, not merely in the neighbourhood of New-York, but actually in the city itself, would be incredible; but, in addition to several instances verbally related to me of such desperate persons attacking individuals on the road and robbing them, the following announcement from the New-York Sun of February 2, 1838, puts the matter beyond doubt.

"LOOK OUT FOR HIGHWAYMEN UP TOWN.

"A gentleman passing down Tenth-street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, about nine o'clock on Tuesday night, was violently assaulted by a villain who sprung over the fence, and, without provocation, aimed a heavy blow at his head, which he escaped by stooping; his hat only being knocked off, as his head would have stood a strong chance of being, had it met the ruffian's club. A watchman promptly answered the assailed gentleman's call for aid, and the vagabond was secured at the upper police office; but the earnest entreaties of his wife, and the prospective trouble and hinderance a prosecution would occasion him, induced the gentleman not to proceed against the ruffian, and he was discharged. We mention the circumstance to put people on their guard while passing through that part of the city after dark."

It may be thought that the vicious associations of a crowded city are chiefly, if not exclusively, the cause of such crimes as these; but the accounts from the country furnish too many melancholy instances of a state of morals not at all less depraved than that which prevails among the more degraded classes in the towns. It would fill a large sheet daily to give all the statements of crime and wretchedness that are brought before the public eye every morning and every evening of the week, in the journals of this city alone; but the three following extracts, taken from two papers of the same date, the Evening Post and the Transcript of February 2, 1838, will be sufficient as specimens of the kind of depravity which unhappily exists in a land blessed with a more abundant production of the necessaries of life than almost any country that can be named; where labour is more in demand, and better paid, than in any part of Europe; where millions of unoccupied tracts of land invite the cultivation of the industrious; where the institutions of the state open to every man of intelligence, industry, and integrity the honours and emoluments of the public service; where private enterprise has an almost unlimited field for its operations; and where religious professors are more numerous, religious publications more abundant, and benevolent institutions more thickly planted, than in any country under the sun; yet, in spite of all these advantages, the crime and misery that deface the land are terrible to contemplate. Here are the three paragraphs adverted to.

"HORRIBLE ATTEMPTS OF POISONING.

"The Frankfort (Ohio) Argus gives a dreadful detail of three successive poisonings by arsenic of the entire family of Dr. Helm, residing at Springborne. The writer found the doctor and his nephew, also a physician, together with Mrs. Helm, and five of the children, all suffering under the agonies of poison. The youngest child was but four weeks

old. The cause was using at supper cream or milk in which arsenic had been put. The persons all recovered, and the family, now suspecting that some black-hearted wretch intended to make away with them, interdicted any provisions being brought into the house but what were brought from the country. In a few days, however, they were all down again, with the burning symptoms at the pit of the stomach, and vomitings; this time introduced in the coffee or water, and the attending physician, Dr. Dubois, also one of the sufferers. They recovered: but, incredible to relate, a *third* attempt was now made, and proved fatal to one of the boys, by introducing the arsenic into some hominy. The post-mortem examination by nine physicians proved that arsenic was the cause, and the cream and milk above-mentioned contained large quantities of it. The neighbours flocked in to offer their sympathies, and ferret out the demon who could be guilty of such atrocities. It is devoutly to be hoped that such a monster in human shape may encounter the wrath of Heaven wherever he may be."

"DEPLORABLE MORALS.

"On Wednesday evening, officer Driesback, of the first ward, brought up to the police a woman and a little girl about twelve years of age, mother and daughter, whom he had picked up in the street, both beastly drunk, the mother so much so that she was past talking. The magistrate asked the girl how in the world she came to be so drunk, to which she drawlingly answered, 'Why, mother is drunk too!' They were both sent over to bridewell to get sober. Had they not been so fortunate as to be rescued from the exposure to which their folly and helplessness had subjected them, both would have inevitably perished in the street."

"A MISERABLE SCENE.

"The watchmen in Oak-street were called on Wednesday evening to arrest a man who had been beating his wife. On entering the cellar, the men were startled by stumbling over a pine coffin. This led to an examination of the premises, and the finding a man dead on a bed, his wife beastly drunk, and one child lying by his side, and two children nearly frozen to death on the floor. The man had died during the course of the day from sickness and misery. The living parties were all taken to the watch-house, and discharged this morning, that they might bury the dead."

I had heard verbally a hundred cases, at least, of crime the most revolting, and misery the most appalling, during my stay in New-York; a large number, it must be admitted, among the emigrant families from England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as other foreigners, with which this city abounds, though some also among natives of the country; but, though all were communicated to me by American gentlemen long resident in the city, and of undoubted veracity, I preferred selecting such instances as the public journals of the day furnished; because these, by their very publicity, challenged contradiction, and in no instances, as far as I could discover, was their accuracy called in question. These cannot be considered, therefore, as the libels of a prejudiced Englishman, uttered against the country in a fit of disap-

pointment or of spleen, but as the grave and partial testimony of the American journals, conducted by men who are generally disposed to put the most favourable construction on everything that belongs to, or occurs within, their own country; and who always seek to present the most favourable aspect of their public affairs and private morals to those who sojourn among them.

As to the causes to which these evils may be traced, I had listened to disquisition upon disquisition in private circles; and from what I had heard and what I had seen, I had drawn my own conclusions. Some of these I have ventured to express in the preceding pages; and to others I shall from time to time give utterance, as the occasion may demand. But to answer by anticipation any imputations of unfairness or harshness of judgment which may be pronounced on such strictures by those who might be disposed to think them overcharged, I avail myself again of a native authority of good repute and extensive circulation among the middle classes of society, 30,000 copies daily being the amount of its sale in New-York alone, in which, in a leading article of the Sun of February 2, 1838, is the following frank, and, I believe, perfectly honest review of the causes and consequences of the present state of society in America:

" *Enterprise* has long been spoken of as a characteristic of our nation; and in the way of enterprise, Uncle Sam* certainly deserves the credit of having outstripped his older neighbours. No undertaking which promised any adequate return has, in any difficulty short of impossibility, found cause sufficient to deter us Americans. Even impossibility must be demonstrated beyond a question by a score or two of abortive attempts before it is admitted. 'Try' is the first word, the meaning of which is thoroughly mastered. Boys are men before they are loosed from their leading-strings. They are educated in the belief that every man must be the architect of his own fortune. There is, to be sure, a limited class, who look forward to the arrival at majority or to the decease of parents as the commencement of an era in which they will have no duty to do but to enjoy the property bequeathed them. But as a class, it is too small to be considered in the estimate of national character. The great majority look forward to manhood as the time to act, and anticipate it by juvenile participation in the events of busy life. Boys argue upon polemics, political economy, party politics, the mysteries of trade, the destinies of nations. Dreams of ambition or of wealth nerve the arm which drives the hoop; the foot, which gives the ball its impetus. Toys are stock in trade. Barter is fallen into by instinct, as a young duck takes to the water.

"There is scarcely a lad of any spirit who does not, from the time that he can connect the most simple ideas, picture to himself some rapid

* "Uncle Sam" is a national term for the American people, as "John Bull" is for the English. It seems to have superseded the phrase "Brother Jonathan."

road to wealth : indefinite and obscure, it is true. But he reads the history of Girard, and of others who have amassed wealth. He sees the termini of the race : poverty at one end, affluence at the other, and jumps the intermediate years. He fancies that the course of amassing will be as easy as imagination. He dreams of dashing into a fortune by some lucky speculation. Contentment with competence he learns to regard as a slothful vice. To become rich, and, of course, respected—influential, great, powerful—is his darling object. He contemns the honest labour which was considered the road to wealth before enterprise was so rife, and, if he respects his father, he respects him as a good, honest old drudge, with old-fashioned notions, but altogether barbarous and behind the age. If maternal fondness and juvenile pertinacity in preferring requests succeed, he is launched at one-and-twenty on the sea of enterprise, with all his father's available capital embarked with him. If the old gentleman is too stubborn to yield his opinion, or if other circumstances make it imperative that he should, for a while, be content with honest but sure gains, the result of industry, he embraces the first opportunity to leave his craft for speculation ; to throw a bird in the hand away, and commence the pursuit of those in the bush.

"One great cause of our present state is the almost universal contempt into which industry in producing has fallen. The agricultural states—those, we mean, which produce the direct necessities of life—are not half cultivated. The youthful energies which should be devoted to improving lands and the mode of culture, to embracing and practising the lessons of experience, to blending and testing the discoveries of agricultural theorists with practical cultivation, are devoted, instead, to speculating in the scanty product which old lands yield under practical improvement. Even the old farmers themselves—men, one would think, clear enough of *enterprise*—betray that national characteristic in their grasping for territory. They measure the value of farms, not by their productiveness, but by their extent. They grasp territory, till the taxes on its nominal value are, contrasted with its actual wealth, a serious burden. They pursue even a more foolish course than the herder of inactive money, because, while the miser's gold pays him nothing, it costs him nothing for keeping ; while the farmer's pride, in the addition of acre to acre, is an expensive investment, even aside from the purchase-money.

"In our cities, a natural consequence of this mania for speculation was the increase of banks and the distention of their issues. Banking facilities were in everybody's reach. Almost everybody was on some board of directors, or had a father, brother, cousin, friend, or acquaintance there. Where that was not the case, an endorser could be had for a premium, or the money of banks could be obtained through broker jackals.

"Now speculation in her glory walked. Jointstock companies of every possible description started into existence. City lots, town lots, highland lots, swamp lots, granite quarries, India-rubber companies, railroads, canals, and every possible description of investment were offered to absorb this redundancy of nominal currency. Associations to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, *à la Swift*, and moonshine from sunbeams ; Texas speculations, cotton speculations, and fancy stock-gambling, drove out the legitimate business of the merchant, and even coaxed the mechanic, the student, and the professional man into the vortex—to be ruined.

"In the midst of this glare of fictitious business, luxury has been appealed to to evade thought of the future, as the gambler drinks deep while his all is at stake. Luxury and extravagance have been the curse

of all classes, from the richest down almost to the very poorest. European nobles and princes, with sure incomes and immense, have been taken for models; and, with true American enterprise, the models have been outdone. Troops of servants have taken the place of the cook, the chambermaid, and the boy John. Three have been installed where one formerly served. High-seasoned dishes and expensive knickknacks have driven out the plain joint. Silver services have supplanted china, delft, and Britannia ware. Expensive carriages have taken the place of the comfortable old family coach; and coaches and chaises have been set up by families who are really puzzled to find a use for them. The fine arts, which are capable of exerting a refining and excellent influence, have only served to minister to the insolvency of those whose only standard of value is price, and whose rules of taste are graduated by dollars. Travelling in foreign countries has been abused. Once it was a great means of improvement. Now our young men are returned rogues and fops, with extravagant anti-American notions, and a disposition to hug and imitate all the follies of European travellers in this country. The heads of American wives and daughters are turned, and infant children look forward to travel, to *finish* them. Amusement has been eagerly sought at any cost; and the more extravagant its price, the more genteel. Frugality has been contemned as an old-fashioned and dirty foible. Dress has been outrageously expensive, cost being the only criterion of its quality.

"So much for a review of the past. In the present quiet we rejoice to believe a revolution is at work. Eyes have been opened to the destructive consequences of an over-issue of bank promises; and the industrious body of the people have learned to watch banks with a jealousy which will effectually bar, for many a year, any return of the evils we have just gone through.

"After all the scenes of commercial distress, and of suffering among the operative and industrious, the conclusion yet remains that nothing has been *annihilated*. The world stands the same. We are not so much poorer than we were, as we have thought. The only difference is, that time and truth, those experienced appraisers, have restored the old and true valuation to commodities which have been overvalued, and pronounced those worthless which are so. It may be that there is some depreciation, but prudence and industry will soon put things upon a stable basis. We are much richer in experience, much more humble, much more frugal, much more prudent already; and if the reformation proves permanent, then will even the pressure have proved a good speculation."

This was one of the most sensible expositions of the true causes of the present state of affairs that I remember to have met with in any of the public prints that fell under my eye; and it is to be regretted that such frank and instructive expositions are not more frequently made. Instead of this, each party organ endeavours to throw the whole blame of the matter on the party to which it is opposed; and, to effect this, no sort of device is left untried. Misrepresentation the most gross and palpable is resorted to on the most common occasions, even on those where detection of such misrepresentation is certain; and the result is, that the public press here, as in England, is fast losing what little influ-

ence it possessed over the public mind, by writing itself down by its own extravagances.

The great question now in debate between the two conflicting parties of the State, for instance, is this: whether the Government shall keep safe custody of the surplus revenue in well-secured treasuries of its own, under responsible officers, and with every available guarantee for security, or whether they shall deposit it in a great bank, like the Bank of England, such as was the United States Bank, or in smaller branches of such an institution. One would think that the only question which would interest the people in this affair was as to the relative degree of safety and security, or otherwise; for as it is the community who must pay all the taxes and duties that compose the revenue, and make good any loss accruing after its collection, it is clearly their interest to prefer that mode of custody and safe-keeping which is most secure; and the Government treasuries would seem, to most unprejudiced men, better for this purpose than any private banks. But this plain question has been so mystified by the Whig party, who are against these treasuries and sub-treasuries, and who want the Government to deposit this surplus in a great bank, and let that bank trade upon it, so as to afford credit and discounts to merchants and speculators, that the whole community is divided into two hostile parties upon this subject; as they are in Ireland upon the tithe question, in Scotland upon the voluntary system, and in England upon church-rates and the ballot.

There would be no great evil in this if fairness of dealing characterized their proceedings; but everything is distorted to serve party views. If the largest meeting is got up on one side, the opposite party declares it to be a mere handful in numbers. If the parties are ever so wealthy and respectable, they are pronounced to be a set of needy vagabonds. If the talent of the speeches should be of the highest kind, they would call them mere drivellings; and if the order was disturbed for a single moment, they would describe it as a bear-garden; and in this, too, the party-press of England has unhappily set them an example. Sometimes, indeed, the fact of the numbers is so notorious that it cannot be safely denied; but then another course is taken: to admit the numbers, but pretend that, after all, this matters nothing, for other reasons which they assign. A ludicrous instance of this occurred in the Evening Star of February 8, 1838, in which the editor, Major Noah, himself very recently one of the Democratic party that he now denounces, writes thus:

"The *New Era* and *Evening Post*, organs of the *Locofoco* party, declare that there was an immense meeting at Tammany Hall on Tuesday evening, full 2000 persons present. We believe it; and what does it prove? Why, that in a city of 300,000 inhabitants, 2000 radicals, agrarians, Fanny-Wright men, and *Locofocos* can be found, who, having no employment, no interest in society, no means present or prospective, have thrown themselves on the bounty of the Van Buren party, and, in hopes of part of 'the spoils' and a portion in a scramble for the people's money, have, by invitation, met at Tammany Hall, and swallowed the whole dose prepared by the office-holders. The appeal having been made by our rulers to men 'wanting principle and wanting bread,' to organize against respectable American citizens having something at stake, it was not surprising that they crowded to Tammany Hall to obey orders. They will claim their pay shortly."

- > "Agrarians" is the name here given to people who meet to recommend the Government to keep the revenue in safe custody, in treasuries of their own, instead of intrusting it to speculating banks, at the risk of losing it all; though in other countries this term is usually, though erroneously, applied to those who are supposed to desire that the public lands and public wealth should be taken from the rich and divided among the poor. Here, too, the "scramblers for the share of the spoils of the people's money" are not the bankers, who want it to trade upon, with all the risk of gain or loss, but the people themselves, who want their own money to be taken care of, that it may *not* be scrambled for by anybody; and here also "poverty and the want of bread," which is falsely asserted to be the condition of those who attended this meeting, is imputed or insinuated as a crime, and as making the parties disreputable by their mere poverty alone, a doctrine as current among the Whigs in America as in England.

When a writer of the Whig party has to describe a meeting on their own side, however, he can find no terms sufficiently swelling and lofty in which to express himself. The 2000 who may attend it are not, as in the former case, taken to be the whole body that can be mustered out of 300,000 inhabitants, but, by a magic flourish of the editorial wand, they are made to be the representatives of many millions that are absent, and everything they do or say is of the most pure, most disinterested, most intelligent, most eloquent, and most dignified description. Their "thunder" is not like any other thunder that was ever heard before, and the very globe seems to be shaken to its centre by their gigantic powers. As an illustration of this, the following is from the *Daily Whig* of the morning succeeding that of the *Evening Star*, namely, February 9, 1838:

"THE GREAT ANTI-SUB-TREASURY MEETING."

"We have heard the old temple of liberty, Masonic Hall, ring till its rafters cracked with the shout of assembled thousands, that drowned the thunders of artillery on a great and patriotic triumph; but we never witnessed or heard anything like the burst of American feeling which resounded there on Wednesday night. If the sound does not make the White House* at Washington tremble, and the Machiavelian Belshazzar† knees smite against each other with 'fear of change perplexing,' then there is rather strength-giving than death in the poisoned chalice, which, prepared by himself for the people, he must drain to the very dregs of bitterness.

"The limits of this paper will not allow us to afford even a meager outline of the powerful appeals which were made to American pride, honour, and patriotism on that occasion, in opposition to the most impudent and tyrannical stretch of power that was ever suggested by the drunken brain of ambition. Everything was said by Chandler Starr, Esq., Alderman Paterson, Alderman Bruen, Hugh Maxwell, Esq., and Hiram Ketchum, Esq., that love of country could dictate or eloquence enforce; and a response was echoed back from the throng crowding every part of the hall that thrilled through every fibre of our body, as it did through the whole assembled multitude. There was but one feeling with three thousand American citizens there present, the representatives of ten millions who were absent, and that feeling was indignation at the tyranny of our rulers. There was but one high resolve that made three thousand hearts beat together loudly, and that was, *not to bear the iron yoke which is forging for them*. There is no mistaking the spirit of 1776 wherever and whenever it shows itself; and the free people of our United States will be themselves incarcerated in the subterranean dungeons of the 'Independent Treasury' before they suffer the revenues of the country to be converted to the base uses of political traitors."

Such are the distorted and exaggerated pictures drawn by the writers on each side of the proceedings of their own party and of their opponents; but, though this practice deserves the severest reprobation, candour compels us to admit that the English press has shown them the example, and they have only made the copy more highly coloured than the original. I pass on, however, to other topics.

The taste of the populace in New-York for shows and sights is quite as strong as in any part of England, and public celebrations of particular events by anniversary days appear to excite more general attention. Two such days occurred during our stay in this city; the first was called "Evacuation Day," from the English troops having quitted the city on that day, the 25th of November; and the second was the anniversary of the battle of New-Orleans, where General Jackson obtained so decided a victory over the British. This last was chiefly confined to the administration party, being tinged with political associations; but

* The White House at Washington is the official residence of the President of the United States for the time being.

† This is applied to Mr. Van Buren, the existing president.

the first was more general, though the weather was extremely unfavourable to public processions. The reports of the day's proceedings in the newspapers were as varied as their general character; but there was one that offered so good a specimen of a kind of writing which is peculiar to America, that I venture to transcribe it. Its peculiarity consists in a strange mixture of the serious and the sarcastic, the grave and the witty, the sober and the ironical, with all the while an under-current of self-gratulation at the exploits of the country, and the privilege of being one of its citizens. If a foreigner had written it, it would have been thought contemptuous; but from the pen of a naïve American, it is meant to be at once amusing and complimentary, and would be so regarded even by the personages described. Here it is:

"Your hero never shows white feather
Even to the very worst of weather.

"We could not but feel a stirring impulse of enthusiasm—a thrill of patriotic pride and self-gratulation—at 7 o'clock this morning, at beholding the indomitable spirit of bravery and contempt of danger exhibited by a detachment of our martial fellow-citizens, returning up Broadway, in the very teeth of the snowstorm, from the performance of their arduous duty at the Battery. 'There,' we soliloquized, 'goes the palladium of our country's safety against all the power of a world in arms; there go the dauntless heart, the iron frame, the arm of might, and the soul of patriotic chivalry.' Who can entertain a doubt of American bravery, when he sees those noble fellows—those unconquerable citizen-soldiers—trudging thus gallantly along, through mud and slush, and wind and snow, bearing their heads erect, with unwinking eyes, and muskets bravely shouldered, and looking as calm and resolute as though the loveliest of spring-time were blooming joyously about them.

First came a band of youthful heroes, arrayed with cap and plume, and braided coats, and knapsacks at their backs, unshrinkingly encountering the fury of the elements, without greatcoat or cloak, or even worsted comforter to guard their throats against the damp and cold: then followed the bold musicians, pouring the martial strain from fife, and drum, and trumpet, giving old winter blast for blast; then came the grim and frowning cannons—two of them—each with its tumbril, charged with the fiery dust that emulates the volleying thunder; and last, though far from least, the sturdy veterans of the ancient corps, disdaining all the foppery of Mars, and breasting the pitiless northern wind and driving sleet in their plain blue coats, round hats, and other every-day habiliments. One craven soul there was, whose right hand bore aloft no dreadful sword, but in its stead a large black silk umbrella; and another had fortified his person with a Petersham. But these were exceptions, and did but show more bravely forth the courage of the rest. There was one hero, marching by the side of the detachment, with a cross-belt slung around him, and a long sword in his red right hand—we took him for a corporal, or perhaps a sergeant—whom we could not behold without excess of admiration. Nature had bounteously endowed his cheeks with a mighty crop of whisker; and on these the snow had settled thick and deep, so that he looked for all the

world as though his barber had stuck a monstrous powder-puff on either side, between his collar and his skin; and so they marched along, unmindful of the storm, while the big drum, vigorously pounded by a pair of stalwart arms, gave forth a dumpish sound, and the shrill notes of the trumpet struggled through the snow-encumbered air."

Many of the public processions in this country are, however, admirably conducted; and some of the volunteer companies, under arms, would be thought highly of, even by military men, for their appropriate dress, excellent equipments, and steady order of march.

CHAPTER X.

The Courts of Law held in the City Hall.—Chancery, Common Pleas, Superior and Supreme Courts.—Qualifications of Barristers and Attorneys.—Nomination or Appointment of Judges.—Style of Pleading and Judgment, Official Costume.—Scale of Remuneration for the Bar and the Bench.—Character of the Medical Profession in the City.—Clergy and Ministers of Religion in New-York.—Churches, Interior Arrangements, Comfort.—Service, Singing, Absence of Pulpits and Clerks.—General Character for Learning and Piety of the Clergy.—Benevolent Efforts of the Voluntary System.—Extensive Field of Missionary Labour in Foreign Lands.

THE COURTS of Law in New-York are held in the City Hall. They consist of a Court of Chancery, a Court of Common Pleas, a Superior Court, and a Supreme Court, each of which has its special judges, and peculiar forms of proceeding. The Court of Chancery, like that of England, from which it derives its name, is a court of equity, presided over by a chancellor as judge, who is guided in his decisions partly by precedents, partly by statutes, and partly by the reason or justice of the case. He is not a political officer, as in England, having here no other functions to discharge than those belonging to his office as judge. He is not assisted by a jury; the proceedings, as in England, are rather written than verbal; and depositions and interrogatories take the place of *viva voce* examinations. As might be expected of a system so closely resembling that of the parent country, the same tree produces the same fruits; and the characteristics of a chancery-suit here are precisely the same as they are with us: endless delay, boundless expense, and harassing uncertainty. The Court of Common Pleas resembles our court of the same name in England; and the common-law authorities and common-law precedents are followed as in it, modified, of course, by the

statute law of the state; while the forms of proceeding are nearly the same, varied only in a slight degree by local circumstances. The Superior Court is analogous to that of our court of King's Bench, taking cognizance of similar cases, and having similar powers. The Supreme Court is the court of appeal from all other tribunals of the city, as well as from the county and circuit courts, in which cases are tried; and the last resort, beyond the Supreme Court, is that which is called the Court of Errors, composed of three judges of the Supreme Court, a judge from each of the other three courts of the city, and the Senate of the State, corresponding nearly to the court of appeal before whom writs of error are tried in England, namely, the House of Lords.

* The judges in each of the inferior courts are appointed by the Legislature of the state for terms of five years, and are usually reappointed if the same political party rules in the Legislature; though, in times of high party excitement, they are changed, if changes in the state of parties occur either in the Senate, the House of Assembly, or the governor, which three bodies constitute the Legislature of the state. The Congress of the United States, or the General Government of the whole Union, have nothing whatever to do with their appointment or removal, the independence of the State Government never being interfered with in this respect. The chancellor and the judges of the Supreme Court, including one chief justice and two associate judges, are also appointed by the Legislature of the state for life, or till the age of sixty, which is fixed by law as the period of their superannuation. The elective principle is, therefore, not acted upon in the choice of the judges in the State of New-York, and they are considered here to be as independent of the people as they are of the government, and enjoy quite as large a share of popular estimation for impartiality and integrity as our judges at home.

[The number of persons belonging to the legal profession in New-York alone exceeds 700, of whom about 50 only are judges, in all the courts together. The remainder are barristers and attorneys, which are here not separate professions as in England, but united in the same individuals. The qualification for admission is a seven years' apprenticeship, or articulated servitude, under a licensed legal practitioner; or, if four years' classical study in any college or university in the United States can be certified, the term is then abridged to four years; but, at the end of either or both of

these terms, a rigid examination must be successfully sustained by the candidate before his license to practise will be granted by the court. When thus qualified, he may act as attorney for preparing cases to be tried in either of the courts, or he may officiate as pleader or counsel. • It is not usual, however, for persons to undertake the latter duty until they have acquired some standing as attorneys; and some, indeed, continue to practise as attorneys only, without entering on the duties of counsel at all. Others, again, commencing as attorneys, go on for a few years as such, when they unite with it the business of pleaders, and then end in practising only as barristers, leaving the duties of the attorneys to be practised by those of less standing or inferior eminence to themselves.

In the proceedings before the courts, no wigs or gowns are worn by any of the parties officially engaged; and although, at first sight, this seems to an English observer as a defect, yet a very few attendances on the courts, and a slight degree of interest in the proceedings, causes this impression to wear off, when one becomes as readily accustomed to it as to the loose, disorderly, and undignified appearance of the House of Commons in England, where members sit in every variety of coloured clothes, boots, spurs, and whips, with their hats on, in lounging attitudes, and an appearance of the utmost indifference to what is going on; a feature which is usually revolting to the stranger from the country who visits the House of Commons for the first time, but to which he gets as speedily reconciled as he would do to the unwigged and ungowned judges and barristers here.

The style of speaking among the counsel, in their addresses to the judge and jury, is less technical and pedantic than in England, and less oratorical in manner. Shrewdness, sagacity, wit, and tact are the chief characteristics of the addresses from the bar; and plain deductions from established premises, or clear and intelligible expositions of the law and the facts of the case, are characteristic of the charges and judgments from the bench.

The scale of remuneration to all classes of the legal profession is liberal, without being absurdly extravagant or profuse. The younger members, who have any practice at all as attorneys, readily make an income of 3000 dollars, or from £600 to £700 a year, rising from this minimum to as much as 10,000 dollars, or about £2000 sterling a year. The smallest fee of a barrister of any standing, and in almost any cause, is 100 dollars, or about £20. The greatest fee to the most dis-

tinguished barrister in any regular cause tried in the city courts is 5000 dollars, or about £1000. But when a special cause of importance arises, requiring great skill and considerable application, especially if such cause has to be tried at a distance from the residence of the barrister, and he be a person of the first eminence, it is said (and one of the profession was my informant) that as large a sum as 25,000 dollars, or £5000, has been paid; but this was admitted to be a very rare and unusual occurrence. The judges have fixed salaries, varying from 1600 dollars for the youngest to 3000 dollars for the oldest, including the chancellor and the chief justice of the Supreme Court respectively.

In private society, the legal gentlemen are among the most intelligent and agreeable of companions. Like the lawyers in England, however, they do not appear to mingle so much in general society as to congregate and herd together with the members of their own profession, and especially to delight in the society of clubs. I had the pleasure to attend two or three of their meetings of this description, held alternately at the houses of the members in rotation, and the cordiality, intelligence, courtesy, cheerfulness, and kindness which seemed to prevail made them some of the most agreeable evenings I had ever passed, not merely in America, but in any part of the world.

The medical body is also a very large and very interesting portion of the society of New-York. They have colleges of instruction, halls of dissection, dispensaries, lectures, and all the machinery and apparatus of medical instruction, in great abundance and perfection. The number of medical practitioners in the city is about 600. The conditions to be fulfilled by a young candidate for the profession are the following: He must serve three years at least as an assistant to some licensed medical practitioner of the state, and attend at least two courses of medical lectures under some recognised professor. For this he will have to pay from 300 to 500 dollars for the three years, according to the rank and standing of the individual under whom he studies. He is then obliged to undergo an examination before competent examiners, appointed by the College or Faculty of Medicine, and is rarely deemed sufficiently accomplished to pass at the first time. Some are successful at the second examination, after an interval of a year, and the additional skill and practice obtained by them in that period. Many more are remanded, and pass at a third, and some only at a fourth examination, these being annual only.

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On passing, the license of the college to practise as a surgeon is granted; or, if required, and the qualifications are deemed sufficient, the diploma of a physician is added, and by far the greater number receive both. Hence the business of surgeon and physician is united in the same person, as in the general practitioner in London, and all are called doctor. It is the custom for each to have a surgery and dispensary attached to his residence, usually in the area or ground-floor; and while the name alone is seen on the brass plate of the door of the private residence entering from the street, the name, and prefix of "Doctor," with the word "office," is seen painted in yellow or white letters, on a black japanned tin plate, over the window or door of the surgery in the area below.

There are here, as in England, all degrees of excellence and estimation among the members of the medical profession. It is thought to be sufficiently successful if young men begin to realize enough to support themselves in the fourth or fifth year of their practice. All the time up to this is one of expenditure beyond receipt. From this point, however, with ordinary ability and industry, and regular conduct, their progress is almost certain, till they obtain the middle rank, where incomes of from 5000 to 10,000 dollars, from £1000 to £2000 sterling, are frequently realized. In the highest branches of the profession, when great reputation is obtained, from 20,000 to 25,000 dollars, or £4000 to £5000 a year, is sometimes made. In general, they are men of good education, and have the reputation of skill and attention in their professional duties. They are also, as a class, a more moral and religious body of men than persons of the same profession in the old countries of Europe; though their dress, manners, and appearance are less polished and refined than one is accustomed to observe in medical men at home.

The clergy and ministers of religion form a very important and influential body in New-York. There are not less than 300 members of this body, of different denominations: the order of their number being, Presbyterian, 74; Episcopalian, 56; Baptist, 40; Methodist, 38; Reformed Dutch, 34; Roman Catholic, 25; Friends or Quakers, 6; Lutheran, 6; Universalist, 5; Unitarian, 4; Independent, 4; Moravian, 4; Jews, 3; besides several supernumeraries. For the services of these several denominations there are about 150 places of worship, in nearly the same ratio or proportion. The Presbyterian ministers do not use gowns and bands, as

in Scotland. The Episcopalian and the Dutch Reformed are the only clergy that wear robes; the former, the surplice for prayers, and the black stuff gown for the pulpit, as in England; the latter, a black silk gown, with cassock and girdle of the same material.

In the service of the Episcopalian Church, the ritual and liturgy are nearly the same as in the Church of England, which they profess to follow as a model. The few alterations in the prayers are such as to adapt them to the country in which they are read, substituting in the prayers for the king and royal family, and for both Houses of Parliament, the names of the President of the United States and the Houses of Congress. Some corrections are also introduced in the style and composition, and some judicious curtailments of the frequent repetitions in the original service. One addition, however, is made, which appeared to me a great improvement, and well worthy of adoption at home, which is this: after the reading of the Ten Commandments in the Communion Service, at the close of the whole, the minister reads aloud this sentence: "Hear also what our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ saith on this subject. The first and greatest commandment is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two hang all the law and the prophets."

It is remarkable that neither in the Episcopalian churches, nor any of the others in this city, is there to be seen a pulpit of the old English form; nor is there any person who officiates as clerk, either to read the responses, to say Amen, or to give out the psalms or hymns. In lieu of the small circular pulpit used in England, there are here two spacious platforms, on one of which the minister reads the prayers, and to the other he ascends to preach the sermon. These are each well furnished with the requisite cushions, drapery, and lights, and are usually much more agreeable to the eye than the elevated and isolated pulpit. The ear of the worshipper is never offended by the mangling and bad reading of an uneducated and vulgar clerk, as it is in half the churches of England; and it would be a great improvement to have all the responses, now drawled out by our illiterate clerks at home, read by young aspirants for the clergy, either while students of divinity or after taking orders, acting as curates or assistants to the regular minister; for if it be desirable to have one part of the liturgy, psalms, and prayers read impressively, and in a dignified and devotional tone as well as

spirit, it must be equally desirable to have the alternate verses and responses read in the same manner; and this could best be secured by having two well-educated readers instead of one good and one bad one, as at present. In America, the congregation perform this duty without a leader, and the absence of the clerk is not felt to be any inconvenience.

The choral service, both vocal and instrumental, is uniformly superior to the average standard of England. The organ is everywhere seen, and is everywhere well played. The choirs are judiciously proportioned for the proper blending of the different voices; they are well trained, and frequently practised in rehearsals; and as the congregation generally joins, though in subdued tones, in the singing, this part of the service is more uniformly well performed, in churches and chapels of every denomination here, than it is with us.

The arrangement and furniture of the pews are more elegant and more comfortable than in England; ample provision is made for securing the most agreeable temperature in all kinds of weather; and the attendance is more numerous, as compared with the whole population, than in any country of Europe. The greatest respect and decorum is manifested throughout the service by all classes; and there is less of wandering eyes, whispering gossip, and general inattention than is seen elsewhere.

As a body, the clergy and ministers are more generally well educated, and more uniformly of pure morals and devout character, than in England. With us there are no doubt individuals of much more extensive and profound learning than are to be found in this country; and among the clergy of the Church of England for some years past, and among the dissenters at all times, there has been a high standard of morals and piety. But, taking the 300 ministers of religion now in New-York, it may be doubted whether there is any city in Great Britain that could furnish, from an equal number of the same class, so large an amount of learning and piety as exist in the aggregate of the religious teachers of this city. An illiterate or an immoral man could not hold his place among them; and both the eyes of their own body, as well as those of the whole community, are constantly upon them, in a state of unremitting watchfulness.

The support of the churches and their ministers is wholly on the voluntary system; and, as far as I could learn, after many anxious inquiries, no one among the clergy or laity

wished it to be otherwise. The Episcopalians have a bishop in each state of the Union,* their salaries varying from 5000 to 10,000 dollars, or from 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* sterling. The Rev. Dr. Onderdonk, the bishop of the State of New-York, whose diocese is as large as that of six English bishoprics, receives this last-named sum, and his is the highest ecclesiastical salary in the country. But his duties are onerous, laborious, and expensive. He resides in the city during the six winter months, and preaches once or twice every Sunday. The other six months of summer he passes in travelling, visiting the clergy of his diocese, and setting in order whatever may need amendment. He is a gentleman of Dutch family, as his name indicates, of great merit, and universally respected, but of the simplest and most unostentatious manners. On one Sunday afternoon I was going over, with my family, to hear the Rev. Dr. Cutler at Brooklyn, and pass the evening with some friends there. The ferry is crossed here by a steamboat, at which we arrived just in time to meet the bishop, who had walked from his house to the ferry in his black gown, round hat, bands, and a Bible under his arm. As we entered the boat, he offered a bank-note of a dollar for the fare, which the boatman returned, saying, "They never took toll from clergymen who were going on duty on the Sabbath;" at which the bishop returned the money into his purse, and said, smilingly, "It is not always that they are so careful to grant us the benefit of clergy." He was going to preach that afternoon at a church in Brooklyn, and then to return and preach at New-York in the evening. On his reaching the Brooklyn shore, a horse and gig was waiting for him at the ferry; and with the most unaffected humility he got into it, though the equipage was one of the shabbiest I had yet seen, and drove on, seated by the black servant who came for him, with far less thought of state and appearance than any English bishop.

There is nothing, perhaps, that strikes the stranger from England more forcibly than the easy access which is here obtained to personal intercourse with the highest classes of society. The President of the United States, the governors of the separate states, the generals of the army, the commodores of the navy, the judges of the county, the senators, bishops, and all other persons filling high stations in the country, are not hemmed around with so many barriers of etiquette and ceremony as to make it a matter of favour to obtain a personal interview with them. The sending in a

* In the State of New-York, which has since been divided into two dioceses, there are now two bishops.

card, without previous appointment, is sufficient to ensure immediate admittance to their presence, if not at the moment engaged ; and in casual meetings like the present, or in parties of mixed society, the greatest degree of affability and urbanity prevails.

The voluntary system of supporting churches and ministers, which is universally adopted here, is found to be a perfect security against the great inequalities in the emoluments of the clergy at home, where bishops have incomes of 10,000*l.* a year, and curates must live on 100*l.*, while it equally guarantees to all a very adequate and comfortable provision. No clergyman or minister in New-York receives less, as I was assured by many who were competent and accurate authorities, than 1000 dollars or 200*l.* a year ; many receive 3000 dollars or 600*l.* a year ; but none more than 4000 dollars or 800*l.* a year. The usual mode of raising the funds is this : The church is first built on the undertaking and guarantee of some few wealthy individuals of the sect for whose use it is intended. When completed, the pews are all sold at high prices, in the order of choice, to the families desiring to worship there ; and the amount paid for these pews, which become the absolute property of the purchasers, is generally sufficient to cover all the cost of the building and furniture. The minister's salary is then determined by the vestry, composed of the chosen men of the congregation, and the pews are all assessed, at a certain per centage on their value, to make up the annual salary fixed on for the minister, which he therefore receives as a permanent income, without trouble, anxiety, or delay, from the hands of the treasurer, and without any of those unhappy disputes and bickerings so fruitfully engendered by the tithes, annuity-taxes, church-rates, and other imposts for the clergy in England.

They who assert, therefore, that the voluntary system has been tried and failed in America, and that it does not work well for either ministers or people, must speak in ignorance of the real state of the case, or, what is worse, with wilful perversion of the truth. And they who add to this that under the voluntary system there is no guarantee for the steady support and advancing progress of religion, must be equally guilty of great ignorance or wilful untruth, because there is no city in the world that I have ever visited where so large a number of the population attend public worship, where that worship is more devoutly entered into by the people or more efficiently conducted by their teachers, or where the influence of morality and religion is more powerfully exerted over the great mass of the community.

In addition to the large amount of funds thus raised by the population of this city for the support of religion at home, their assistance to all kinds of benevolent societies is munificent; for by their voluntary aid do they almost all subsist. But, far beyond the immediate sphere of their own locality, they extend their benevolence to the remotest parts of the world. At the last anniversary of the American Tract Society, held in the City of New-York in April, 1837, the large sum of 35,000 dollars was appropriated to the printing and distributing of tracts in different foreign languages abroad, in addition to the great expense incurred for the support of missionary establishments in various remote quarters of the earth, and their Sunday-school Union, for the education of the children of the poor at home. And as it may give some idea of the extent of the field over which their labours are spread, I transcribe an abridgment of some of the principal items of that appropriation from their official report.

To China, for the use of American missionaries, Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, Leang Afa, Keuh Agang, and others, and to aid in the preparation of Chinese metal type, a work in progress both by Rev. Mr. Dyer at the East, and by M. Pauthier and others in Paris, who find that 30,000 Chinese characters, not obsolete, may be printed from 9000 types separate and combined; the Chinese being the written language of probably 300 millions; Chinese printing conducted without interruption at Singapore, Malacca, &c.; many new tracts prepared; and openings in the maritime provinces, and among Chinese residing in other countries, for "as many books as can be printed"—4000 dollars.

To Singapore and Indian Archipelago, probably embracing 50 millions, Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, &c.; a large printing establishment, with type in various languages, and a stereotype foundry, being in active operation; Leang Afa, Keuh Agang, and several others, employed at Singapore in Chinese printing; great facilities of intercourse with all the neighbouring countries and the ports of China; a large mission having recently been sent out by the Reformed Dutch Church, to be located at present in Java—3000 dollars.

To Siam, where are two printing establishments, with access to millions of Chinese, Malays, Peguans, Cambojans, Laos, &c.; Bangkok alone containing 400,000 Chinese; most of the adult Siamese being able to read; Rev. I. J. Roberts, from a new missionary society at the West, having recently sailed for Siam, to labour mainly as a distributor—2000 dollars.

For the Shans, a great people bordering on and commingling with the inhabitants of Burmah, Thibet, and China; the American Baptist Board having recently established a mission and a press at Assam, with Burman and Shan type—800 dollars.

To Burmah, for the Burmese, Talings, and Karens; among whom are seven stations, upward of 30 missionaries; 600 converts, a spirit of inquiry awakened; large printing establishments, with a stereotype foundry: the whole Bible printed, and 24 tracts to which the society's funds may be applied; two presses entirely occupied with tracts; many na-

tive distributors; frequent tours made for distribution; millions of readers, and God richly adding his blessing—4000 dollars.

For Northern India, for use of missionaries of Western Foreign Missionary Society at Lahore, who have two presses, and have distributed extensively in journeys and tours; the mission being also about to be re-enforced—1000 dollars.

To Orissa, for the use of English General Baptist and American Baptist missionaries; this being the "Holy Land" of India, and site of the temple of Juggernaut, annually visited by nearly half a million of pilgrims. "If Hinduism is ever to be subverted," says a missionary at this station, "I believe tracts will occupy the first place as the instrumental cause"—1000 dollars.

For the Telingas, 13 millions in a country between Orissa and Madras, on the Coromandel coast, for a new mission of American Baptist Board; large portions of the Bible, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and several tracts having been already printed at Madras in the Telinga or Telooogo language—500 dollars.

For Ceylon, where are seven mission stations; 27 missionaries; 39 native assistants; 199 free schools, and a seminary of young men; a press; 30 tracts issued; many native distributors, and the distributions much blessed—2000 dollars.

For Southern India, for use of missionaries of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; station at *Madura*, among the Tamul people, a stronghold of paganism, and other stations about to be established—1500 dollars.

For the Mahrattas, where are presses, with a stereotype foundry; one or more missionaries wholly devoted to the preparation and distribution of tracts and books, which are found an indispensable auxiliary—1000 dollars.

For the Sandwich Islands, where 3420 pages of Hawaiian have been prepared; three presses issue from six to ten million pages annually; and the missionaries have at no time been able to meet the immediate, pressing demand for books—1000 dollars.

For Persia, for use of exploring mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church—500 dollars.

For Nestorians in Persia, who retain much of the simplicity of the Gospel, and express great anxiety to receive Christian books: mission station at *Tabreez*—500 dollars.

For Asia Minor, for use of missions of A. B. C. F. M. at *Smyrna*, *Scio*, *Broosa*, and *Trebizond*; there being at *Smyrna* a large printing establishment, with type for various languages, a stereotype foundry, and numerous publications issued—1500 dollars.

To Smyrna, for the use of mission of Western Foreign Missionary Society, who have a press and extensive openings for distribution, especially in modern Greek—1000 dollars.

To Greece, for use of mission of Protestant Episcopal Church, who have an efficient press at *Syra*; printed last year, at the society's expense, 1,714,000 pages; have a harmony of the Gospels and other valuable works in preparation, and wide openings for distribution. New mission recently sailed for the island of *Crete*—1500 dollars.

To Greece, for missionaries of A. B. C. F. M.; 28,000 publications distributed from *Athens* the last year, and many more might have been given had supplies been furnished; "people have applied for books from all parts of the country"—500 dollars.

To Constantinople, chiefly for the Armenians, who "seem to be waking up en masse," including Jews in Turkey, Greeks, &c.—1000 dollars.

To Russia, for use of tract friends in *St. Petersburg*, who labour for

60 millions; have issued 50 tracts in Russ, Finnish, Estonian, Swedish, Mongolian, &c., all of which have the cordial sanction of the censor; some volumes in preparation. Tracts to the value of 600 dollars were sold by one individual in one extensive tour; many are purchased by the nobility for distribution; parcels sent to friends at various points throughout the empire, with many evidences of the Divine blessing—3000 dollars.

For Hungary, embracing two million Protestants, and for tracts in *Bohemian* and *Wendish*, to be committed to Mr. Samuel Elsne of Berlin, and the Rev. Dr. Paterson, at the earnest solicitation of Rev. Dr. Paterson—300 dollars.

Prussian Tract Society at Berlin, for the Poles, by urgent request of Rev. Dr. Paterson, many of whom are crying for help, both within and beyond the limits of Prussia—300 dollars.

Germany, Lower Saxony Tract Society, Hamburg, tracts being a prominent medium for diffusing evangelical truth; and wide doors open, in the midst of opposition—300 dollars.

Hamburg, for Missionary of American Baptist Board, who makes extensive tours for distribution, and a colporteur who is devoting himself to the work—300 dollars.

To France, embracing thirty-two millions, for the use of missionaries of American Baptist Board—500 dollars.

For South Africa, to the South African Female Tract Society at Cape Town, in connexion with Rev. Dr. Philip; the Pilgrim's Progress and six American Tracts being already printed in Dutch, with many active distributors. Rev. Dr. Philip says, "There is nothing within the range of human means that we more need than money to assist us in printing"—500 dollars.

To the Moravian Brethren, for aid at their respective mission stations, especially in the West Indies and Canada—700 dollars.

For North American Indians, for missions of American Baptist Board, especially at their press in Shawanoe—200 dollars.

In addition to the funds raised for these extended operations, and the personal labours which the clergy and ministers undergo in carrying them out, there is a degree of zeal, energy, and untiring activity among them for the promotion of benevolent and religious objects, which is deserving of all praise; it may indeed be doubted whether in any country in the world there is so much of purely gratuitous and disinterested labour devoted to the temporal and spiritual interests of the whole community, and especially the most friendless and destitute portions of it, as in America, if New-York be regarded as a fair specimen of the Union, and it is asserted that New-England is in this respect still its superior.

CHAPTER XI.

State of Literature and the Arts in the City.—Common Schools.—Statistics of Education.—Newspapers and Periodical Publications.—The Knickerbocker.—Monthly Magazine.—New-York Review, by Dr. Hawks.—Superiority of the Common-school Assistant.—Model worthy of imitation in England.—Music and Painting.—Mr. Cole's Pictures.—Architecture and the Fine Arts.—New-York Churches.—University.—Astor House.—House of Detention.—Building in Egyptian Style.—Columns of the Portico, after a Temple at Philæ.—Defect in the want of Elevation for its Site.—Striking Effect of the Massiveness of the whole.

THE common schools of New-York are objects of great interest to those who feel the full importance of the value of general education. A great effort has been lately made to increase the number and improve the efficiency of these schools, not merely in this state, but throughout the whole Union. The gentleman who has taken the most active and practical part in this valuable labour is Mr. John Orville Taylor; and his qualifications for the task may be judged of from the fact of his filling a professorship of the science of education in the New-York University, and his being publicly recommended for that office by some of the most eminently learned and distinguished men in the country. At the beginning of 1836, a monthly periodical was commenced by him, under the title of "The Common School Assistant;" its avowed object being to awaken the public feeling as to the importance of education, and to collect and diffuse all kinds of information calculated to improve the modes of teaching, and stimulate the public to adopt the best plans for the extension of knowledge generally. This was first published at Albany, the seat of the Legislature of this state, but it has been since removed to New-York, as the better central point of general communication. The paper is admirably conducted; it is full of the most interesting and valuable information; its pages are honoured with contributions from the first pens in America; and it is furnished at the cheap rate of fifty cents, or about two shillings English, per annum. The circulation is accordingly immense, approaching 50,000 monthly.

During my stay in New-York, a public meeting of the friends of education was held at the Tabernacle, in Broadway, for the purpose of forming a "Common School Union," on the principle of the Sunday-school Union, or the British and Foreign School Society. To effect this, the

sum of 5000 dollars, or about £1000 sterling, was required; and such was the effect of the appeals made at this meeting, that the whole sum was raised in a few days. This Union is now in full operation, with an office, an establishment for correspondence, and all the necessary elements for securing complete efficiency. It has already awakened the spirit of the neighbouring states; and state conventions are following each other, in various parts of the country, to consider of the best means of improving the modes of education in the common schools of their respective districts. I had the good fortune to enjoy much of the society of Mr. Taylor, as we lived under the same roof; and from his conversation, and the perusal of his journals and papers, I derived all the information I wished respecting the statistics of education here, though I relied only on my own personal examination of the schools of New-York for the knowledge of their actual present condition.

In the State of New-York the whole population is 2,174,000; and the number of children between five and fifteen years of age, taught in the common schools, is 537,398, or about one in four of the whole population. The number of school districts, in each of which there is a common school, is 10,207; and the annual expenditure on these is 1,235,256 dollars. The amount of the school-fund belonging to the state is 1,917,494 dollars, from which an income of 110,000 dollars is annually distributed among the common schools, and the rest is made up by local rates and individual payments. This statement does not include the City of New-York, which alone gives gratuitous education to 14,105 children in daily common schools, at an expense of nearly 100,000 dollars a year.

In my examination of several of these schools in the city, I was much pleased with the plan and arrangement of every department, from the infant school to the more advanced; and I thought the teachers, male and female, of a higher order of intellect and manners than are usually employed in the national and Lancasterian Schools in England, and the proficiency of the pupils, in general, superior.

In all these common schools, whether in country or town, the pupils pay nothing for their instruction. They are open day schools, to which any one desiring it may send their children daily for free education. They are maintained, partly by the school-fund of the state, partly by local rates of townships, and partly by municipal grants and city taxes. They are everywhere, of late, improving, and are already

sufficiently numerous to educate all the children of the country, though many poor families, from different motives, are unwilling to send their children there: some because they are not impressed with the value of education, and some because they wish to retain the services of their children for profitable purposes. The effects of the Common School Union, and the monthly circulation of 50,000 copies of its publication, added to the frequent public meetings, lectures, and travelling agencies in motion, will, however, gradually remove all existing obstacles, so that education will become more and more general, and more and more perfect every year.

In addition to the common schools of the city and the state, there are a great number of excellent boarding schools for both sexes in New-York, to which the more opulent families, who do not desire a free education for their children, send them to be taught. It is believed that nearly 10,000 young persons of both sexes are under this kind of education in New-York alone at the present moment.

The colleges for professional education in theology, law, and medicine are also abundant; and the University is well furnished with competent professors in almost every branch of learning, so that the means of cheap and excellent education are within the reach of all who choose to avail themselves of that advantage.



The literature of New-York is but ill represented by its newspapers, of which I had occasion to speak before; and I need say no more here than that, from various causes and

for various reasons, they are almost all below the standard which the intellect and the taste of the community would seem to require. Among the daily papers, the American and the Evening Post, the first conducted by Mr. Charles King, and the second by Mr. Bryant, the American poet, are marked by the greatest attention to literary subjects. Among the weekly papers, the Albion and the Mirror rank the highest; the former a political paper, devoted chiefly to English and colonial interests, and much read by the British in Canada as well as in the States; and the latter a literary paper, but wanting vigour and energy in thought and style. The religious newspapers of New-York form an exception to the general character of the newspaper press. They are conducted with ability, are strictly moral and religious, and, though representing different sects and classes, are tolerant, mild, and impartial. Of these, the Observer, the Evangelist, the Christian Advocate and Journal, the Christian Intelligencer, and the Churchman, are the most prominent. There are, besides these, two French newspapers, political and literary; one German paper; some few devoted to Roman Catholic interests; and a number of obscure prints, that live their little day of transient popularity, and then disappear.

Of monthly periodicals there are two, the Knickerbocker, edited by Mr. Lewis Gaylord Clarke, and the American Monthly Magazine, edited by Mr. Park Benjamin. They are quite on a par of excellence with the best of our English magazines; have more of the serious and useful, and less of the frivolous and fleeting, than any of them; and many of the contributions to each would be highly estimated in any country. A new Review, published quarterly, has just been started, under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, of the Episcopal Church, and is likely to be very popular. It is conducted with great ability, beyond doubt; but there is a fierceness of conservative wrath, and a bitterness of political scorn in some of its articles, which were meant to be poured out as vials of indignation against Democracy in general; but while they fall harmless on the heads of those intended to be the chief objects of its attack here, they will excite only a smile at their folly in the politicians of other countries, to whatever party they may belong; for it is difficult to imagine anything more grotesque than to see the avowed admirers of Republicanism, which all the Whig editors here acknowledge themselves to be, raising an outcry against Democracy as the greatest of evils. For myself, I think

the cheap little paper of the "Common School Union" of far more value and importance to the formation of the public mind and public morals of the rising generation of the United States, than all the other newspapers, magazines, and reviews put together. These last aim more at amusement than instruction; and nearly all are more deeply interested in promoting the triumph of a party than in seeking out truth, or, when discovered, in defending it at all hazards, and proclaiming it far and near. While, therefore, political disquisitions, party politics, and acrimonious controversies occupy a prominent portion of the pages of the larger papers and publications adverted to, with a great admixture, in too many of them, of the frivolous and vitiating, this little bark "pursues the even tenour of its way," freighted with the rich ores of the most useful and important information that children can possibly possess, and best adapted to fit them for the due discharge of their duties as men.

Here are the heads of the subjects treated of in detail in a single number of this paper. 1. News of the day, in which the principal events are briefly, clearly, and pleasingly told. 2. Education, embracing facts and opinions of the highest value on this important subject. 3. Social morals: essays on duties and obligations in life, and reasons on which they are founded. 4. Science of government, unfolding all the great principles of state policy in the different forms of monarchies, aristocracies, and republics, with brief comments on each. 5. Duties of public officers defined according to the Constitution, with the advantages and disadvantages of particular appointments, and deficiencies yet requiring to be supplied. 6. Domestic economy, embracing the whole art of housewifery, and the best management of a family in every department. 7. Political economy, discussion and elucidation of the questions, What makes things cheap? and what makes them dear? What labour is productive? and what is unproductive? What are the uses of money? What are the laws that should regulate trade? and so on. 8. Agriculture, containing every new fact and process connected with this important branch of knowledge, including horticulture and botany, useful and ornamental. 9. Mechanics, the science and practice of all that belongs to the labours of artisans in every branch of manufacture. 10. Practical chymistry, in so far as it is applicable to the various processes of every-day business in ordinary life, with occasional descriptions of new and impor-

tant discoveries. 11. Natural philosophy, in its most comprehensive sense ; but, like all the others, explained in the most familiar terms, and illustrated by facts and the results of experiments.

Such is an epitome of the contents of a single number of one of these interesting sheets ; and the result is, that it is perhaps the only newspaper in the world of which persons of pure taste could read *every line*, from beginning to end, without weariness or displeasure ; for there is no space occupied by advertisements ; no penny-a-line paragraphs ; no births, deaths, marriages, prices of stocks, or any other kind of information suited only for particular classes. It is all good, all useful, all interesting ; and I can conceive no greater benefit conferred on a community than the introduction and extensive circulation of such a paper as this. The sincerity of this opinion may be tested by the fact that I became a subscriber for 200 copies of the paper while in New-York, which were sent to England by the post, addressed to such members of both houses of Parliament, and private friends of mine throughout the country, as I thought most likely to approve such a publication ; urging them, by the best arguments I could use, to do their utmost to increase and multiply such papers in every county and city of Great Britain.

One of the greatest obstacles which at present impede the free course of literature, and retard its improvement in America, is the absurd legislative enactment by which all imported books, with few and unimportant exceptions, are subjected to heavy duties, amounting to from thirty to fifty per cent., according to the size and style of the work, as the duty is not estimated by the price or value of the book, but by their weight avoirdupois, the impost by the tariff being thirty cents per pound. The consequence of this prohibitory duty is, that very few of the best English books are imported into the country ; their original high price, from our own equally absurd duties upon paper, with the additional price which this impost occasions, rendering it unsafe for booksellers to import English works at their own risk ; and, therefore, hundreds of our very best productions are never seen on the west of the Atlantic. Most of the books imported are those of a transient, but, at the same time, a popular interest ; and these are not imported for sale in their original shape, but for the purpose of reprinting, for which a single copy is enough. The protection of English copyright not extending to America, all our popular reviews and magazines are here reprinted, including the Edinburgh, Quarter-

ly, London, Westminster, and British and Foreign Reviews, Blackwood's, Bentley's, Tait's, the Metropolitan, and other magazines; and as the publisher here has nothing to pay for the contributions or articles, the heaviest item in the European cost, he reprints them at the mere charge of printing and paper, and sells them at a large profit. The Pickwick Papers, Mr. Bulwer's novels, and every other work of mere entertainment, are thus reprinted, and sold for one half, and sometimes for one fourth, their English price; and thus an extensive sale is secured. The people having but little leisure, every one being engaged in some way of business or other, and few books of solid instruction or useful learning being presented to them, while a host of light and frivolous works are amply offered to their choice, the only reading in which the bulk of the community indulge is that of the newspapers, the reviews, and the novels of the day. These, instead of being the occasional occupation of a portion of the time spared from severer studies, form the whole circle of their reading, and the result is just what might have been anticipated; first, that the reading of graver and more important works, in their complete state, even where these are attainable, which is but rarely, is thought too great a labour for any but professors and heads of colleges to undertake; secondly, that a vitiated appetite for the stimulating and absorbing is created and fed, becoming at length so pampered that it can relish no other kind of food; and, thirdly, that the newspapers and reviews give such party views of the topics on which they treat, and the books they profess to analyze, that few who confine their reading to these sources have any accurate conceptions of the true merits of either. Thus the most erroneous ideas are engendered and propagated respecting men and things, which strengthen into prejudices, and take such deep root as to defy all logic, reason, and experience.

The first step to the amendment of this condition of public taste in literature would be to repeal all duties on imported books, in whatever language or on whatever subject; the next, to enact a mutual and reciprocal law for the international protection of copyright for a limited period; and then to let the intercommunication of thought between nation and nation be as free as the air.* There are

* In Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella, published at Boston, a work which does the highest honour to American literature, and which may take rank with the most elaborate and perfect productions of the first historians of Europe, the following passage and note deserve the serious attention of the legislators of Great Britain as well as of America, both of whom are yet behind, not merely the spirit of the present

some hopes that these steps may soon be taken, and a greater good could scarcely be accomplished for both countries than this.

In the fine arts it were unreasonable to expect that the Americans should have made much progress; considering, first, the infancy of their country as an independent nation; and, next, the almost universal absence of leisure in any extensive class. Notwithstanding this, there are already indications that the arts are relished and enjoyed by many, and that they will, ere long, be successfully cultivated by more.

Of music it is remarked that the Americans are great admirers, though it is very unusual to meet with any lady or gentleman who sings or plays in a manner that would be called "well" in England; and it is certain that they have not yet produced a single individual of their nation who has enjoyed any reputation as a public singer, instrumental performer, or composer of music in any form. Nevertheless, in the simple execution of sacred music in the choirs of public worship, there is an accuracy and a sweetness of harmony which is very striking to the ear of a stranger; and even in the oratorios that are now and then got up, the choruses are well sustained by American voices. But to the higher branches of the art they have never reached. Their patronage, however, of foreign singers is extremely liberal. Mr. and Mrs. Wood, but especially the latter, were greeted with large audiences throughout the Union; and Madame Caradori Allan has still more recently been attended, in all the large cities, with overflowing numbers, and honoured, most deservedly, with universal admiration.

In painting some progress has been made. The number of American gentlemen of fortune who have travelled through Europe, and brought back with them fine pictures of the ancient masters for their private collections, is considerable; and every fresh accession to the number and variety of such pictures serves to familiarize those who see them with the best models, and thus to form a correct taste.

ago, but even the example of the Spanish monarchs in the fifteenth century, for both still sanction the barbarous impost of a heavy duty on the importation of foreign books. Of these monarchs Mr. Prescott says:

"Foreign books of every description, by a law of 1490, were allowed to be imported into the kingdom free of all duty whatever; an enlightened provision, which might furnish a useful hint to legislators of the nineteenth century."

Ordenanzas Reales, lib. 4, tit. 4, leg. 22. The preamble of this statute is expressed in the following enlightened terms: "Considerando los Reyes de gloriosa memoria, quanto era provechoso y honroso, que a estos sus reynos se truxessen libros de otras partes, para que con ellos se hiziessem los hombres letrados, quisieron y ordenaron, que de los libros no se pagasse el alcavala. . . . Lo qual parece que redundo en provecho universal de todos, y en ennoblecimiento de nuestros Reynos."—*Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., chap. 19, p. 207. Boston, 1839.

Of native American painters there are now several rising into reputation. One of these, Mr. Cole, I had the pleasure to meet in New-York; he is not more than thirty years of age, yet he has already attained to an excellence that would give him a very high rank in England. The two first of his pictures that I saw were landscape compositions, "Morning" and "Evening," painted for Mr. Van Rensselaer, the patroon of Albany, at a thousand dollars each; and for beauty of composition, harmony of parts, accuracy of drawing, and force of effect, I have never seen any modern pictures that surpassed them.

His greatest work, however, is a series of five paintings, now in the possession of a wealthy citizen of New-York, Mr. Reed, who has a very interesting gallery, which he opens to all persons properly introduced, on Thursday in each week, and to whom we had the pleasure of being presented by Miss Sedgwick, the authoress. These pictures are intended to represent the Course of Empires; and the divisions are thus characterized:

The first exhibits the savage state, in which a noble composition of mountain, bay, and forest is exhibited in all the wildness of primeval disorder. The few figures that are seen are hunters occupied in the chase. Nothing can exceed the truth to nature of this beautiful picture.

The second, though not so grand, is more beautiful. It represents the pastoral condition of mankind: the plough is in use, drawn by a yoke of oxen, and shepherds are tending their flocks; a village is built on the shore of the bay; boats are constructing on the beach, and some are in motion on the water; while a Druidical temple, with altars of sacrifice, crowns the summit of one of the hills. The verdure is more rich, and less encumbered with weeds, than in the former picture. The trees are more open, and in the space between them, on the lawn and in the shadows, a rustic party are enjoying the dance to the shepherd's reed. The tranquillity of the sky, the clearness of the atmosphere, and the brilliancy of the tints, all harmonize with the representation of innocence and happiness, and make it delightful to gaze on these associated objects for a great length of time.

The third picture of the series is a representation of the meridian glory of a great empire, in the very zenith of its prosperity and fame; and it is impossible to conceive a more gorgeous picture than this. The bay, seen in its wild and savage state in the first of the series, and in the pasto-

ral condition in the second, is here lined on each side with a noble city, adorned with the most splendid architecture, in palaces, temples, bridges, aqueducts, and fountains. A vast and crowded procession is passing over the bridge that connects these two divisions of the city, accompanying a hero, who is drawn in an elevated car by elephants, and attended by squadrons of horse and foot as he passes beneath a triumphal arch, on which incense is burning, and from whence banners and armorial ensigns float. Countless myriads of human beings throng every part of the edifices, pediments, galleries, and roofs. The sea is covered with galleys of the most beautiful forms and richest decorations; and everything indicates the triumph of art and the zenith of civilization.

The fourth picture introduces the elements of destruction and decay: a storm is raging on the sea, and consigning to wreck the numerous ships and boats that before were seen riding at anchor in safety, or floating in gallant trim and gay security. The horrors of war are depicted with all the force that the most poetical imagination could give to it. A battle rages in the city. The bridge, so recently the scene of the triumphal procession, is now the seat of carnage, havoc, and slaughter. Every variety of attitude and of weapon, every form of ferocity and vengeance, are depicted with terror-thrilling truth; and fire, tempest, and murder rage with unbridled fury all around.

The last picture shows the same beautiful bay in all the solitude of ruin and desolation. The fragments that remain of the vast and gorgeous city, like the ruins of Thebes, of Palmyra, of Athens, and of Rome, form a melancholy skeleton of the glorious figure which they each exhibited when in perfection. The single solitary column, of vast proportions, gray in aspect, worn in surface, overgrown with ivy and moss, rising from the ruined bridge on which the triumphal procession and the battle-scene were previously depicted, is one of the most impressive objects that can be seen upon canvass; while the surrounding fragments of noble edifices crumbling into dust, the second wilderness of nature restored, in the tangled thicket and entwined verdure of the soil, and the pale light of the moon shed over the whole, are all calculated to produce a train of melancholy feelings in any beholder of the least degree of sensibility.

On myself, perhaps, the effect of this beautiful series of pictures, representing the Course of Empires, was stronger

than it might have been on many others, from its rekindling in my bosom the feelings I had so powerfully experienced when standing amid the ruins of ancient grandeur at Alexandria, Memphis, and Thebes, at Tyre, Sidon, and Jerusalem, and at Nineveh, Babylon, and Persepolis ; the course of these great cities and empires having been exactly that which was here so beautifully and so pathetically portrayed ; and this feeling was still farther strengthened, perhaps, by the apprehension that the same fate might probably be maturing in the womb of time for the great cities and nations that now rule the earth.

In the architecture of New-York a great improvement of taste is visible. The older buildings of the town are rude in design, mean in materials, and wretched in execution ; but every successive period of twenty years exhibits a manifest advance towards a better state of things. The more modern churches are in a chaste Grecian style, some of the Doric, and some of the Ionic order. The University opposite Washington Square is a fine specimen of the Gothic ; and the great hotel of Astor House has all the massiveness, simplicity, and chasteness of design adapted to such an edifice.

One of the most remarkable of the public buildings of New-York is a House of Detention, or Bridewell, sometimes called the Hall of Justice, in Centre-street, not far from the centre of Broadway.



It is intended for a prison, for the detention of accused criminals before trial ; and attached to the same building

are all the requisite conveniences for the business of the city magistrates, and the criminal courts held by them. This edifice is built in the Egyptian style of architecture; and though it has many defects, yet, as a whole, it is very imposing. The front and portico, which covers a façade of about 100 feet, is striking from its novelty. The columns, which are modelled after some of the pillars in the temple of Philoë, are well sculptured, and produce a very solemn and stately effect. The whole edifice, however, wants elevation, and would have looked to much greater advantage if it had been raised ten or twelve feet above the ground. The high interior walls of the prison-department appearing over the lower and outer walls of the temple model, by which it is surrounded, is a violation of propriety and good taste; and the small space allowed for the steps in front of the portico, with the steepness of their angle of ascent, are also great deformities. Notwithstanding these defects, however, the massiveness of the style, added to its novelty, when compared with surrounding edifices, will always cause it to be a very remarkable building.

CHAPTER XII.

Peculiarities in the Manners and Customs of New-York.—Visits between Residents and Strangers.—Carriages, Servants, Liveries, &c.—Want of Lampe, Numbers of Houses.—Naming of Streets, Bell-hangers and Locksmiths.—Song of Chimney-sweeps in their Rounds.—Excellent Mode of observing Newyear's Day.—Love of Quaintness and Singularity of Expression.—Examples in Announcements and editorials Paragraphs.—Visit to Newark with Mr. Webster.—Instances of Wit, Cheerfulness, and Humour.—Anecdote of Mr. Webster and coloured People.—Memorial of coloured People against mixed Races.—Boarding-house Life, its Advantages and Disadvantages.—Peculiarity of Expression, Phrases, &c.

AMONG the peculiarities of New-York, and traits of manners not common to other places, the following may deserve mention. It is usual here, as in other parts of the country, for the residents to call first upon the stranger who arrives; and this visit is expected to be returned before an invitation to the house takes place. It would, of course, greatly facilitate the performance of the visit if the resident who makes the call or leaves his card were to place his address on it, so as to let the stranger know where he might call; but, out of more than 200 cards that were left for us by persons calling, there were not more than ten on which the address or

place of residence was added to the name. To every one to whom I mentioned this defect it was admitted to be a source of great inconvenience ; but the excuse was, that it was not the *custom* in New-York to put the residence on the cards, and many valuable hours are thus lost by the consequent uncertainty of this, and the inquiries to which it leads, since the Directory confines its information chiefly to places of business. The hours of morning visiting are earlier here than in England ; from eleven till two is the most usual period, as many families dine at three, and few later than four or five. An excellent custom, worthy of all imitation, prevails here, which is for ladies who may be at home when called on, but not prepared or disposed to see company, to leave word with the servant that "they are engaged," instead of saying, as in England, "not at home;" and as this answer is given without their knowing who the parties are that call, and to all without distinction, no offence can be justly taken at it. A great improvement might be made on this, however, and a great deal of time saved that is now lost to both parties by calls made on persons who are either not at home, or, being at home, are engaged, namely, that ladies and gentlemen should, if they received morning visits at all, have one or more fixed days in the week on which they *would* be at home within certain prescribed hours, and have these stated in a corner of their cards, so that visitors might know when to call with a certainty of finding the person of whom they were in search. For the want of some such arrangement as this, many valuable hours are lost every day in unsuccessful calls on persons who are really out, and the evil seems to be on the increase.

In the equipages and dresses of the servants, male and female, there is much greater plainness here than in England. The domestics are mostly black or coloured people ; and the greatest number of the coachmen and footmen are of the same race. With these there is no difficulty in getting them to wear a laced hat, and an approach towards something like livery in their dress ; but with a white coachman or footman this would be impossible, such is their aversion to wear any badge of servitude. This arises, no doubt, from the fact that in the early history of America nearly all the domestic servants were slaves. In the Southern States this is still the case ; and even in the Northern, where slavery no longer exists, the prejudice against the coloured races is as strong as ever ; so that while the blacks chiefly fill the places of domestic servants, the whites of this country will

always look on servitude as a degradation, and not suffer the term of "servant" to be applied to them, nor call any man "master," because these terms are only known to them as designating owner and slave.

A curious anecdote was related to me by a person who witnessed the fact. An English minister happened not long since to be in New-York on his way to Washington, and behind his carriage there were two footmen dressed in livery. Their appearance first excited the attention, and then gradually increased the numbers of the crowd, till at length shouts and hurras were set up by the boys, who cried out, "Hurra for the Englishmen! hurra for the Englishmen! It takes *two* Englishmen to make one nigger!" meaning that two English footmen were thought necessary to do the duty which they had been always accustomed to see one negro perform.

A great defect in the municipal arrangement is the want of sufficient light in the streets by night. The lamps are so far apart, and so scantily supplied with gas, that it is impossible to distinguish names or numbers on the doors from the carriages, or even on foot, without ascending the steps to examine; and as no uniform plan seems to be laid down for the order in which the numbering of the houses shall be made, the difficulties and delays are vexatious to the most patient. A very simple remedy would remove it all, which would be to have the numbers placed on the glass of the lamps, corresponding to that of the doors nearest to them, which could be seen by all in passing; an arrangement which in the best lighted cities might be worthy of adoption, but in badly lighted ones would be of the greatest utility.

In naming any particular streets, either in writing or in conversation, it is usual to drop the word street altogether, and to give the address of the person as "54 Pine" instead of 54 Pine-street, and to say "corner of Wall and Pearl," or "corner of Spruce and Cedar," or "Broadway and Fulton," leaving "street" to be inferred in each case as a matter of course.

The public markets in New-York are large, open, airy, and well supplied with everything requisite for the table. Meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, fruits, are all sold in these open markets, of which Fulton is one of the principal ones. There is an entire absence here of the butchers', poulterers', and fishmongers' shops so common in London; and the caterers from the hotels, boarding-houses, and private dwell-

ings are all obliged to go very early to market, generally at daylight, to secure a good choice; but at that hour they always find an abundant supply.

In New-York, as in London, there are chimney-sweepers in great numbers; but, instead of the shrill cry of "sweep, sweep," from tiny little voices as in England, the men who walk the streets here have a peculiar song or tune without words, which they sing, always agreeably, and sometimes melodiously, so as to waken ideas of cheerfulness and content, instead of the painful associations inseparable from the piercing cry of the climbing-boy at home.

Locksmiths and bell-hangers are a class of workmen that also go their rounds, and call at houses to know if there is anything to do in their art or profession. They have no signal or cry that I could discover, but are known by the coils of bell-wire carried over their shoulders, and bunches of keys carried in their hands; and there is no doubt but that, in consequence of their periodical calls, bells are put in order and locks repaired more frequently than they would be if these artisans remained at home until they were sent for. An engraver of brass plates for doors improved upon this idea, and got into an excellent business by the following plan. Instead of losing his time by going round to solicit orders, he noted in his walks the houses that had brass plates on them, with the name of the resident, especially those that were badly done, as well as the houses where no plates existed; and, adapting his style of size and character in the letters and plate to the doorway which needed it, he engraved the requisite name without an order, took it to the house, saw the occupier, told him he did it by way of experiment or speculation, and generally so pleased the party that he had his plate fixed on the door before he left, though, without this step, years might have passed away before the person would have thought of ordering one.

Among the peculiarities in the customs of New-York, none is more worthy of imitation than the manner in which its inhabitants observe the first day of the new year. The custom is derived from the old Dutch settlers who first founded the city, and is thus observed. The day is made a complete holyday, and the stores and shops are almost as generally closed as on the Sunday. All the ladies of the family rise early, dress for the day, and immediately after breakfast repair to the drawing-room, to receive the visits of their male friends. Not a lady moves out, either for business or pleasure, health or exercise; and it is the only day in the

year, perhaps, in which no lady is seen out, either in carriage or on foot, for none but "friendless ladies" could be spared from home. As early as nine o'clock the visits of the gentlemen commence; and as these are all dressed in their best, the streets and squares present a most animated appearance, by groups of friends ascending and descending the steps of the private houses, while carriages are waiting at the different points for the conveyance of those who require this assistance, though the greater number of the young gentlemen perform their visits on foot.

The Newyear's day of 1838 happened to be a day of the finest possible weather: a sharp, but not a cold air, a bright sun, and a perfect calm; and as it is expected of foreigners that they who approve of the custom should adopt it with their particular friends, I took a carriage for the day, though, in consequence of the increased demand, this was only to be had at about five times the ordinary charge; and, taking my son with me, while Mrs. Buckingham remained at home with the ladies of the house in which we lived, to receive the visits of the gentlemen to whom we had been introduced, I made the circuit of Brooklyn and New-York, in each of which we had some agreeable acquaintances, and between ten and five o'clock we called on fifty-two families, and drove over about ten miles of ground. We met in every house with a most cordial reception; the ladies put forth all their attractions, were well dressed, affable, cheerful, and communicative. In an adjoining room refreshments were provided, of which some of the gentlemen partook; but as it is thought important by those who have a very extensive circle of acquaintance that they should visit them all in the course of the day—we heard of some young men who had nearly a hundred on their list—the great majority were only able to shake hands, wish health and the joys of the season to their fair entertainers, and then retire to pursue their course. Our number being more limited, it afforded us the opportunity of remaining some little time at each house, so that we saw as much of the gentlemen as of the ladies, and met a large number of acquaintances among those who were visitors like ourselves. The clergy and ministers of religion also remain at home, and receive the visits of the members of their congregations; and as we waited on several of these, we found all the Episcopal clergy dressed in full canonicals, and receiving their guests with great courtesy and hospitality.

The beneficial effects of this custom are numerous and important. It is a day saved from the toils and cares of

business, and given to innocent and social pleasure; and this, in such a busy and overwrought community, is a great advantage. It enables those who have long neglected their visits to bring up their arrears and begin a new account, and it furnishes those who have been growing cold by absence, or indifferent from some slight or embryo quarrel, to renew their intercourse without concession or without offence. It serves to increase the respect for women by the homage thus paid to female influence, and it brings the ministers of the Gospel and their congregations into happy and agreeable communication. It has all these advantages, and many more, without a single evil that I could discover; for, though some might think it would have too democratic a tendency, by bringing persons of different ranks too nearly on a level, yet, since no gentleman ever presumes to visit a family on Newyear's day who has not been previously introduced to them, and his introduction sanctioned by some reciprocal intercourse, none of the parties who meet are strangers to each other, and no liberties are taken of which the most fastidious could disapprove.

Among the most striking peculiarities of American taste, is a love of quaintness and singularity in their expressions. Many ludicrous instances of this will arrest the attention of the observant stranger every day in his intercourse with society; but this is not confined to conversation in private circles; it extends also to their printed documents, announcements, and paragraphs prepared for the press. The following are two only out of some twenty or thirty announcements that met my eye in the public papers of the day, inserted among the advertisements. The first relates to a convivial society, of Dutch origin, which celebrates its anniversary by a feast of sour-kROUT; and it carries one back to the age of Diedrick Knickerbocker and Rip Van Winkle, with the legend of "the Sleepy Hollow;" and the second belongs to a political society, taking the name of an Indian saint, Tammany, for its patron, and preserving the Indian imagery, phraseology, and dates.

"GREAT AND IMPORTANT NEWS.

"Owing to the recent disturbances in Canada, his august majesty, the Grand KROUT, has been awakened from his annual nap, which he takes immediately after the holyday feasts: his majesty opened his peepers in the sixteenth hour of his nap. After rubbing, gaping, and stretching for three hours, and eating seven plates of kROUT, five links of Bologna sausages, drinking four bottles of old hock, and smoking seventeen pipes of tobacco, he was seen to *nod*, which signifies approbation.

"Now I, the Arch-chancellor, in virtue of my authority, command all the liege krouts in creation to appear at Krout Von Nowland's, unwitting, to partake of the annual feast, on Tuesday, January 16th, 1838.

"By order,

"NICHOLAS RULEF POMPERNACLE,

"Arch-counsellor.

"PETER HARMANUS KLOTTERLOFF,

"Secretary.

"For tickets, apply to

"Krout Von Davis, 45 Pine-street.

"Krout Delavan, 489 Broadway.

"Krout Meserole, 19 Nassau-street.

"Krout Foote, 204 Front-street.

"Krout Bendernagle, 179 Division-street.

"Krout Cruttenden, City Hotel.

"Krout Nowland, Prospect Hall."

"TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER.

"Brothers.—A regular meeting of the Institution will be held in the Council Chamber of the Great Wigwam, on Monday evening, Feb. 5th, at half an hour after the setting of the sun. General and punctual attendance is particularly desired.

"By order of the Grand Sachem,

"JOHN J. BEDIENT, Secretary.

"Manhattan, Season of Snows, Second Moon, Year of Discovery 346, of Independence 62, and of the Institution the 49th."

The editorial witticisms of this kind are without end; and the straining after effect in oddities and quaintness, to serve the purpose of the moment, seems to have engendered a permanent relish for such extravagances, as readers appear to enjoy them very heartily; and, so long as this is the case, there will be no want of writers to furnish that description of gratification. The following are three specimens out of many:

"A Western editor has placed over his marriages a cut representing a large trap, sprung, with this motto, 'The trap down, another fool caught.'

"Query.—Has not the editor been caught in a marriage trap himself, which, like the clinched teeth of the steel trap, has pinched him most confoundedly? There is another kind of *trap*, which is usually placed under a gallows, with a candidate for immortality, with a rope round his neck, upon it, which the galled editor *might* employ, and which he would find very pertinent to his purpose. *Hang it*, man, why don't you just try it *once*!"

"A CATASTROPHE.

"The Boston Post says that an editor down east, in speaking of his own merits, thus concludes:

"I'm a real catastrophe—a small creation; Mount Vesuvius at the top, with red-hot lava pouring out of the crater, and routing nations; my fists are rocky mountains, arms Whig liberty-poles, with iron springs. Every step I take is an earthquake, every blow I strike is a clap of thunder, and every breath I breathe is a tornado; my disposition is Dupont's best, and goes off at a flash; when I blast, there'll

be nothing left but a hole three feet in circumference, and no end to its depth."

"A STRONG APPEAL TO SUBSCRIBERS.

"An editor in North Carolina calls loudly on his subscribers to pay up their dues, as his wife has furnished him with three babies to feed. If this appeal be not successful, we advise the editor to quit printing and buy him a farm."

I had an excellent opportunity of witnessing the full exhibition of this taste for overstrained wit and extravagant expression in a pleasant excursion made soon after my arrival in New-York, in which I was invited to accompany Mr. Daniel Webster, the celebrated senator of Massachusetts, and one of the first orators of the day, in a visit to Newark, a town in New-Jersey, about ten miles from New-York, on the other side of the Hudson. Mr. Caleb Cushing, another Northern member of Congress, was of the party, as well as Mr. Pennington, the governor elect of New-Jersey; Mr. Peet, the superintendent of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum; and the editors of two daily papers in the city, Mr. Charles King, of the American, and Colonel Stone, of the Commercial Advertiser. Our journey was performed by steamboat and railroad; the day was remarkably favourable, and every one was in high spirits. The morning was devoted to the delivery of political addresses by Mr. Webster and Mr. Cushing, to the inhabitants of Newark, on the present aspect of the times; and, after a procession through the town, we all sat down to a public dinner, under the presidency of Mr. Frelinghuysen, the mayor.

It was one of the merriest and wittiest of public dinners at which I was ever present. Every speech was a series of epigrams and jokes, and brought up some of the parties alluded to, who repaid the debt with full interest in rapid volleys of the sharpest repartees. Though there was scarcely a dozen bottles of wine drank among 200 persons—the worthy mayor who presided being a member of the Temperance Society, and, like myself, drinking only water, and more than half the company doing the same—yet the table was kept literally in a roar by the continual excitement of new matter for merriment, furnished by almost every one who spoke.

On our return about four o'clock, we found the railroad blocked up by one of the cars being upset and stretched across the rails; and as we were then about midway between Newark and Jersey City, there was no alternative but that of our waiting where we were until a new train could be

brought from the point to which we were bound as far as the spot where the impediment occurred, and take us onward to our destination. In England, such a detention as this to a numerous party would have created great dissatisfaction, which would have shown itself in every variety of mode, according to the temperament of the different individuals. Here, on the contrary, everybody made the best of the mishap, cheerfully awaiting the arrival of the remedy; and during the interval, which occupied nearly two hours, we all sat in the omnibus car in which we had set out, to the number of twenty-five or thirty at least, while various individuals in succession sang droll songs, and told still droller stories, with the utmost glee, so that not a symptom of uneasiness was evinced by any one of the party. Indeed, I never witnessed such uniform good temper and forbearance among a similar number of people on any occasion within my recollection.

Among the anecdotes of the day, the following was related by Mr. Cushing, the representative from Massachusetts, and it was told in the presence of Mr. Webster himself, who laughed as heartily as any one at its recital. Mr. Webster, though a handsome man, with fine, large, expressive eyes, beautiful teeth, and a commanding and intellectual countenance, has a remarkably brown complexion, as much so as a native of the south of Italy or Spain. During the dinner, and while Mr. Webster was speaking, the servants of the hotel at which we dined had the fullest opportunity of noticing the peculiarity of his complexion, and it evidently made an impression on them; for, when Mr. Cushing went into the kitchen after dinner to light his cigar, the coloured servants were surrounding the fire, with their backs towards him, and, not perceiving his approach, they continued their conversation, till one of them, addressing herself to her fellow-servant, exclaimed, "Well, Betsey, we coloured people may begin to hold up our heads now; for they say that Mr. Webster is to be the next president, and surely he'll be in our favour, for he's as dark as any of us, and is a coloured man himself." This was followed by a loud laugh, which rung through the kitchen, till the discovery of Mr. Cushing's approach to the fire rather disconcerted the parties, and stifled the farther discussion of the subject.

It is worthy of remark, that there are some of the coloured people who are not very anxious for the amalgamation of the races, which seems to be so much dreaded by the whites (though this dread must rather be pretended than

real, since all the varieties of mulattoes, of different shades, the natural fruits of such amalgamation, are far more numerous in the North than the blacks), for a memorial was recently presented to the State Legislature of Massachusetts on this subject, of which the following is a copy, with the introductory paragraph.

" MIXED MARRIAGES.

" The following memorial, signed by a number of persons of colour, was presented the other day in the Massachusetts Legislature :

" To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives : The undersigned, people of colour in the city of Boston, have learned with deep regret and mortification that Charlotta F. Thompson and fifteen other ladies of Rehobeth have petitioned your honourable body for a repeal of the law which interdicts marriage between white people and persons of colour. Now your memorialists, regarding this as a very wise and salutary law, calculated to preserve the purity of our race, and to prevent the evils resulting from a mixed *breed*, do respectfully, but earnestly, remonstrate and protest against a repeal of the law referred to ; and, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

The peculiarity of living in boarding-houses instead of keeping house or occupying private lodgings, is one of the most distinguishing features of society in New-York. There are many causes that have had their share in contributing to this. One, no doubt, is the too large scale on which houses are usually built, and the difficulty of finding a small one adapted to the purse of a family with moderate means. The house in which we resided, next to Bunker's Hotel, 37 Broadway, was one which would be considered dear in any part of London at £300 a year, and might be had in a country town for £100 at the utmost. The present rent paid by its tenant was 3500 dollars or £700 a year ; and the owner asked the exorbitant price of 5000 dollars or £1000 after the expiration of the year just about to close. In addition to the exorbitant rents, the difficulty of procuring and keeping good domestic servants is another cause which leads to the living in boarding-houses ; and a third, no doubt, is the frequent change of occupation and habitation, which is common to all classes in America.

The advantages derived from this mode of life to unmarried men are unquestionable, relieving them from the necessity of great expenditure and care ; but the disadvantages are also great ; for the habit of finding all that they need without much cost or trouble, and the enjoyment of female society besides, lessens the necessity of marriage ; and, like the clubs in London, boarding-houses in America indispose men to form attachments or to contemplate a

more permanent settlement. To the young married couple it is also a convenience, for the reasons already alleged; but its disadvantage is much greater to them in the end; for, when they become parents, and separate establishments are more necessary, the wife has acquired no experience in housekeeping, and both her husband and herself are averse to the trouble, care, and anxiety of a separate house and separate servants, besides finding it less exciting and agreeable to sit down to breakfast and dine alone, and pass the evening without companions, to which they were accustomed while living at the boarding-house. Many accordingly seek refuge from this married solitude by going out to parties, paying morning visits, laying themselves out for invitations, and giving expensive routs and balls themselves at great cost and great inconvenience, while the progressive vitiation of the taste which this brings, fed with stimulants and excitement, never allows them, perhaps, to return with pleasure to the sober and wholesome tranquillity of a well-ordered domestic home.

The boarding-house life was to us, however, extremely disagreeable from the beginning, and we did not get at all more reconciled to it at the end. The early hour at which all are rung out of bed by the sound of a great bell, as if at school; the rapidity with which persons rush to the table exactly at eight o'clock; the certainty that if you are five minutes after this, the breakfast will be half consumed, and what remains will be cold and unpalatable; the haste with which everything is despatched, and the air of indifference with which parties rise up and go away to business when they have done; the earliness of the dinner hour, three o'clock, with a repetition of the same hurry and bustle over again; the unskilfulness and indifference of the servants, mostly coloured people; the utter want of sympathy or consideration on the part of the boarding-house keepers, as to whether their inmates are provided with all they need or not; the absence of the many little nameless conveniences with which English houses are furnished; the imperfect hanging of the bells, and the difficulty of getting them answered; and the preference of showy appearances to cleanliness, are but a part of the many evils of a boarding-house life, as they appeared to us at least. The contrast of all this is seen in the private dwellings of the opulent which we had the opportunity of visiting, where every comfort and luxury that the most fastidious could desire were united, and where the only objection to the style of living was its great expense.

Of peculiarities in expression I did not meet with nearly so many as I had been led to expect. A few words only are used in good society here that are not well known or common with us, though some others convey a different sense from that in which we are accustomed to hear them. The word *sparse* is constantly used, in speaking of population, as opposed to *dense*, as "the Western states are but yet sparsely peopled." The word *understandingly* is used for *advisedly*, as in the phrase "I should have replied to your question earlier, but I wished to do it understandingly." A *loafer* is a term applied to an idler who troubles himself about other men's business, and who is a loungeur about places of public or private amusements; and also to a low thief and vagabond. In the different applications of words well known to us, the following are examples. A person who is ill or indisposed, from whatever cause or of whatever disease, is always said to be *sick*. The word *storm* does not, as with us, mean a high wind, but merely rain or snow, with or without wind. No force of wind alone, however, is called a *storm*, though rain or snow in a perfect calm is invariably so denominated; and the phrase "stormy weather" is used when rain or snow is descending without a breath of wind in the heavens. The term *ugly* is rarely or never applied to the person, but to the qualities of mind; and an ugly man or an ugly woman means a person of angry temper, or petulant, or unprincipled, or disagreeable in mind and manners. On the other hand, the term *lovely man* is as frequent as that of lovely woman, and neither of them has the least relation to personal beauty, but means always a combination of talent, virtue, and affability in the person to whom it is applied. A *clever person* is a phrase used to denote a lesser degree of excellence than lovely, and applies chiefly to sweetness or amiability of disposition, meaning good-nature rather than talent. Speaking of a lady who was of very plain exterior, but who possessed high qualities of mind and heart, I once heard this description given: "She is undoubtedly a very lovely woman, but it cannot be denied that she is bitter homely." The term *right away* is in constant use to indicate immediately. *Pretty smart* and *pretty miserable* are phrases that bespeak good health and spirits, or the reverse; and on asking a lady or gentleman how they do, one or other of these answers is not uncommon. When a person is greatly affected by disease, or when excessively fatigued, either by physical labour,

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mental study, or gay dissipation, he is said to be *pretty much used up*.

In the adoption of French words, the English pronunciation is usually given, and persons speak of the *rout* they intend to take in a journey instead of *route*. When persons are addressed in conversation, and do not hear at first what is said to them, they usually make the interrogatory *how?* which is certainly less abrupt than our *what?* among the vulgar, and more brief and appropriate than the phrase *I beg your pardon* among the more refined, which would be the expressions used in similar cases in England. In answering a question when distinctly understood, as, for instance, "Where are you going to-day?" or "What think you of the present prospect of affairs?" or even the simple question of "What o'clock is it?" the party answering usually begins by saying, "Well;" and, after a short pause, gives you the answer required. To "get along" is the phrase equivalent to ours of to "get on," that is, to make progress in a journey or to advance in life. To "guess" is not applied to the future exclusively, nor even to the present, but to the past and to the certain. For instance, a person will say "I presume," or "I reckon," or "I *guess* that the dinner-bell *has* rung;" and if you ask him on what ground he so presumes, or reckons, or guesses, he will tell you that he heard it; and if a servant, he would say, perhaps, "Well! I rung it myself." It often occurs that an individual is addressed in conversation as the third person, as in Italy; and a lady will frequently be heard saying to a gentleman whom she is addressing face to face, "I hope *we* shall have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Buckingham again, if, indeed, Mr. Buckingham's engagements are not too numerous to permit us to indulge that hope;" or a person would ask me sometimes, "Can you tell me where Mr. Buckingham delivers his lecture this evening?" the parties knowing all the while that it was myself that they were addressing.

On the whole, however, there is much less of variety in dialect, pronunciation, and expression among the people of America, as far as we had yet seen them, than there is in Great Britain, where not only the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh have their marked and broad accents and peculiarities, but where the different counties of each produce such varieties as to make the peasant of the one nearly unintelligible to the peasant of the other. Here the frequent intercourse between state and state wears off whatever peculiarities may be acquired in early life in any one locality;

and thus there is a general level or standard observable among the whole. The only universal characteristic that I could observe to distinguish American conversation, preaching, or speaking from English, was a clearly perceptible, but, at the same time, almost indescribable sort of whining tone, not quite nasal, nor yet far from it, but mingled with a thin, wiry sound, which is common to both sexes, but more marked in females, and in both it takes much from the fullness, dignity, and richness of tone, which is so great a charm in well-sustained conversation, and still more so in efforts of eloquence made from the pulpit, the bar, or the platform.

CHAPTER XIII.

Climate, Weather, Snows, severe Cold.—Sleighing, private Sleighs, Omnibuses, Carts.—Peculiarities of American Winters.—Supposed Periods of ten Years for each Series.—Series of severe and Series of mild Winters.—The present Winter of 1837 regarded as a mild one.—Supposed Commencement of a mild Series with this.—Ships, Packets, Steamboats, comparison with English.—Naval Expedition destined for the Polar Seas.—Environs of New-York, Brooklyn, Long Island.—Staten Island, New Brighton.—Asbestos Quarries.—Jersey City, Hoboken Ferry, excellent Boats.—Passengers in Carriages conveyed without alighting.—Separate Apartments for Ladies and Gentlemen.—Good Fires and comfortable Accommodations for all.—Last Day of our Stay in New-York.—Farewell Lectures, and parting with Friends.—Visit to the Public School with the Mayor.—Proficiency of the Pupils in their Exercises.—Voluntary Society for Moral and Mental Improvement.—Preparations for leaving New-York.—Friendly parting with our Fellow-boarders.—Mutually strong Attachments, on solid Grounds.

THE weather during our stay in New-York, from October to February, was, on the whole, more agreeable than I ever remember to have experienced within the same period in England. The first two of these months were delightful, it being a sort of second autumn, which is here called “the Indian summer.” The sky was always bright, the atmosphere clear, and the air soft and balmy. In December it began to feel cold; but throughout the whole of that month and January there were not more than three or four days of snow or rain. The frost was sometimes severe, but the bright and warm sun, and the fresh and healthy atmosphere, made one sustain it better than the same amount of cold could be borne in England. The coldest days were early in February, when the thermometer was on one occasion as low as seven degrees below zero; the rivers were both nearly frozen over, and the harbour was full of floating ice; but even then we did not suffer any great inconvenience from the cold, as the houses are well warmed with stoves,

and greatcoats and cloaks were found sufficient protection on going out. We suffered some little derangement in health at first from change of climate, change of diet, much occupation, and sometimes late hours, having frequently to dine with one party before delivering my lecture, and then going out to spend the evening with another party after it was concluded. But we soon got acclimated, and, with due rest, and well-proportioned intervals of occupation and repose, were perfectly restored to the enjoyment of our usual vigour and spirits.

> There is a description of coal burned here, called anthracite, which is very hard, scarcely at all bituminous, producing, therefore, but little flame, yet giving out great heat and a sulphuric gas, the effect of which is very injurious to some constitutions. It affected me with intense headache, of which I was some time before I discovered the cause. It has the effect of making the atmosphere of the room in which it is burned so dry that the skin begins to feel uncomfortable, and the hair to grow wiry and stand on end. Some persons counteract these effects by placing a pan of boiling water on a place beside the fire, so that its steam shall ascend in the room, and gradually diffuse the vapour throughout its atmosphere; but we preferred discontinuing the use of it in our apartment altogether, and substituting English coal, called here Liverpool coal: the effect of the change was perceptible in a few days; the sensations of dryness of the skin and hair, as well as the headache, disappearing entirely, and never returning again.

Towards the end of February the snow became sufficiently deep to admit of the use of sleighs instead of carriages, and the effect of the change was agreeable to the eye and the ear of the stranger. The sleigh, being drawn along upon the smooth surface of the snow, makes no noise in its progress, and this was an agreeable substitute for the ceaseless rattle of omnibus, cart, and carriage wheels. To give due warning, however, of its approach, the horses have collars of bells, which tinkle merrily as they trot, and give apparent pleasure to the animal itself, as well as to those who are drawn by it. The private sleighs are of very light and elegant forms, and are not elevated more than two or three feet above the snow. They are open to the air, but are warmly lined with large buffalo skins, the furs of which serve to enwrap the parties seated in the sleighs; and this mode of taking the air is more frequently adopted by the ladies, with whom "sleighbing" is a very favourite amuse-

ment, than with gentlemen. In addition to the private sleighs, the omnibuses and carts are taken off their wheels, and placed on slides or runners; and the noiseless progress of all these, passing and repassing each other, without the rumbling sound of bad pavements and reckless driving, with the musical jingle of the bells, produces altogether a most agreeable effect.

It is said by many that the winters of America are observed to alternate after periods of ten years; that there are ten years, for instance, during which they are severe, and go on getting more and more severe from the first of these decades to the last; and they are then succeeded by a series of ten mild winters, growing milder and milder as they proceed, till the return of the severe period again. The celebrated Dr. Dwight, of Connecticut, was the first to observe this peculiarity; and his son, from whom I heard this, stated that, from very close observation of the climate for the last thirty years, he had found this to be the fact. The present he regarded as the first of the mild series of ten winters, and he congratulated us on our arrival at so opportune a commencement.

To a maritime eye, one of the most agreeable sights in New-York is its busy wharves, ample waters, and crowds of shipping, always entering, or leaving, or loading at its port.



The maritime eminence of New-York, however, is owing not so much to its excellent shelter for ships, as to its position as the most commodious point of entrance into the great body of the Union for all foreign commerce.

Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore have each in their day enjoyed their periods of maritime prosperity ; but, since the opening of the great canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, which makes a water-line of navigation from New-York to the lakes of the interior, and since the other outlets formed from these lakes to the great rivers, Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi, by which goods can be conveyed from hence as far south as New Orleans in the Gulf of Mexico, and as far west as the foot of the Rocky Mountains, New-York has acquired, and will long retain, the character of being the great emporium of commerce for all the Western States. A great portion of the native produce of those states, in flour and other provisions, is brought here by these water-channels for shipment ; and the greater portion of the British manufactures consumed in America are imported into New-York from London or Liverpool, while many vessels also arrive here with French goods from Havre.

In addition to the constantly-increasing tonnage of New-York for the foreign and the coasting trade, which branches off from this point, there are regular lines of some of the most beautiful packets in the world, sailing with the punctuality of the mail from hence to the three great ports named, at intervals of only a few days apart. Some of these ships, of recent construction, are 800 and 1000 tons, and are as beautiful specimens of naval architecture as ever came from the hand of the builder. Their forms combine, in the highest degree ever yet united, the requisites of strength, capacity or burden, speed, safety, and beauty. Their equipments are as perfect as their hulls, and their cabin accommodations for passengers are all that can be required ; they are, in short, excellent maritime hotels, and are furnished with everything that can render a sea-voyage agreeable. The *President*, in which we came out from London, was inferior in size and comfort to all the others that we saw, being one of the oldest class ; but the builders go on improving so rapidly in the construction and fitting up of their vessels, that each new one launched is superior to all her predecessors, and is visited to be admired by hundreds of inspectors before she sails on her first voyage.

The steamboats of America differ very much from those of England, both in external appearance and in internal arrangement. Instead of having, as with us, the engines below, and the cabins for passengers beneath the main deck, it is the custom here to devote the lower part of the vessel to the stowage of cargo, and on the main deck are placed

the engines, one on each side, with a large chimney rising from each, so that the operations of the machinery are visible above the deck. The after-part is laid out in sleeping-cabins for passengers; and above this, on another deck, is generally the dining-room in the centre; besides this, there is usually a separate saloon for ladies, and one for gentlemen, as drawing-rooms. In some of the larger steamboats there is yet another deck placed above this, called the hurricane deck, because of the wind being more felt there than below. This makes the fourth deck from the keel, and is generally a mere elevated platform, supported by stanchions or wooden pillars from the deck below, being perfectly unobstructed above, and out of the way of all the operations of the crew, so that passengers seated along its sides or walking in its centre may enjoy undisturbed the most extensive prospects on all sides around, and the fulness of the sea and river breeze.

In consequence of these several decks rising one above another, the external appearance of an American steamboat is much less elegant and graceful than that of an English one, and her whole bulk seems cumbrous and overladen; but in the interior arrangements for the comfort of the passengers the American boats have a decided superiority, as well as in the speed with which they perform their voyages, under the high-pressure engines, averaging at the rate of fifteen miles an hour on the rivers, and twelve miles an hour on the sea. The finest of the ocean steamboats that we saw was the *Neptune*, of Charleston, sailing as a packet between this and Carolina; she was worked by engines of 200 horse-power, was about 600 tons, and could amply and comfortably accommodate with separate bed and board more than 200 passengers, and carry as many more who did not need separate beds, on her decks. The interior arrangement of this steam-packet was superior even to the best of the London and Liverpool ships; the beds were everything that could be desired; the furniture of every part sumptuous; the dining-room and separate drawing-rooms were of the most elegant description; and the kitchen, store-rooms, pantries, and every other part of the ship as perfect as art and order could make them. The engines were in the highest order; nothing, indeed, seemed wanting that skill or capital could supply. She had already performed one voyage by sea from hence to Charleston, and the captain was anxious to have her tried in a trip across the Atlantic, for which she seemed in every way admirably adapted.

A naval expedition, for a voyage of exploration in the South Seas, had been long lying in the harbour, in a state of uncertainty as to whether it should proceed to sea or not. It is understood to have originated with the late president, General Jackson, who took a great interest in it; and, under his auspices, the formation and equipment of the squadron was begun. It was to consist of a frigate, the *Macedonian*, two sloops, and two store-ships; and the object of the expedition was to make new geographical discoveries in the South Polar Seas. From the cessation of General Jackson's authority as president, however, the interest of the government in the expedition seems to have declined; and it had been upward of a year in port, nearly all that time ready for sea, with a succession of several commanders, and a removal of several of the ships, with dissatisfaction among the officers, impatience among the seamen, and indifference at the sources of naval authority. It has since sailed, however, and is now in the southern hemisphere.

The environs of New-York are extremely interesting, and might well engage the attention of the traveller for a longer period than would be generally imagined. Long Island, which preserves a continued parallelism with the front of the eastern part of the city, and extends its length in a northeast direction for many miles—interposing as a barrier between the Atlantic and the fine navigable sound that lies between the island and the continent—is well worth visiting in every part; and during the summer it is much frequented, especially on the southeastern edge, for the excellent sea-bathing which is there enjoyed. Babylon and Jericho are among the names of the towns it possesses; and to me, who had visited the ancient and ruined cities of the East, from which both of these were called, it was a strange sight to see their names on a directing signpost, as included among the places to which you can be conveyed by railroad!

Brooklyn is the chief town on Long Island. Less than twenty years ago there were but a few country houses here, and now there is a regularly-planned and legally-incorporated city, containing 30,000 inhabitants. Its situation on the opposite side of the East River, and on more elevated ground than that on which New-York is seated, gives it great advantages in the purity of its air and the extent of its prospect. The elevation of that part of the island of Manhattan on which New-York is built nowhere exceeds 50 feet above the surface of the water on either side, while the elevation of the upper part of Brooklyn exceeds 200

feet. In the island of Manhattan there were originally great inequalities of surface, in the elevations of masses of the gray or bluish granite, of which that island is chiefly composed, and intervening depressions between them, such as are still to be seen, indeed, in those parts of the island beyond the present city, and which are not yet built upon. But in the laying out the streets and squares of the present town, these inequalities were all levelled, so that there are few cities in the world at all approaching to New-York in size that have so few elevations or depressions as it exhibits throughout its whole extent.

Brooklyn, therefore, being generally elevated far above the City of New-York, enjoys a much purer atmosphere, and is esteemed particularly agreeable as a summer residence, from its coolness; and the view of New-York, as you look down upon it from the heights of Brooklyn, is as fine a prospect as the eye can dwell upon. The houses in Brooklyn are on the same general plan as those of New-York. They are, however, less ostentatious in their decorations, and more of them are built of wood. The great bulk of the inhabitants of Brooklyn are the families of persons who have business-establishments in New-York, as merchants, traders, and store-keepers, but who reside on this side for economy and quiet; and, certainly, the contrast between the serenity and tranquillity of Washington-street in Brooklyn, and the noise and rattle of Broadway in New-York, is striking to a stranger, and must be grateful and refreshing to persons engaged in business, when they cross over the river, to return home after the heat and the bustle of a busy summer's day.

Brooklyn has an excellent Lyceum, to which is attached a spacious and elegant theatre for lectures, superior in size and general arrangement to either the Stuyvesant Institute or Clinton Hall in New-York. In this theatre I delivered my two courses of lectures on Egypt and Palestine, twelve in number, and they were attended by audiences of about 600 persons every evening. The churches are numerous and well attended, and a perfect solitude reigns throughout the streets in Brooklyn during the hours of Divine service, every place of worship being filled. It is pleasing to witness, at the close of the services on the Sabbath, the crowds of young and old, all neatly and comfortably dressed, that issue from every street, and throng every avenue of the town.

The state of society in Brooklyn, as contrasted with that of New-York, is like that of a small country-town in Eng-

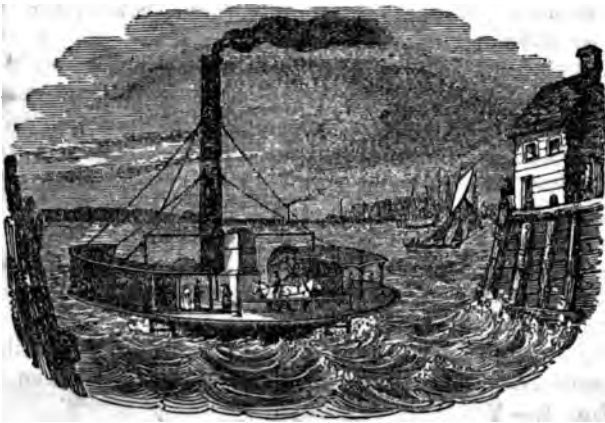
land compared with London. It is more domestic, more simple, more hearty, social, frank, and hospitable. Some of the pleasantest evenings we passed were in the family circles of Brooklyn, and we found them as well informed and intellectual as they were generous, friendly, and agreeable.

Staten Island is another pleasant spot in the environs of New-York. Being situated at the Narrows, as the entrance to the harbour is called, and near the open sea, it is a favourite spot for health and recreation. The three seamen's institutions already described are here; and a watering-place, called New-Brighton, has recently been built on Staten Island, where an excellent hotel, called the Colonnade, is much frequented in the summer months. Some quarries of asbestos are worked on Staten Island, and their produce is brought up to New-York for manufacture and sale.

Jersey City, which is opposite to New-York on the west, as Brooklyn is on the east—the former having the Hudson River flowing between it and New-York, and the latter having the East River running between it and the city—is also in the environs; but it is not much frequented except for business, and in the route to various places in the State of New-Jersey. It is chiefly occupied with trade, and is a busy and thriving city.

Hoboken is another and a very favourite spot, a little farther up the Hudson River, to the north; but my engagements were so incessant in New-York that I had not an opportunity of seeing its beauties, which are, however, very highly spoken of.

From New-York to all these places there are steam ferry-boats going every hour of the day, and these are as com-



fortable as bridges, for persons in carriages need not alight, but may drive into the boat, and remain there undisturbed to the end of the passage, and then drive on shore again; while passengers not riding or driving are accommodated with pleasant cabins and warm and comfortable fires.

On the last day of my stay in New-York I had hoped to have enjoyed an entire day of rest preparatory to our journey south, especially as we had in the preceding week taken leave of all our very numerous personal friends. But my repose was broken in upon by a pressing invitation which I could not resist. I had been invited by letter to attend the public exhibition and examination of the pupils at one of the common schools, No. 15, in Twenty-seventh-street, and had already expressed my inability to attend, from the near approach of our departure, and the necessity of completing many arrangements for which the time would be required. The directors, however, to overrule this objection, deputed some of their body, headed by the mayor of New-York, Mr. Aaron Clark, who came himself with a carriage for our conveyance, and I was thus compelled to accompany him to the exhibition at seven o'clock, and remain there till ten, though having a hundred things to do, and to start with my family at six the next morning for Philadelphia.

I was amply rewarded, however, for my attendance. The schoolroom was spacious, airy, and well arranged in every respect. The boys and girls, in separate classes, were well dressed, and in the best possible order; and while these occupied the upper end of the room, and came on the platform for examination in detachments, the examiners occupied an elevation at the lower end of the room; and between these two extremes the body of the school was filled with upward of 600 of the parents of the scholars, with about 300 visitors, relatives, and friends.

The examination of each class was conducted by its respective teacher, assisted occasionally by an incidental question from some of the visitors on the platform, and the proficiency of the pupils was extraordinary. In mathematics, astronomy, history, and geography, their knowledge was surprising, both for its extent and accuracy. In recitation they were not so good, though perhaps this was less perceptible to the American portion of the auditory than to myself, on whose ear the nasal and drawling tones of the ordinary pronunciation of all classes here fell disagreeably, and must so, I should think, to every person recently from England; though a long residence might perhaps reconcile one to it, as it does to provincialisms at home.

What delighted me more, however, than even the proficiency of the pupils in the several branches of learning in which they were examined, was the delivery of an address to the Society for Mental and Moral Improvement by one of the senior boys, who had been its first-elected president, but who had since been succeeded by another in rotation of office. This society was composed entirely of the pupils of the public school No. 15, and was first founded by them, as their own voluntary act, on the 17th of May, 1836, with a president, vice-president, secretary, and three directors, all elected annually by the members themselves. A copy of the constitution of this young society of moral and mental reformers was presented to me at the school, and from it I transcribe some few of its articles.

"1. To become a member of this society, the scholar must sign this constitution, and thereby pledge himself to avoid the following vices, viz. : 1st. Profane swearing; 2d. Falsehood; 3d. Fighting and quarrelling; 4th. Dishonesty, gambling, and theft; 5th. Ungentlemanly conduct at all times and places.

"2. The practice of *smoking* or of *using tobacco* in any of the common modes of indulgence, being in itself ungentlemanlike, and, moreover, tending to produce habits of *intemperance*, is forbidden by the pledge involved in joining this society.

"3. The amusement of *playing at marbles* being at best a filthy one, it is important to consider whether it has not also more important evil consequences. It frequently leads to *fighting and quarrelling*, and is, moreover, a low species of *gambling*, which in time may lead to gambling of a more serious kind. It is therefore forbidden by the pledge of this society.

"4. No scholar shall become a member of this society who is irregular in his attendance at school, who is frequently deficient in his school exercises, or who appears indifferent to his moral respectability or mental improvement.

"5. The election of the president and other officers is restricted to a choice from the highest classes of the pupils, and this choice must be approved by the teacher before it can become valid.

"6. The board of directors have alone power to expel or suspend members for misconduct.

"7. No member shall be capable of holding any office within two months after having been found by the board of directors guilty of any offence against the rules of the society. Any officer so convicted shall immediately be degraded from his office, and a successor shall be appointed by the board of directors to supply his place until the next regular election.

"8. A faithful report of the proceedings of the society, and a register of the conduct and proficiency of its members, kept by the secretary, shall be presented to the patrons at every visit which they shall make at the school.

"9. The scholars whose names are signed hereto agree to support this constitution, and to conform to all the pledges herein contained, and generally to exert all their moral influence to improve the intellectual character of each other, and to elevate that of the school."

The names of about fifty pupils were signed to this document, and, from inquiry made in several quarters, I ascertained that during the two years that this society had been established, it had been productive of the best effects, having never interfered with the studies of the boys, while it stimulated them to increased exertions for superiority of character as well as attainments; in this sense it had been productive of double good, and had received the approbation of the teachers and parents, as well as that of the boys themselves.

The meeting lasted till near midnight, yet it continued to be animated and orderly to the end. I had always felt a deep interest in the success of every plan for spreading the blessings of education more extensively among all ranks of society, from a conviction that to ignorance the greatest proportion of vice and misery existing in the world is to be attributed, and that the most effectual means of lessening the amount of both is to increase the extent of education, and add virtue to intelligence, so as to incorporate morals with instruction, by precept and by example. But my intercourse with American schools and American patrons of education had greatly strengthened this feeling; and accordingly, overpressed as I already felt myself to be with occupation, I could not refrain from acceding to the solicitation of the friends of education here, that I should write for them a series of articles "On the principles, means, and end of Education," and thus assist towards the support of the most important object that can engage the thoughts, the pen, or the tongue of man, the proper cultivation of those faculties with which the great Author of our being has created and endowed us, so as to make the exercise of them redound most to his honour, to our own enjoyment, and to the general happiness of our fellow-creatures.*

On our return home from the school, late as it was, we found nearly the whole family of our fellow-boarders waiting to receive us, and bid us farewell before they retired to rest, as we purposed leaving before daylight in the morning by the steamboat for Philadelphia. This mark of attention and respect was extremely grateful to our feelings; and, indeed, we found ourselves, after a four months' residence at New-York, much more at home and in the bosom of friends than we had thought possible in a strange land. There were many, however, in this circle, with whom we sympathized so cordially in sentiment and feeling that it was impossible not

* These essays will probably form the subject of a separate volume.

to experience deep regret at parting with them, and even with those in whose opinions we did not always coincide, there was so friendly an understanding, and so much good-nature and forbearance, that we found it a hard matter to say "Adieu."

CHAPTER XIV.

Voyage from New-York to Amboy by Steamboat.—Journey from Amboy to Camden by Railroad.—Crossing the Delaware in Ice-boat to Philadelphia.—Visit to the Pennsylvania Convention, then sitting.—Nature, Object, and Proceedings of Conventions.—Temperance Festival at the Arch-street Theatre, given as a Public Welcome to myself and Family.—Preparations and Arrangements for the Entertainment.—Opinions of the Press on the Temperance Festival.—Departure from Philadelphia by Railroad for Baltimore.—Halt at Wilmington.—Deputation headed by Judge Hall.—Passing from the Free into the Slave States.—Arrival at Baltimore.—Temperance Meeting there.—Journey by Railroad to Washington.

EARLY on the morning of Wednesday, the 21st of February, we left New-York for Philadelphia. The air was intensely cold, the thermometer being 8° below zero; and the East River was filled with floating ice, while many of the larger vessels and smaller craft at the wharves were completely imbedded in thick masses of it. The steamboat in which we started was large and commodious, the passengers numerous, but not inconveniently so, and we breakfasted in the large cabin below more satisfactorily than we had done for many days past on shore.

Our passage down the harbour was very interesting; and as the rising sun lighted up the spires and public buildings of New-York, and the forest of masts that fringed the shores of the island on either side began to display their numerous flags, the picture became as lively and interesting as it was at our first approach to the city in October last. A four months' residence had made us acquainted, however, with so many agreeable, intelligent, and benevolent individuals, with whom intimacy had grown into friendship, that we found our parting look upon the scene of so much sympathy and pleasure less joyous than our first view of it; and we left behind us sincere and fervent wishes for the peace and prosperity of their city.

The ice was so thick and impassable in the inner channel to Amboy that we were obliged to go by the outer channel, nearer the sea; and, sweeping round the shore of Staten

Island, we reached the landing-place of South Amboy about ten o'clock, the ice being so thick as to make it difficult to approach near enough to the wharves for landing.

Here we found the commencement of the railroad to Philadelphia; and, embarking in the cars provided for that purpose, we set forward on our journey. These cars are not so comfortable in their arrangements as the carriages on our English railroads. They are very long omnibuses, sufficiently broad to admit a passage up the middle, on each side of which is a range of seats going across the breadth, each capable of accommodating two persons, who sit with their faces towards the engine, and not facing each other, as in omnibuses generally. The car in which we sat had twenty such cross-seats on each side the central passage, and therefore contained eighty passengers. In the centre of the car was a stove, well supplied with fuel, which warmed the whole interior, and rendered the atmosphere agreeable.

The rate at which we travelled was about sixteen miles an hour; the road was good, but the scenery was very monotonous and uninteresting, being mostly uncultivated land, covered with small trees and brushwood, and the few villages through which we passed were neither picturesque nor beautiful. The dreary season of winter would account for much of this, it is true; but even in summer the route must be regarded as monotonous.

About two o'clock we reached the small town of Camden, on the Delaware, nearly opposite the City of Philadelphia; and, embarking there in a steamboat of a peculiar construction, with iron stem and keel, called an ice-boat, we literally cut our way through the solid masses of ice in some places, and broken pieces in others, some of them from twelve to fifteen inches thick, and, safely reaching the other side of the river, we landed at Philadelphia before three. Apartments were provided for us at the United States Hotel, where we were met by a large party of friends to welcome our arrival in the city, and to offer their services during our stay.

On the following morning, Feb. 22, I was taken to the State Convention, then sitting in Philadelphia, at the close of a very long session, and I was much gratified by the sight. Conventions in America are public assemblies of the delegates of the whole people, called together for the express purpose of considering some great question of public interest. Such a one as this occurs but rarely, and it was therefore regarded with the greater interest, and clothed

with the greatest importance. No Convention for the revision of the Constitution had sat in Philadelphia since the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and nothing but what was considered an urgent and general desire would have led to the organizing such an assembly at all. The present Convention was called to consider the propriety of revising the Constitution of Pennsylvania ; and the majority of the inhabitants of the state being in favour of some revision, the Convention was a popular measure. The General Government of the country has nothing to do with its formation. It originates with, and is conducted wholly by, the people of the state, who, through its machinery, exercise this revising power. The delegates are elected by the inhabitants of each county, who send a number proportioned to their respective population. The delegates chosen are generally the most intelligent and influential men of the district from whence they come. They are armed with full powers of deliberation and decision, and their expenses are paid out of the state or county funds. On assembling, they elect their own president, fix their own order of proceedings and times of sitting, and every disputed point is settled by the votes of the majority.

This Convention had been sitting for several months from day to day, though its only business was to examine the Constitution of Pennsylvania, debate each provision of it in detail, propose and discuss amendments, and come to conclusions by votes on the propositions made. This was the last day of its sitting, and its proceedings were very animated, yet, at the same time, dignified and orderly in a high degree. The room in which they sat was the Musical Fund Hall, occupying an area of about the same length, but at least twice the breadth, of the British House of Commons (that which has been used as such since the old house was burned) ; an area capable of seating comfortably a thousand persons. This room was neatly fitted up for the business of the Convention, by an elevated station for the president, who could overlook and command the whole chamber, by a competent number of desks, and appropriate seats for the members, and a gallery and corridors for visitors and strangers. Several gentlemen spoke on various amendments then before the Convention, and did so always with much good sense and often with great ability. There, was a quiet earnestness about the whole proceedings which was calculated to make the most favourable impression on a stranger ; and in the Hall itself, the costume of the grave

and elderly members, the tables and papers, and the object of the assembly, strikingly resembled the celebrated picture of "The Declaration of Independence," the great historical record of the political birth of the United States. Towards the close of the day the revised Constitution was signed by all the delegates present, the will of the majority being the law binding on all; and in this altered state it would have to be submitted to the people at large, whose votes would be taken upon it at a future period, when, if the majority approved of the amendments made, it would become the lawful Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and, as such, would be recognised by all the other states of the Union.

By such a proceeding as this, the sovereignty of the people is not merely acknowledged as a constitutional principle, but this principle is carried out so fully in practice, that by this sovereignty alone it is determined what shall and what shall not be the Constitution itself. Yet, so far from turbulence and disorder being, as some would pretend, the unavoidable result of purely Democratic assemblies, I may state that I never saw any proceedings more grave, more solemn, or more dignified than the last day's sitting of the Convention of Philadelphia.

The contrast which this certainty and definiteness of constitutions in America offers, to the vagueness of everything connected with the Constitution in England, is strikingly in favour of the former. Having no written Constitution for our guide like these states of the Union, there is nothing fixed or tangible for us to refer to; and, accordingly, every man makes of our unwritten and undefined Constitution whatever he pleases. Hence it happens that, in almost every great change proposed in our laws, one party contends that the change is unconstitutional, while the other as warmly insists that it is in perfect harmony with constitutional principles. Twenty times, at least, within the last twenty years, it has been solemnly asserted, that if certain acts of Parliament were passed into laws, they would be the grossest violations of the British Constitution, which, after such laws, would indeed be utterly annihilated and gone! Yet, though such acts have become laws, our often-destroyed Constitution still survives them all. In the same manner, when changes are proposed, in the nature of a *revision* of this Constitution, as far as one can understand it, the Whig and Conservative legislators, as guardians of this "glorious uncertainty," unite their voices against all "organic change,"

and indulge in predictions that, if once the principle be admitted that organic changes are either desirable or practicable, a revolution is begun, and anarchy and destruction must inevitably follow ! To all this the most complete answer is, the tranquil history of an American Convention, called by the people, conducted by the people, its proceedings ratified by the people, its avowed and sanctioned object being to effect organic changes in the Constitution, not such as the rust of ages and the accumulated errors of centuries may have occasioned, as with us, but such as the experience of a few years only may have shown to be necessary ; and all this carried on, from its opening to its close, without a tenth part of the excitement or disorder which occurs in some single nights in the organic-change-resisting House of Commons of England.

In the evening we attended a very splendid entertainment, called a Temperance Festival, got up in honour of my arrival in Philadelphia, and intended to give me a public welcome in America. I pass over the flattering correspondence, resolutions, and invitations which preceded this meeting. But I see no reason why some account should not be given of the festival itself, which, though avowedly held to do honour to myself, and thus to recognise and reward my labours in the cause of temperance reform, was also intended to effect the double object of advocating its great *principles*, and giving a public *proof* to the world that it is really practicable to entertain a large assembly, not merely agreeably, but in a merry, joyous, and convivial manner, without the least use of stimulating drinks ; a fact which many had declared to be impossible, and which few would believe without such a demonstration as this.

To combine ample accommodation with elegance, the Arch-street Theatre was taken for this occasion. The stage was thrown open, and tastefully decorated on all sides ; the pit was boarded over on a level with the stage, and the boxes and galleries were left in their usual condition. An excellent band of music was in attendance ; ample refreshments, of great elegance and variety, were provided, and every preparation was made for an imposing as well as agreeable fête. Before we arrived, indeed, the popularity of the entertainment had reached so high, that, though the price of admission was a dollar each, 2000 tickets were freely sold, and on the last day the tickets went up to a premium of ten dollars each, and even at that price none at last could be obtained, so that many hundreds were excluded

for want of room. Of the meeting itself, as I was the prominent object of it, and principal speaker of the evening, I shall not give a description, but I will transfer from the columns of the three leading papers of Philadelphia the opinions entertained by their conductors, whose partialities would have no probable bias in our favour. The following is from the United States Gazette of February 23d :

"The demonstration in favour of the cause of temperance last evening was far more extensive and imposing than its most sanguine friends had ventured to anticipate. The whole extent of the theatre in Arch-street, where the festival was held, was crowded in every part. The pit, floored over as on the occasion of the firemen's ball, was thronged with a dense mass, filling the entire area between the dress circle, and extending back to the extreme extent of the stage, which was tastefully adorned with appropriate scenery. The boxes were also crowded in every direction, and it is estimated that there were not less than two thousand persons assembled within the walls of the building.

"The exercises of the evening were commenced with music from a superior band, after which prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Chambers. Then followed the reading of letters from different distinguished individuals, who, though ardent friends of the cause, were unable to grace it with their presence upon this interesting occasion. When these were completed, Mr. Buckingham, an ex-member of the British Parliament, and the great advocate of temperance principles, was introduced to the audience, by whom he was received with the most decided demonstrations of a hearty and cordial welcome.

"Mr. Buckingham addressed the audience in a strain of surpassing eloquence, such as we have rarely heard equalled, for nearly two hours, and was listened to throughout with the most flattering attention. He dwelt with much emphasis on the importance of temperance in promoting the prosperity and happiness of mankind, adverting to the crime and misery, the beggared victims and ruined families, resulting from intemperance, and bringing forward, in the course of his address, an immense amount and variety of statistical evidence, going to furnish strong, if not conclusive data, on which to form some estimate of the loss sustained by the fires, shipwrecks, and other casualties originating in the use of intoxicating liquors.

"Mr. Buckingham mentioned, in support of this portion of his argument, that, while officiating as chairman of a committee appointed by the House of Commons in England to make investigations on this subject, he had estimated the loss positively sustained by the people of Great Britain at one sixth part of its entire productive industry, which one sixth portion would amount to 50,000,000 pounds sterling, or 250,000,000 of dollars. But the loss in time, health, and in other causes not enumerated, but proceeding and arising directly from intemperance, would swell this amount to a much more enormous extent. In conclusion, he adverted in pointed terms to the exceedingly beneficial effects of temperance, speaking, he said, from his own actual experience and the ample testimony of his friends. His allusions to Washington, upon whose birthday this great festival was held, were received with the most deafening and enthusiastic applause.

"A number of resolutions were offered in the course of the evening, supported in able addresses from several gentlemen, among whom we noticed Edward C. Delavan, Esq., of New-York, and Christian Keener, Esq., of Baltimore. Other resolutions and addresses were delivered

by several of our own townsmen, which the lateness of the hour to which the exercises extended prevents our making any particular mention of. A variety of music was interspersed throughout the evening, and the ladies were served with refreshments, of which the supply was abundant. Altogether, this great festival was one which the friends of temperance will have reason to congratulate themselves upon."

This was the testimony borne to the character of the meeting on the morning after it was held. It was apprehended, however, that on the succeeding day something of a different nature might appear; for here, as everywhere else, large interests are at war with the temperance reformation; and all who make, or sell, or consume intoxicating drinks, may be looked upon as the natural enemies of temperance societies; and their influence over the press might, we thought, be sufficient to enlist at least one paper in their cause. But no champion appeared for them. On the following day, February 24th, this was the editorial article of the *Pennsylvanian* :

"The Temperance Festival at the Arch-street Theatre on Thursday evening was truly a brilliant affair, and, we should think, must have far exceeded even the expectations of those who were most active in getting up an entertainment in every respect so novel. At least we can say, for our own part, that on entering we were much surprised at observing the appearance presented by the theatre, which was never before graced by the presence of so large an audience. Not only were the first and second rows of boxes completely filled with ladies and gentlemen, but the numerous benches upon the extensive area obtained by flooring over the pit and the stage was likewise literally crowded, from the front to the back of the house, and many were obliged to content themselves with the standing-room of the avenues left for entering and retiring. The concourse of ladies was very great; and, altogether, independent of the purpose of the assemblage, it was well worth the visit to see the unusual and elegant aspect offered by the theatre on the occasion.

"The officers of the meeting occupied an elevated stand under the proscenium, from which position Mr. Buckingham, the celebrated lecturer, addressed the company. He spoke upward of two hours, and it has rarely been our fortune to hear an address which gave more satisfaction, or more completely riveted the attention. As a speaker, he possesses remarkable ease, fluency, and readiness, combined with a graceful, unaffected manner, which invests his subject with additional interest, and immediately enlists the feelings of the hearer. His address was characterized by great variety. The occasional statistical detail was relieved by the fervent appeal and the pertinent anecdote, and again the speaker would indulge in a humorous delineation of the difficulties which beset his path, especially in the British House of Commons, when setting forth as a pioneer in the cause of total abstinence. The sketches of scenes of this nature were dashed off with a vividness and graphic force, and, at the same time, with a freedom from all appearance of straining at effect, which rendered them truly delightful, and elicited, as indeed the speech did throughout, the most enthusiastic applause. It is a difficult matter to fix the attention of a large and mixed audience for any length of time, especially when, as in a theatre, their restless-

ness does not subject them to observation ; and it must have been truly gratifying to Mr. Buckingham to see his perfect success in this respect. The only feeling among his hearers when he had concluded was that of regret that his remarks were not extended to a greater length. With such advocates, the cause he has espoused cannot fail in making rapid progress.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Buckingham m's speech, refreshments were served from the long table, which extended the whole length of the theatre, and at intervals afterward, ice-creams, &c., continued to be handed round. Several other speeches were likewise delivered, which, however, coming so late in the evening, might have been curtailed with advantage, especially in those instances where the zeal of the speaker was his only title to attention.

"It was about eleven o'clock when the Festival was brought to a conclusion, the adjournment being preceded by a few words from Mr. Buckingham ; and all who were present seemed to leave the house highly gratified with the occurrences of the evening. Mr. Buckingham, at least, has every reason to felicitate himself upon the effect of his first public appearance among the Philadelphians,"

A third paper, the Pennsylvania Herald, contained a still longer article than any of its contemporaries. The following, which is but a small portion of the whole, will show the concurrent opinions of the Philadelphia press :

"The Temperance Festival at the Arch-street Theatre, on Thursday evening last, must have surpassed the expectations even of the most sanguine friends of the cause. Never did the theatre present a more imposing, more brilliant, or more gratifying appearance. The pit, which had been floored over, was completely occupied by the vast assemblage. The boxes were also thronged, and the *tout ensemble* was calculated to send a thrill of delight to every bosom, and reanimate the energies of every friend of the cause. It is estimated that not less than 2000 persons could have been present. Among these, citizens of every class and condition of life, and a large proportion of the fairer and gentler sex, who, by their presence, gave an additional charm, and lent a more refined sanction to the scene. The dress circle was particularly brilliant. Headdresses of the most tasteful character gave effect to youth and beauty of no common mould, while mother and daughter, father and son, sat beside each other, all apparently gratified, and deeply interested in the progress of the exercises. As early as seven o'clock in the evening the whole company had assembled ; and, while order, decorum, and propriety reigned throughout, no spectator could have gazed coldly upon the animated scene, or have reflected with other than benevolent feelings upon the elevated objects of that festival.

"Mr. Buckingham concluded his most eloquent, diversified, powerful, and convincing address by expressing in warm and affectionate terms his grateful and heartfelt acknowledgments for the high honour which had been conferred upon him in this 'City of Brotherly Love.' Mr. B. sat down amid the warmest demonstrations of applause.

"The company were then addressed by Mr. E. C. Delavan, of New-York, Mr. C. Keener, of Baltimore, Matthew Carey, Esq., of Philadelphia, the Rev. Mr. Chambers, and the Rev. Mr. Hunt. Their remarks were characteristic and appropriate, and frequently elicited the liveliest acclamations. The festival throughout cannot but be considered as one of the most gratifying expositions of public sentiment, and one in which every philanthropist must feel no ordinary degree of interest."

We remained over the next day at Philadelphia, to rest after our labours, and to see the very numerous friends who called to pay us visits of respect. We saw but little of the city now, however, as it was our intention to return here and pass the month of May.

On the morning of Saturday, the 24th, we set out on our journey to Baltimore; and, being taken by four-horse omnibuses to the station of the railroad, about three miles out of Philadelphia, we there got into large cars, similar to those in which we came from Amboy, and proceeded at about the same rate, of fifteen or sixteen miles per hour, on our way.

The country was still covered with snow, and still presented the same dreary and monotonous aspect of uncultivated soil and small brushwood surface. When we arrived opposite to Wilmington, a pretty large town of from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, a deputation came out to meet me, headed by the venerable Judge Hall, to entreat that, on my return from the South, I would pass an evening with them, and devote it to a temperance meeting, which I readily promised to do if practicable.

From hence we proceeded on our way, and soon after passed over the boundary-line between the free and the slave states, passing out of the last of the former, Pennsylvania, and entering the first of the latter in going south, Delaware. From thence we soon after entered Maryland; and in both of these it seemed to all our party that we could perceive a marked difference in the wretchedness of the huts or dwellings, the bad state of the fences, and the slovenly and neglected appearance of the whole country, from the free states through which we had approached the slaveholding territory.

After crossing several streams, by long, low bridges, and one by a magnificent floating-house propelled by steam, we entered Baltimore about half past two, having thus performed the journey from New-York to Philadelphia, a distance of ninety-six miles, in seven hours, and from Philadelphia to Baltimore, about the same distance, in six hours and a half, at the very low rates of three dollars each for the first journey, and four dollars each for the second.

At Baltimore we were met by a party of gentlemen, who had prepared apartments for our reception and provided a handsome dinner for our refreshment. After partaking this with them, and enjoying some rest, we attended a temperance meeting in the Methodist Chapel, where, after an open-

ing prayer by the Methodist bishop (for these were Episcopal Methodists), and a speech from the Rev. Robert Brackenridge, of Baltimore, I was occupied for about two hours in addressing the auditory on the temperance question, and advocating the principles of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate as the only basis on which any great reform can be effected among the masses of the people generally.

We remained at Baltimore during the Sunday, attending the Methodist Chapel in the morning, and the Episcopal Church in the afternoon; and the contrast between the worship in these was very striking indeed. In the former all was simplicity, earnestness, and warmth of devotion; in the latter all was ostentatious, cold, formal, and unimpressive. Yet the Episcopal Church was attended by a large congregation of gay and fashionable visiters, while in the Methodist Church the poor and the humble formed the majority of the worshippers. Each were, no doubt, suited according to their tastes; for, while in the Methodist service there was everything adapted to give consolation to the truly devout, in the Episcopal there was nothing that could offend the most fastidious taste, or disturb the self-complacence of those who needed only a pastime, without much thought or feeling, and who found what they sought.

On Monday, February 26, we left Baltimore for Washington by the railroad, starting at nine o'clock; and, after traversing as dreary and uninteresting a tract of country as that over which we had passed on the two preceding journeys, we reached Washington, a distance of thirty-six miles, in three hours, arriving there about twelve o'clock.

It may be remarked, as a striking proof of the prevalence of fires in all the great cities of this country, that on the morning of our leaving New-York there was a very large fire; on the first night of our sleeping in Philadelphia there was also a great fire; on the night of our arrival in Baltimore there was a fire that consumed several houses within a few doors of the inn where we slept; and on the day of our reaching Washington there was also a great fire. Such a succession of fires as these could hardly be found to be in the track of a traveller in any part of the world except this; at least I remember nothing like it in all my travels in other countries.

CHAPTER XV.

Stay at Washington.—Funeral of a Member of Congress who had been shot in a Duel.—Visit to the House of Representatives.—Funeral Service.—Impressiveness of the Scene.—Effect on the Auditors.—Publication of an Address to both Houses on Duelling.—State Temperance Meeting of Members of Congress.—Speech in the Hall of Representatives.—Vote of Thanks, and Resolution to publish the same.—Commencement of Lectures in Washington.—Letter on the Subject of Slave Abolition.—Advertised Rewards for runaway Slaves.—Offer of Purchase by Slave-dealers.—Prejudice of native Americans against Foreigners.—Illustration of this in an Editor at Washington.—Visit to the first Drawing-room of the President.—Description and Character of that Entertainment.—All Classes, without distinction, freely admitted.—Remarkable Order and Decorum of so mixed an Assemblage.

On the day after our reaching Washington (February 27), we were present at a very melancholy and imposing ceremony, in the Hall of Representatives in the Capitol, the funeral of one of the members of the Legislature, who had been shot dead in a duel by a brother member on the preceding Saturday. The circumstances of this affair were briefly these : Mr. Jonathan Cilley, member of the House of Representatives from the State of Maine, had used some language in debate which gave offence to Colonel James Watson Webb, the editor of the New-York Courier and Enquirer ; on which Colonel Webb came on to Washington, and sent a message by his friend Mr. William Graves, representative from Kentucky, demanding to know of Mr. Cilley whether he had used the words reported to be said by him, and, if so, calling on him to give satisfaction. Mr. Cilley declined acknowledging his accountability to any man out of the House for words spoken under the privilege of a member of the Legislature in debate ; and added also that he was determined not to get into a controversy with Colonel Webb. Mr. Graves insisted on it that his was an insinuation against the honour of his friend, and he demanded that Mr. Cilley should acknowledge Colonel Webb to be a man of honour and a gentleman. This Mr. Cilley declined to do, saying he would express no opinion either way as to the character of Colonel Webb, as he did not regard himself as in any degree responsible to him or to any other man for his conduct as a member of the House. Upon this Mr. Graves, who had no previous quarrel with Mr. Cilley on his own account, thought it his duty to challenge Mr. Cilley to the field, to wipe out the insinuation against the character of Colonel Webb. Mr. Cilley at first hesitated, saying he had the highest respect for Mr. Graves, and should regret exceedingly

any difference between them ; but he was left no alternative, and unfortunately yielded to the demand. They accordingly went out, provided with the weapons agreed upon, rifles, and, under the direction of their respective seconds, were placed at eighty yards' distance. After the first shot, instead of being withdrawn by the seconds, which would certainly have been done in Europe, there was a deliberation between the parties, and, after a pause of more than one hour, it is said, they were made to fire a second time, each of course taking deliberate aim. Neither of the combatants being hurt by the second fire, a second parley was held, which lasted even longer than the former, and at the close of which the gentleman who acted as second to Mr. Graves proposed, and the second of Mr. Cilley acceded to the proposal, that if neither party were killed or wounded after the third shot, the distance between the combatants should be shortened. The third shot, however, produced the death of Mr. Cilley, who, receiving his antagonist's ball through the body, was a lifeless corpse in five minutes after he fell, leaving a wife and four young children to mourn his loss.

This duel had excited a great sensation among all classes, and the funeral of the deceased being fixed to take place this morning, the ceremony to commence in the House of Representatives, the hall was filled at a very early hour. We went there with a party of friends as early as ten o'clock, and before eleven every part of the building was filled, the lower part of the hall by members and persons connected with the public establishments, the galleries around with ladies and gentlemen, residents of the city, and strangers or visitors ; and the profound silence that everywhere prevailed produced a solemnity that was deeply affecting. At twelve o'clock the chair was taken by the Speaker of the House, when the corpse of the deceased was brought in, and deposited on a bier in front of the speaker's chair. The members of the Senate then entered, and took their stations in front of the representatives. After these came the judges of the Supreme Court, then the heads of departments and secretaries of state, and, lastly, the President and Vice-president of the United States, who were seated on each side of the coffin, while the chief mourners, consisting of the colleagues and personal friends of the deceased, stood behind the corpse with scarfs, in full costume of mourning. All the members of both houses, and all the public officers, wore crape bands on their left arms, and the great majority of the vast assembly were dressed in black.

The proceedings were opened by an extemporaneous prayer from the chaplain of the Senate, which was solemn and appropriate. After this followed a funeral address by the chaplain of the House of Representatives, who, with great feeling, adverted to the melancholy spectacle, and animadverted upon its cause, and deprecated, with great boldness and force, the false sentiment of honour and the vitiated state of public opinion out of which this fatal duel had originated; and it appeared to me that, so entirely was the feeling of the House and general auditory in favour of the reverend doctor's views, if a proposition could have been submitted at that moment in favour of the legal suppression of this cruel practice, under any penalties that could be affixed, it would have met with the unanimous assent of all present.

About one o'clock the mournful procession moved off from the Hall of Representatives, to convey the unfortunate victim of this false code of honour to the silent tomb; and at this point of the proceedings there was scarcely a dry eye beneath the spacious dome. For myself, I was so impressed with the duty of contributing, by every means within my power, to the cherishing and keeping alive the sentiment of repugnance to duelling which this tragical occurrence had awakened, that, on retiring to my room, I addressed notes to several of the leading members of both houses, enclosing a copy of an address which I had caused to be presented to the members of both houses of the British Parliament during the last session of my being a member, entitled "Reasons for Legislative Interference to prevent the Practice of Duelling," preparatory to a bill which I had announced my intention to bring into the House of Commons to effect this end, and which, had circumstances enabled me to continue longer a member of that assembly, I should have presented to the House for its consideration.

By some of my friends, to whom this address was shown, it was strongly recommended to publish it at once; but by others it was thought that the intrusion of the sentiments of a stranger and a foreigner at such a moment as this would be thought an interference, and be regarded with jealousy by many. These differences were happily compromised, however, by my friend Mr. Delavan, of Albany, addressing me a letter, asking my permission for him to publish it as an American citizen, he feeling it his duty to his country to call their attention to the subject at this particular moment; and I was, of course, too happy to comply with this request. It

was accordingly arranged that this address on duelling should be printed in as many newspapers of the country as could be prevailed upon to insert it, preceded by the correspondence between Mr. Delavan and myself, to account for its reissue at the present moment ; and a certain number of copies were agreed to be furnished to each member of both houses of Congress, to frank onward to his constituents, so that by this means the address would find its way to all quarters of the Union, and thus lead to the expression of public opinion, which, acting on the legislators here, might lead to the passing of some effective law for the suppression, at once and forever, of a custom barbarous in its origin, absurd in its practice, but fearfully calamitous in the consequences which it entails.*

In the evening of this same day a large meeting was held in the Hall of Representatives, where the solemn funeral service was performed in the morning, of the Congressional State Temperance Society, at which I was invited to take a part, and for the purpose of which, indeed, my journey to Washington was undertaken at this particular period. The society named above is composed wholly of members of both houses of Congress, and the anniversary of its formation is always held in one or other of the legislative chambers. This, of course, gives great interest and importance to their proceedings, and induces the country generally to watch their movements with more than ordinary anxiety. On the present occasion, the Honourable Felix Grundy, a member of the Senate from Tennessee, presided in the chair, and the meeting was held in the Hall of Representatives, as being larger and more commodious than the Senate Chamber; yet senators as well as representatives took part in the proceedings, by moving and seconding the resolutions submitted to the assembly. The attendance of members was unusually large, notwithstanding the absorption of every feeling in the mournful funeral ceremonies of the day. Ladies of the principal families in Washington, with many of the cabinet and public officers, were also among the auditory, which, including those in the galleries, could hardly have been less than a thousand persons. As it was purposely arranged that I should occupy the greater part of the evening with my address, the speeches of the various members who preceded me were very short, shorter indeed than I wished, because I should have been glad to have heard the testimony and arguments of others, espe-

* This address will be given in the Appendix, No. III.

cially members of the American Congress, on this subject. Unfortunately, I laboured under so severe a hoarseness, from cold and much speaking, that I doubted whether I should be heard at all. I was placed, however, in the most favourable position for being heard, as I occupied an elevation immediately in front of the speaker's chair; and as the members' seats are arranged semicircularly above and behind each other, as in a lecture-room, while the galleries, which were filled with strangers, extended all around the circumference at the base of the dome, all could see and hear nearly equally well; and my voice getting stronger and clearer as I proceeded, my address extended to nearly two hours in length. It was listened to throughout with an earnestness of attention which bespoke the deepest interest on the part of the hearers, and was honoured with a formal vote of thanks, communicated to me by the president in the most flattering terms, accompanied by a resolution that the speech, as taken down by the official reporter of the House, who was in attendance for that purpose, should be printed and circulated as widely as possible over all the United States.

On the Tuesday following, March 6, I commenced my course of lectures on the Scriptural and Classical Countries of the East, in the first Presbyterian Church in Four-and-a-half-street, in that part of Washington, near the Pennsylvania Avenue, where the residences of members of Congress chiefly lie; and I was much gratified by the very large attendance of that class, as well as of the cabinet ministers, of foreign ambassadors, and of most of the leading families at this legislative capital of the Union. This was the more agreeable from its being wholly unexpected. As we were now in the greatest slave-mart of the country, where it was certain that my opinions respecting slavery would be well known, and as great alarm is felt here at the very name of abolition, arising out of the attempts lately made to prevail on Congress to exercise their power in abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, in which Washington is situated, I was prepared to expect both open and covert attacks on this subject, and was equally ready to meet the consequences. Among other indications of the private hostility I was likely to experience on this head, I received the following letter, which confirmed all I had anticipated; and of public hostility, in addition to the share I was sure to encounter in common with native abolitionists, the fact of my being a foreigner was here prominently put forward as an objec-

tion to the favourable reception of my labours. But first of the letter, which was as follows :

"District of Columbia, March 5, 1838.

SIR—The writer of this note has not the pleasure of an acquaintance with you, but takes the liberty to address you on a subject respecting which it becomes you, as a foreigner, to conduct yourself with great circumspection. While reading your announcement to-day in the City of Washington, the writer asked a gentleman present, 'Will you attend Mr. B.'s lectures?' The answer was emphatically 'No. It is said Mr. Buckingham is an abolitionist; and if so, he will not meet with a good reception.'

"You are probably little aware, sir, of the ideas associated with the term *abolitionist* in the slave-holding states of our country, and of the suspicion with which a person is looked upon who is known to entertain the views which the people of the South (among whom you now are) attach to the word. Unhappily, our country is in a state of feverish excitement on this deeply-interesting subject, and even a Northern man could not defend abolition sentiments south of Pennsylvania without hazarding his personal safety. You, sir, will probably be regarded with more jealousy as an *Englishman*.

"The writer expresses no opinion on the subject of slavery, and cannot presume to dictate to you, sir. He merely suggests the propriety of circumspection in conversing on the subject, leaving to your own good sense, and the dictates of conscience and a sound judgment, the course you should pursue.

"For the honour of his own beloved country, the writer would exceedingly regret any occurrence which should inflict even a wound on the feelings of foreigners of respectability, and thus tend to dishonour the American name among European nations. But you have seen enough of the world, sir, to know that in *all countries* foreigners are regarded with jealousy who in any way animadvert upon their peculiar institutions. In this great and free country, what is orthodoxy in New-York may be rank heterodoxy in Washington.

"Pardon this hasty note from a stranger. In writing it, the undersigned has only done what he would regard as an act of friendship if done for him among a people three thousand miles from the land of his fathers.

"For abundant success in your laudable enterprise, and for your own personal happiness,

"Accept the best wishes of

"AN AMERICAN.

"J. S. Buckingham, Esq."

On inquiry in such quarters as were open to me, I found this statement confirmed; and though it formed no part of my public labours to discuss the question of abolition, however much I wished it success, in this country as well as in all others, this letter may be offered as a proof of the inveterate hostility of slave-holding states to all persons known even to entertain *opinions* favourable to negro emancipation, whether they *give* utterance to them or not. The defenders of slavery in this country profess, indeed, that their only reason for opposing the doctrines of abolition is a belief that

their slaves are more happy in their bondage than they would be if free; that they therefore do not wish, for the sake of the slaves themselves, that their happiness should be disturbed, though they add they are perfectly sure that the slaves do not desire freedom, and would not accept it if it were offered to them.

The best answer to such assertions as these is to be found in the fact that the slaves would not only take their freedom gladly if offered them, but that they often take it *without*, and at the risk of incurring severe punishment; as the following advertisements, all taken from the Washington Intelligencer of March 5th, 1838, will show.

"200 DOLLARS REWARD—catch him where you can—will be given by the subscriber for the apprehension and delivery to me, or secured in jail so that I get him again, of a negro man Henry, commonly called Henry Carroll; formerly belonging to the estate of the late Mrs. Beer-sheba Lanham. Henry left the farm of Mr. McCormick, near Mr. John Palmer's tavern, Prince George's County, Maryland, on or about the 6th of January, where he has been hired for the last year. Henry is about 26 years of age; spare-built; of a dark copper colour; 5 feet 8 or 10 inches high; has a down-look when spoken to; no marks recollected; and his clothing not known. Henry has relations and friends in Washington City and Georgetown, some of them free, and likely he has free papers; he is well acquainted in Alexandria. As he went off without the least provocation, he is likely trying to make his escape to some free state.

"JESSE TALBURTT."

"50 DOLLARS REWARD will be given for Delia, a mulatto woman about 48 years of age, if apprehended north of the State of Maryland, and so secured that I may get her again; or 30 dollars if taken in Virginia, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, and secured as above. She was raised by the late Mrs. Hannah Brent, of Fauquier county, Virginia, and purchased of the executor of the late Eppa Hunton, deceased. It is believed that she is still in some of the numerous hiding-places of Alexandria, Georgetown, or Washington, and that she was conveyed hither by a negro wagoner, with whom she was seen in February last, prior to the removal of the undersigned to this city.

"TH. R. HAMPTON."

Washington, indeed, the seat of legislation for this free republic, is a well-known and well-frequented mart for the purchase of slaves, and slave-dealers for the Southern and Western States come up to Washington for the purpose of securing supplies. Here is the advertisement of one of these dealers, taken from the same paper as that which contained the two preceding offers of reward.

"200 Slaves wanted.—The subscriber will give higher prices in cash for likely young slaves of both sexes than any other person in this market or who may come. I can be found at the large yellow

house on Seventh-street, or at Alexander Lee's Lottery and Exchange office. All communications will be promptly attended to.

"N.B.—I will pay at all times liberal commissions for information.

"THOMAS N. DAVIS."

No wonder, therefore, that in such a hotbed of slavery and the slave-trade as this, the fact of my being an abolitionist, even in opinion, should operate prejudicially against me. Nevertheless, the public and private attentions which I had already received from public men of all parties, in spite of this prejudice, was the more remarkable, and the large attendance on the lectures particularly so.

One of the strongest of the national prejudices of the mass of the people in America, embracing all classes except the highest and most intelligent, is a dislike to anything bordering on what they consider to be the interference of *foreigners* in any matter which they conceive they are able to determine for themselves; and of all such foreigners, they are apparently most jealous of Englishmen. It is true that the jealousy of the English does not prevent them from receiving the benefit of our trade, selling us their cotton, and taking our payments, whether in goods or money, in return; nor does it prevent them reading our books, and republishing at a cheap rate whatever English publications they may think most likely to produce a profit by their sale. But they do object most strenuously to any personal efforts made by Englishmen in their own country to correct any evil of which they may be supposed to be competent judges themselves. Hence in almost every state of the Union there are to be found one or more newspapers embodying this national sentiment in their very titles, and in the mottoes appended to them. The paper of this description at Washington, and a fair specimen of its class, is called "The Native American," and its motto is "Our country, always right: but, *right or wrong*, our country." True, therefore, to its title and its motto, its conductor avows it to be his object to denounce everything foreign, for the reason that it is not "native American;" and, in pursuance of this duty, a long article appeared in his paper of the 10th of March, of which the following are a few extracts.

"We hope Mr. Buckingham will take our advice in kindness. We do not mean him injury; but he must be aware that there is a feeling of native pride in every land. Thousands he has visited, and even in India, where he spent so great a portion of his time, there may have been occasions when he saw the glorious flame of natal indignation rise above the surface of British oppression. Could he not take a lesson from that great and mighty province, where men have been brought

under the yoke of British dominion, and where queens have been reduced to beggary by the Warren Hastingses who have lorded it over them since English cunning, villany, and cupidity dethroned the native princes, and established their own governors in their stead?

"Personally we wish Mr. Buckingham all prosperity in life. This wish springs from a personal knowledge of his personal merits, which are very great: but he certainly cannot blame our rough manners in inviting him to cease from his process of lecturing upon temperance, dictating to the American people their course of action. There is nothing bad, but a great deal of good in temperance; but we do not like these precedents: we know that we utter the sentiments of native Americans when we solemnly declare that we do not need these foreign teachers, but that, ere long, we will not tolerate their *audacious presence*. We are a nation of men, and not of old women. We are sturdy inhabitants, born to the soil, and the soil to us; and there are enough moralists in our borders to tell us the word of heaven, and direct our wandering propensities towards the divine Master, who shapes our destinies with the same hand that binds the earth to its centre, controls the ebbings of the ocean, and permits the burning sun to stand a fixture and a blessing among his works. We are a temperate people, remarkably so. We do not take time to drink. We do not create roads in order to build taverns. We are all, more or less, water-drinkers; and yet Mr. Buckingham is hallooing in our ears his impudent insinuations. We loathe the abject spirit of our countrymen, that forces them to bow before his path as if he was some god fit for their worship."

I must do the editor the justice to say, that I believe he only expresses publicly the sentiment of dislike to foreigners, and jealousy of their influence, which is privately entertained by large numbers, in the humbler classes of life especially. But justice to the other classes requires it to be stated, that this prejudice is strong in proportion to the contracted nature of the minds, and the limited sphere of intelligence in the parties entertaining it. The better educated, and, above all, the travelled American, despises this feeling as much as any well-informed European can do; and, therefore, in the more intellectual and influential circles of American society, the prejudice can hardly be said to exist, or, if existing at all, it does not develop itself in word or deed, or operate in the slightest degree against the exercise of the utmost courtesy and hospitality towards persons of merit, from whatever country they may come, or against the cordial reception of any proposition for the amelioration of mankind, in whatever quarter it may originate.

On Thursday, the 8th of March, we had an opportunity of attending the first drawing-room held by the president since his accession to office. I had been previously introduced to him by the Rev. Dr. Hawley, an Episcopalian clergyman, of whose congregation the president is a member; and I had also brought letters of introduction to him from New-York, so that I had been favoured with a long private in-

terview, and a very cordial and friendly reception some days before ; and Mrs. Buckingham and my son were invited, as well as myself, to the party of the evening.

We went about nine o'clock, with the family of Colonel Gardiner, who is attached to the public service here, and found the company already assembled in great numbers. The official residence of the president is a large and substantial mansion, on the scale of many of the country-seats of our English gentry, but greatly inferior in size and splendour to the country residences of most of our nobility ; and the furniture, though sufficiently commodious and appropriate, is far from being elegant or costly. The whole air of the mansion and its accompaniments is that of unostentatious comfort, without parade or display, and therefore well adapted to the simplicity and economy which is characteristic of the republican institutions of the country.

The president received his visitors standing, in the centre of a small oval room, the entrance to which was directly from the hall on the ground floor. The introductions were made by the city marshal, who announced the names of the parties ; and each, after shaking hands with the president, and exchanging a few words of courtesy, passed into the adjoining rooms to make way for others. The president, Mr. Van Buren, is about 60 years of age, is a little below the middle stature, and of very bland and courteous manners ; he was dressed in a plain suit of black ; the marshal was habited also in a plain suit ; and there were neither guards without the gate or sentries within, nor a single servant or attendant in livery anywhere visible. Among the company we saw the English minister, Mr. Fox, a nephew of Lord Holland, and the French minister, Monsieur Pontoi, both of whom were also in plain clothes ; and the only uniforms in the whole party were those of three or four officers of the American navy, officially attached to the navy-yard at Washington, and half a dozen officers of the American army, on active service. The dresses of the ladies were some of them elegant, but generally characterized by simplicity, and jewels were scarcely at all worn. The party, therefore, though consisting of not less than 2000 persons, was much less brilliant than a drawing-room in England, or than a fashionable soirée in Paris ; but it was far more orderly and agreeable than any party of an equal number that I ever remember to have attended in Europe.

There being no rank (for the president himself is but a simple citizen, filling a certain office for a certain term),

there was no question of precedence, and no thought, as far as I could discover, of comparison as to superiority. Every one present acted as though he felt himself to be on a perfect footing of equality with every other person; and, if claims of preference were ever thought of at all, they were tested only by the standard of personal services or personal merits. Amid the whole party, therefore, whether in the small receiving-room and around the person of the president, or in the larger room of promenade, where 500 persons at least were walking in groups, or in the small adjoining rooms to which parties retired for seats and conversation, nothing approaching to superciliousness or rudeness was seen. The humbler classes—for of these there were many, since the only qualification for admission to the morning levée or the evening drawing-room is that of being a citizen of the United States—behaved with the greatest propriety; and though the pressure was at one time excessive, when it was thought that there were nearly 3000 persons in the different apartments, yet we never heard a rude word or saw a rude look, but everything indicated respect, forbearance, and perfect contentment; and when the parties retired, which was between eleven and twelve o'clock, there was not half so much bustle in getting up the carriages, which were very numerous, as is exhibited at a comparatively small party in England; nor was any angry word, as far as we could discover, exchanged between the drivers and servants in attendance.

This drawing-room, from which we retired about midnight, as we were among the last that remained, impressed us altogether with a very favourable opinion of the social character of the American people. Members of the opposition, most hostile to the president in his official capacity, were present, and interchanged their civilities with him in the most cordial manner, laying aside their characters as senators and representatives, and here meeting the chief magistrate of the republic as citizens only. The citizens themselves, of every other class, exhibited no symptom of any other feeling than that of respect and satisfaction; and as this could only be accounted for on the principle that the absence of all artificial distinctions in society—except those which personal merit may create, and which may be called natural and just—leads to the absence of all envy and discontent; and, therefore, a democratic crowd of 2000 persons were, from the operation of this principle, seen to conduct themselves in a more respectful, subdued, and orderly man-

ner than the same number of persons, especially if of very different conditions in life, would be likely to do in any of the older countries of Europe, where such distinctions of rank exist, and where the consequences are envy, feuds, and discontent.

We had subsequently another opportunity of witnessing the extreme simplicity of the president's manners, and the entire absence of all form and state in his movements. On Sunday, the 11th of March, we attended the Episcopal Church of Dr. Hawley, where the service is performed as in the Established Church of England. It being near the president's house and most of the public offices, a large portion of the congregation is composed of the families of members of the cabinet and heads of departments. The president walked into the church, unattended by a single servant, took his place in a pew in which others were sitting besides himself, and retired in the same manner as he came, without being noticed in any greater degree than any other member of the congregation, and walking home alone, until joined by one or two personal friends, like any other private gentleman. In taking exercise, he usually rides out on horseback, and is generally unattended, or, if accompanied by a servant, never by more than one. Everywhere that he passes he is treated with just the same notice as any other respectable inhabitant of the city would be, but no more. Yet this is so far from lessening, as might by some be supposed, the influence or authority of the president in his official capacity, that no one presumes to show less reverence for, or less obedience to, the laws on this account; and thus the compatibility of extreme simplicity in manners with perfect respect to authority is practically demonstrated.

CHAPTER XVI.

History of the City of Washington.—Formation of the District of Columbia.—Seat of Government established there by Law.—Choice of the Position for the new City.—Plan and Design of General Washington.—Topography and Details of the Streets, &c.—Public Buildings.—The Capitol.—Scale of the Edifice.—Style of Architecture.—Sculptured Subjects in the Rotunda.—Description of the Senate Chamber.—Arrangement and Modes of doing Business.—Description of the Hall of Representatives.—Regulation of taking Seats by Members.—General Order and Decorum of their Proceedings.—Great Advantage of Day-sittings over Night-meetings.—Hall of the Supreme Court of Justice.—Library of the Capitol, History and Present Condition.—The President's House, Size, Style, and Character.—Public Offices of Government near the President's.—State Department.—Original Declaration of Independence.—War Department.—Portraits of Indian Chiefs.—Treasury Department.—Standard Weights and Measures.—Arsenal.—Navy-yard, and General Postoffice.—Indian Department.—Land Department.—Patent Office.—Destruction of Models and Records.—Places of Public Worship in Washington.—Anecdote of the Congressional Chaplains.—Colleges, Banks, Hotels, and Boarding-houses.—Theatres.—Mr. Forrest, the American Actor.—Anecdote of Southern Sensitiveness on Slavery.—Play of Othello and of the Gladiator Proscribed.—Exclusion of Coloured Persons from the Representations.—Private Buildings of the City, Style and Character.—Population of Washington.—City Government.—Revenue, Taxes, Licenses, Debt, and Appropriation.—Regulations respecting the Coloured Population.—Restrictions as to the Heights of Houses in Building.

THE history of the City of Washington is so recent that it may be very briefly told. In the year 1790, when General Washington was president of the United States, he first conceived the idea of fixing the seat of government, which was then at Philadelphia, at some central position, so as to be equally accessible to the members of Congress coming from all parts of the Union. This design was embodied in a bill, which originated in the Senate on the 1st of June, passed the House of Representatives on the 9th of the same month, and received the sanction of the president on the 16th of July following. The votes taken on this occasion, however, were not unanimous; the division in the Senate being fourteen to twelve, and in the House of Representatives thirty-two to twenty-nine. This bill authorized the setting apart of a territory, not exceeding ten miles square, on each side the River Potomac, to be taken with consent from the states of Maryland and Virginia, between which the Potomac was the then existing boundary-line, to be called "the District of Columbia," and to be made the permanent seat of government. Such a territory having been marked out by commissioners appointed for that purpose, and the arrangements with the two states from which it was taken being satisfactorily completed, the district was formally recognised by law, and made subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress.

General Washington next planned and designed the city which was to bear his name as the legislative capital of the Union; and in 1793 the Capitol, or great hall for the meeting of the two houses of Congress, was commenced. In 1800, the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington, during the presidency of John Adams, since which it has always continued here without interruption.

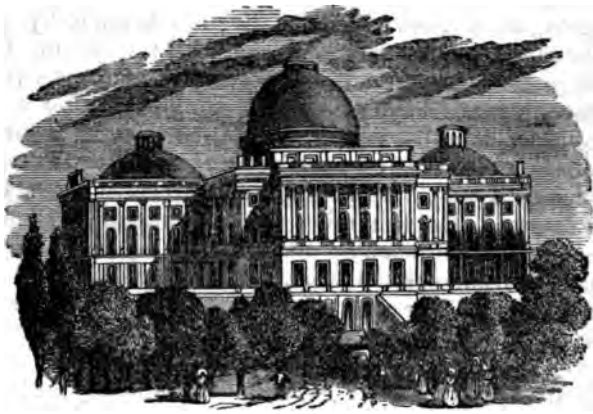
The situation of the city is well chosen, lying as it does between the main stream of the River Potomac, by which it is bounded on the west and southwest, and the River Anacosta, sometimes called the Eastern Branch, by which it is bounded on the east and southeast; while the broad stream of the Potomac, after the junction of these two rivers, flows onward beyond it to the south, till, after a navigable course of about eighty miles, it empties itself into the Chesapeake, and thus communicates readily with the sea.

The city is mapped out upon an extensive scale, being about fourteen English miles in circumference, of an irregular shape, approaching to an oblong square, about five miles long from east to west, and four miles broad from north to south. The plan is not so remarkable for its symmetry as those of many American cities; for, though there are three great avenues running the whole length of Washington from east to west, each, therefore, nearly five miles long and 150 feet broad, and these, again, are crossed by four similar avenues at right angles running nearly north and south, yet these are intersected by so many diagonal lines, and the smaller streets are made to run at angles so oblique to the general design, that, amid much that is straight and regular, there is also much that is crooked and confused.

The greatest defect of the city, however, is this, that very few portions of it are built up in continuity; the dwellings are so scattered over it in detached groups, fragments of streets, and isolated buildings, that it has all the appearance of a town rising into existence, but gradually arrested in its progress, and now stationary in its condition. The Capitol, which is placed on a rising ground in the centre of the plan, was intended to be the centre of the city; and if measures had been taken, when this edifice was erected, to let off only those lots of land which were around the Capitol, so as to confine the buildings to its immediate vicinity before any others were erected beyond it, and thus progressively to have spread from the centre to the extremities, it would even now have been a handsome city. But,

from the distant lots of land having been sold as freely as those near the centre, the purchasers have built up their mansions and planted their gardens around the extremities, so that Washington has been truly called "a city of magnificent distances;" and it might have been added, "with barren tracts and swampy morasses between them."

The public buildings of Washington form its only ornament, and without these the aspect of the city would be mean in the extreme. The first and most important of these buildings is the Capitol, the edifice expressly erected

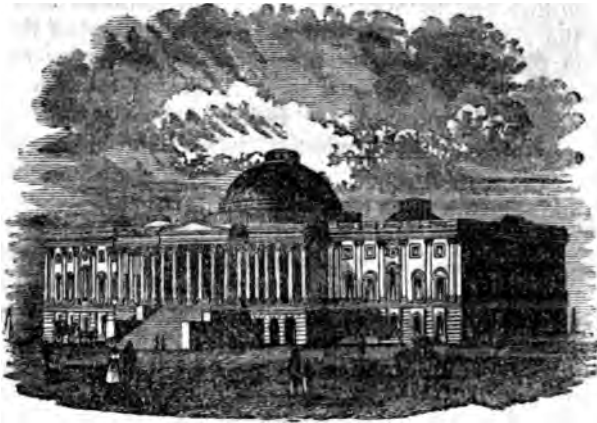


to contain the halls of legislature for the general Congress of the United States. Its situation is admirably chosen, being on the summit of a rising ground which overlooks the city to the west and northwest, while on the east and southeast it is on a level with the general soil. The building is so placed as to have its principal front to the east, where it is seen on the same level as the other buildings east of it. The other front is to the west, and overlooks the western portion of the city below it, the slope of the western declivity being ornamented with terraces, walks, and shrubbery. The area of the public grounds thus laid out, and in the centre of which, or nearly so, the Capitol stands, is about thirty acres; the whole of this is enclosed by a low wall of stone, with good iron railings, and entered by well-built gateways, opposite to the different avenues leading to and from it as a general centre.

The Capitol, as a whole, has a front of 352 feet towards the east and west, and a depth of 121 feet for the main body of the building, in addition to 65 feet of projection for the

portico and steps of the eastern façade, and 83 feet for a similar projection on the western part, making therefore the whole length of the façade 352 feet, and the whole breadth 269 feet, covering nearly an acre and three quarters of ground. The height of the two wings to the balustrades of their respective lanterns or dome-lights, is 70 feet, and the height of the centre to the summit of the great dome is 145 feet. The dimensions are therefore on a grand scale, and the effect of the whole is harmonious and imposing. At the first view, the central dome looks too massive and heavy, and seems to want the relief of a more spiral termination or a surmounting statue; but more frequent examinations of the pile from different points of view and at different hours of the day, especially at sunrise and sunset, reconciles the eye to the present proportions, which harmonize well with the surrounding objects, and produce a grave and imposing effect as a whole.

The east front is chaste and beautiful. After passing over a lawn, within the iron railings that enclose the public



grounds, on each side of which is a sweeping carriage-road, you advance up a noble flight of steps, thirty-six in number, and extending over a breadth of about forty feet. This brings you on a level with the central floor of the building, the one below being occupied with public offices, and the one above in each wing with committee-rooms belonging to the two houses of Congress. The portico on which you now stand is formed of twenty-four Corinthian columns, well executed and of noble dimensions, being four feet in diameter and thirty feet in height. In the pediment is a fine sculp-

tured group, composed of the Genius of America supported by figures of Hope and Justice, and surrounded with appropriate emblems, of which the national bird, the eagle, is one of the most prominent, and is very beautifully executed. The figures are colossal, being about seven feet and a half in height. On the platform of the portico itself are two colossal statues in marble, finely executed by Pensico: one representing War, in the figure of a Roman general armed for conflict, and the other representing Peace, in a female figure holding an olive branch; while above is a bas-relief representing Washington crowned by Fame. The entrance from this leads into the Rotunda, the centre of the whole edifice, which is crowned by a lofty dome, the effect of which is very imposing, the diameter of the circular area or platform being ninety-six feet, and the height from the pavement to the skylight ninety-six feet also. The upper interior of the dome is ornamented with caissons, like the dome of the Pantheon at Rome; and the lower part of the circular wall is divided into compartments, for the reception of sculpture and painting on subjects of national history.

Of the sculptures which already occupy some of the panels, the following may be mentioned in the order of their dates. The first represents the well-known incident of the humane intervention of the Indian princess, Pocahontas, daughter of the chief Powhatan, to save the life of Captain Smith, which took place in 1606. The group has five figures, and appears to be well executed; the artist being a Signor Capellano, an Italian, and pupil of the great Canova. The second piece is a representation, by his fellow-countryman and fellow-pupil, Causici, of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the rock at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, which occurred in 1620. In this group are four figures, a pilgrim, his wife, his child, and an Indian, who, as the pilgrim steps from the boat to the rock, receives him kneeling, and presents to him an ear of corn. The third subject is the treaty of William Penn with the Indians of Pennsylvania, which occurred in 1682. In this group are three figures under the spreading elm-tree, near Philadelphia, where this treaty was made. Penn is represented in the formal Quaker garb of that day, with a curled wig and cocked hat, a costume most unfavourable to the display of grace by the sculptor; and the two others are Indians, one a chief, holding the calumet or pipe of peace, and the other a younger Indian of the same tribe, who was a party to the treaty. This was executed by a French artist, Mons. Gevelot. The last sub-

ject in point of date is a conflict between Daniel Boon, the celebrated American backwoodsman, one of the early pioneers or settlers in the Western wilds, who made a most intrepid defence, single-handed, against the attack of some hostile Indians in 1773. The space being extremely contracted for this representation, the figure of the dead Indian is placed coiled up and contracted beneath the feet of the two other figures of the group, who are standing on it while they are engaged in mortal combat.

It is said that an Indian chief, forming one of the numerous deputations from the tribes that visit this city every year on some business connected with their settlements, on visiting the Capitol, was much struck with these sculptures in the Rotunda, and observed that they represented in succession but too faithful a history of the intercourse of the white men with the red, from the first discovery of the Continent by Europeans up to the present hour. "In the first piece of sculpture," said he, "you see an Indian woman, the daughter of a chief in the South, interceding for, and effectually preserving, a white man's life. In the second picture you see the Indian of the North giving a welcome reception to the pilgrim-father on his coast, and presenting him with corn for his subsistence. In the third you see the Indian of the Eastern shore giving up his land by treaty for the settlement of Pennsylvania, by which the white man got a firm footing on his territory. And in the last picture you see the backwoodsman encroaching upon our most distant hunting-grounds in the Far West, and, after shooting down the Indian who is beneath his feet, giving a perfect picture of the actual condition of his whole race, by scarcely leaving him soil enough to die upon!"

This Indian version is unhappily but too true, according to the testimony of almost all the intelligent and humane among the whites themselves, who frankly express their own unbiased opinions on the subject.

In the centres of the wreaths and festoons in the other panels devoted to sculpture are medallion portraits of Columbus, Raleigh, La Sale, and Cabot, the great navigators of early days, whose names are associated with the discovery and settlement of the various portions of the North American Continent.

Of the larger panels, devoted to the reception of historical paintings, some are already filled by large and excellent pictures, executed by Colonel Trumbull, one of the veterans of the Revolutionary War, who is still alive, and whom I saw

in New-York, though he served as an aid-decamp of General Washington in 1775. The first of these pictures represents the Declaration of Independence, as signed on the 4th of July, 1776. The picture is very large, about 15 feet by 10. It is full of figures, not less than fifty, and the whole of them are portraits of the actual signers of that celebrated document, in the costume of the day; while the picture gives a perfect representation of the room in which the signatures were affixed. The figures of Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams are readily recognised; as an historical picture it is a fine composition, and one of the most appropriate for the place it occupies. The second picture represents the surrender of the British troops under General Burgoyne, to the American Revolutionists under command of General Gates, at Saratoga, in October, 1777. The figures are in the military costume worn by the respective armies at the time; and the bodies of cavalry and infantry, the general's tent, the tender of the officer's sword, and the other incidents of the piece, are all well told. The third picture represents the surrender of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, which took place at Yorktown, in Virginia, in October, 1781, to the united forces of America and France; the first commanded by General Washington, the second by General Rochambeau. In this, also, faithful portraits of the principal officers of each army are introduced; while the variety of the military dresses and the skilful arrangement of the figures make it an interesting composition. The last picture of the series represents the resignation of his military commission, as commander-in-chief of the American army, by General Washington, which took place at Annapolis on the 23d of December, 1783, where the Congress was then sitting. This appeared to me the most interesting picture of the whole, as well from the moral dignity of the subject—the voluntary resignation of power at the period of its highest popularity—as from the admirable treatment of it by the artist. All these pictures are the same size, about 15 feet by 10, and several vacant panels of the same dimensions yet remain to be filled up. If these shall be occupied with pictures as interesting in their subjects, and as well executed in their details, as those described, they will do honour to the national taste.

Leading off from this Rotunda are passages on the north and south to the Senate and the Hall of Representatives; the passages on the east and west being the respective entrances by these fronts to the building. The Senate Cham-

ber is in the north wing, and is the smallest of the two. It is semicircular in shape, is 75 feet in breadth for the radius of the semicircle, and about 35 feet in depth from the centre of the radius to the extreme projection of the curve. Its height from the floor to the highest part of the ceiling is 45 feet. The President of the Senate occupies an elevated chair in the centre of the radius line, with his face towards the semicircle; and beneath him, at a semicircular desk, elevated from the floor, sit the Secretary of the Senate and his assistants. Before and beyond these, the senators, 52 in number, are arranged in these semicircular rows, each receding behind, and rising a little above the preceding one. Each senator has a commodious arm-chair for his seat, and before him is a mahogany desk, furnished with a deep receptacle for printed papers below, and all the requisite conveniences for writing above. Each desk is separated from the one nearest to it by a distance of at least two feet, so that, besides the great central passage through the semicircle, the senators can pass easily between the desks, and there is thus ample space for ventilation as well as comfort.

Of these three semicircular rows of seats and desks there are fourteen in the front row, eighteen in the central, and twenty in the outer one. Behind the outer room, and separated from it by a semicircular screen of about three feet in height, is a commodious range of sofas along the semicircular wall; these are appropriated to the accommodation of visitors who have the privilege of the *entrée*, including members of the House of Representatives, heads of public departments, foreign ministers, and members of the legislatures of foreign countries; and this space will accommodate nearly one hundred persons. Behind the president's chair is an open corridor or loggia, about fifty feet in length and ten in breadth, which is also accessible to all the classes named above; and this will accommodate fifty seated, or one hundred standing, at least.

This corridor is separated from the body of the Senate Chamber by a colonnade of very beautiful pillars, formed of a highly-variegated and richly-coloured breccia, found on the banks of the Potomac, and called, from this, Potomac marble. These columns are of the Ionic order, and are crowned with white marble capitals, after those of the temple of Minerva Polias. They support a straight gallery above the corridor, which is appropriated to strangers, and which will accommodate at least one hundred and fifty persons, who look down from thence towards the senators,

seated in front of the president's chair. Around the semicircular wall, and above the space named before as appropriated for those who have the privilege of the *entree* behind the senators, is another and more spacious gallery for strangers, which is supported by small cast-iron pillars from the floor, and which will hold from two hundred to two hundred and fifty persons more; so that, though the senators are only fifty-two in number, there is accommodation in the corridors below and galleries above for at least four hundred spectators and auditors; and as no written orders are necessary for admission into these, it often happens, on attractive occasions, that the full number I have mentioned are actually present in the Senate Chamber to hear the debates. The walls are lined all around with plaited draperies of a stone-coloured and figured damask, between pilasters of Potomac marble, and the draperies of the galleries and windows above are of crimson damask, tastefully arranged. Over the chair of the president is a fine portrait of General Washington, and the semi-domed roof or ceiling is richly ornamented with square caissons, in full and florid style of stucco; while from the centre of the ceiling is suspended a large ormolu chandelier, the whole producing a chastened richness of effect, well comporting with the dignity of a Senate Chamber; and the impression created by the building and its accompaniments appears to be not without its influence on the members and visitors.

The Hall of Representatives, which is in the southern wing of the Capitol, differs but little, except in size, from the Senate Chamber. It is of the same semicircular form, but is larger: the radius line of the semicircle being 96 feet, the extreme depth in the middle of the arc about 50, and the height of the loftiest part of the ceiling 60 feet.

The hall is surrounded by twenty-four columns of the variegated breccia or Potomac marble, crowned, like those of the Senate Chamber, with capitals of white marble, carved after a specimen of the Corinthian order found at Athens. These columns support a gallery, which runs around the entire hall, one portion being straight, as running with the radius line of the semicircle, and this is usually devoted to ladies; while the other is semicircular, encompassing the whole of the remaining space, and this is usually occupied by gentlemen; both galleries being supposed capable of containing together at least six hundred persons. To these galleries strangers are admitted without the least restraint, as in the Senate, while in the corridors and recesses below



there is room for another two hundred at least, who may have the privilege of the *entrée* on the floor. Here the speaker of the House is seated on an elevated chair, and beneath him in front, a few feet above the floor, are the clerks and assistants, with the sergent-at-arms. Fronting these are the seats and desks of the members, arranged in semicircular rows, each receding behind, and gently rising above the one in front of it. As, however, there are two hundred and fifty members to accommodate, greater compactness is requisite; the desks are therefore here arranged in lengths sufficient to admit of two, three, and sometimes five members sitting at one, leaving a separate compartment and separate chair for each member. The sculptured decorations, the domed ceiling, and the draperies, are all in keeping with each other; and the full-length portraits of General Washington on the one side, and General Lafayette on the other side of the hall, are striking and appropriate objects of veneration and regard to the American people.

As none of the cabinet ministers are permitted to hold a seat in either house, and no persons holding any office under the government are admitted among the representatives of the people, there is no place corresponding to our treasury bench, either in the Senate or House of Representatives; neither is there any ministerial or opposition side of the house, as the members of both parties sit indiscriminately mingled with each other. The rule respecting the occupa-

tion of seats I learned to be this. At the beginning of a new Congress, as soon as the respective members are elected, those who live near to Washington, or those who, living more distant, endeavour to get to Washington a few days before the session opens, repair to the House, and take such desks as they may prefer, if not previously appropriated. Here they inscribe their own name on a small tablet of ivory, let into each desk for the purpose ; and this secured it to them, as their personal seat, during all the session. Any one desiring, however, to occupy a more advantageous position than his own, for the purpose of bringing forward a motion which requires to be introduced by a long speech, may readily obtain the use of any member's seat for that particular occasion, and therefore no difficulties about seats ever occur. The accommodation for reporters is ample and excellent ; and in each house there are a number of messengers, generally youths from ten to fourteen, who convey papers or notes, bring water to those who are speaking, and carry messages from one member to the other ; but the floors of both houses being well carpeted throughout, not the slightest inconvenience or the least perceptible noise is made by their movements.

The order of proceedings in both houses is, in its most essential parts, like that followed in England ; but there being much fewer members and much less business to do, as the separate State Legislatures transact all their local affairs, and leave to Congress only the general business of the whole, there is much more order and decorum in their conduct. The president or speaker of each house sits without wig or gown, and the clerks and officers are equally without any distinguishing dress. No cries of "hear, hear," or cheers, whether ironical or otherwise, are ever heard ; no coughing, or exclamations of "oh, oh," or cries of "question, question," "divide, divide," disturb the gravity of their debates ; and one chief cause of this is, no doubt, that their hours of doing business are more rational, as they sit by day, and not by night, as in England. The members of committees attend their respective committee-rooms at ten in the forenoon ; at twelve both houses meet for business ; and though a clear majority of each house is requisite to form a quorum, this is rarely or never wanting ; while in England, where forty members, or one sixteenth only of the whole number, are sufficient to form a quorum, the House is often not formed at all at four o'clock, or "counted out" at seven o'clock, because even this small number of the people's representatives cannot be got to attend to the duty of their constituents.

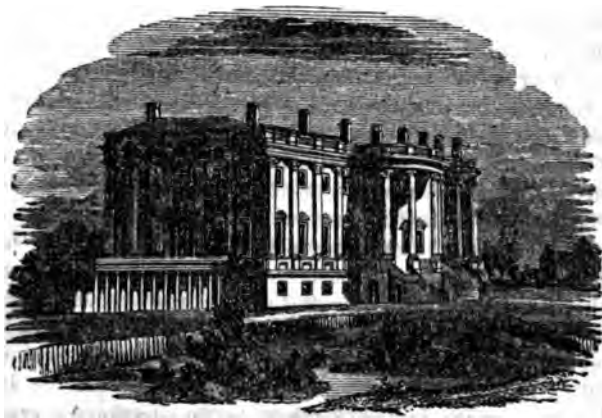
The members continue to sit, ordinarily, from twelve to four, and on particular occasions only extend their sittings to five or six o'clock, adjourning always before dinner, except when the pressure of business towards the end of the session compels, for a short period, a few evening sittings; but these are rare, and not long protracted. These early hours and comparatively short sittings are, no doubt, highly favourable to order and decorum; and if ever the time shall arrive in England when diurnal sittings shall be substituted for nocturnal ones, this change alone would effect a great reformation in the tone and temper with which the debates would be conducted. If to this should be added a transfer of all the local business to the counties, a reduction of the number of members, and a limitation to the length of the speeches, nearly all the causes of those violent ebullitions which disgrace the British House of Commons would be removed. Of the principal orators in each house, and their style of speaking, I shall offer an opinion at some future time.

In the basement story of the Capitol is a circular crypt, occupying the centre, where forty pillars support the grooved arches that sustain the whole floor of the Rotunda above. Another portion of this basement is occupied as the Supreme Court of the United States, where the chief justice, with six associate judges, sit to hear appeals from the circuits and other courts of the different states in the Union, and to try such causes as fall within the limits of their original jurisdiction. This room is beautifully adapted for the purpose to which it is applied, being well lighted, remarkably quiet, and furnished with all the requisite accommodation for the judges, counsel, and auditors.

The library of the Capitol is a fine apartment, about 92 feet in length, 34 feet in breadth, and 36 feet high. It is well furnished, not only with volumes of all the public documents and proceedings of Congress, but with books in general literature, for the purchase of which an annual sum is voted by Congress, averaging about 5000 dollars a year, and this is laid out under the superintendence of a library committee, composed of members of both houses. The library already contains about 25,000 volumes, and the annual expenditure, judiciously directed, will progressively increase it, so that time alone is wanting to make it a valuable national collection. The first Congressional library, which consisted of about 3000 volumes, was destroyed by the British at the close of the last war, when, with a ferocity more char-

acteristic of barbarians than of civilized warriors, they set fire to the Capitol, and destroyed the library and many of the most valuable of the public records. On the occurrence of this calamity, the ex-president, Thomas Jefferson, who was then alive, made an offer of his valuable private collection of books to Congress as the foundation of a new library for the Capitol. These were accepted, and have been since gradually augmented by the appropriations and purchases referred to, till they have arrived at their present number; and as access to the library is just as free from all restraint as access to the halls of Congress in the galleries set apart for strangers, or to the president's levées and drawing-rooms, so this library is a very valuable resource, both to residents and visitors at the city. If our English authorities could but learn the important truth, that freedom of access to public institutions is not necessarily attended with rudeness of behaviour or injury to their contents, a vast benefit and a most softening and refining influence would be obtained for the British population, by familiarizing them, through the medium of such institutions, with the pleasures of literature, science, and art; and the whole nation, nay, the whole world, would be directly or indirectly benefited by the change.

The president's house, which is next in importance to the Capitol among the public buildings of Washington, is situated at a distance of about a mile and a half from that edifice, at the western extremity of Pennsylvania Avenue, of which these two buildings form the apparent termini at opposite points.



This residence is about the size and character of many of the country-seats of our middle-class gentry, baronets, esquires, and wealthy commoners, who live in a comfortable but unostentatious style. It has 170 feet of front, and is 86 feet deep, with a good Ionic portico, a sweeping carriage-road up to the entrance, and a small lawn railed in before it, while behind is a semicircular projection and portico, which looks out on the River Potomac and the opposite shore of Virginia. The rooms of reception, and those for the president's personal accommodation, are moderate in size and simple in decoration. The largest apartment in the whole building is that called the East Room, which is 80 feet by 40, and 22 feet high; and as this is used for the general promenade of the visitors on public occasions, it is not at all too spacious for the company.

The public offices of the government are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the president's dwelling. They include the department of state, the war-office, the treasury, and similar establishments. These are all spacious, neat, and well-built edifices, suitably adapted to their respective purposes, but with nothing superfluous. As each occupies the centre of an open piece of ground, with lawn in front, railed off on all sides, they have a commanding appearance, from the ample space and air by which they are surrounded.

In the state department we were shown, carefully preserved in a glass case, with folding doors, the original Declaration of Independence, with all the autograph signatures; and above it, the first commission of General Washington as commander-in-chief of the American forces, signed by John Hancock, which Washington, after the close of his military career, resigned into the hands of the Congress at Annapolis. In the same room were original treaties, bearing the autograph signatures of George III. and George IV. of England, Louis XVI. and Napoleon of France, Prince Charles John (Bernadotte) of Sweden, Ferdinand of Spain, and Alexander of Russia, with a very recent one, in Arabic, of the Sultan of Constantinople; and, added to all these, a lithographic fac-simile of the Magna Charta of King John, taken from the original in the British Museum. Here also are kept the various presents made by foreign courts and potentates to American ministers or other public officers, who are not allowed to retain such presents as personal gifts, lest it might open the door to bribery and corruption, but are bound to forward them to the department of state, where they are preserved as national proper-

ty. Among these were Damascus-blade swords, Cashmere shawls, a diamond snuff box, and other valuable gifts.

In the war department we saw a large collection of the portraits of Indian chiefs, who from time to time had visited Washington at the head of deputations; and in the treasury department the original standards of the weights and measures fixed by Congress for use in all the States.

There is an arsenal at the eastern extremity of the city, on the point of confluence between the Potomac and Anacosta, occupying about a quarter of a mile square, in which is a repository of arms, a collection of materials for their manufacture, a magazine and laboratories, a model-office for patterns of all improvements in military weapons or engines, a foundry, and a steam-engine of twelve horse power. The average number of workmen constantly employed here is about a hundred. The stores comprehend about 800 pieces of cannon of large calibre, and about 40,000 stand of arms, with requisite accommodation in quarters for the officers and men.

There is also an excellent navy-yard, which is seated on the Anacosta, a little above the point of land where it meets the Potomac, and where the arsenal is planted. This yard occupies about thirty acres of area in space; it is walled-in towards the land, and is open towards the Anacosta River, or, as it is more generally called here, the Eastern Branch. It was first projected by President Jefferson, and during his administration was well sustained. It is fitted with every requisite for the building, rigging, and equipping of ships of war of any size: the vessels already built here are among the finest which the navy of the United States contains; besides several sloops of war, the frigates Essex, Potomac, Brandywine, and Columbia, each of forty-four guns, are well known; and the Columbus, of seventy-four guns, which was also built here, is one of the noblest vessels of her class.

At this city is established also the department of the General Postoffice; the Indian department for the adjustment of Indian treaties, payment of Indian pensions, and settlement of Indian disputes; the department for the sale of public lands; the department for the preservation of patents; and the department for registering the copyrights of authors in the United States. The first has nothing remarkable in it, as the actual postoffice business of Washington is far less in extent than that of any of the great commercial cities on the coast; and its administration is regulated by the postmaster-general, who is a member of

the cabinet. The second occasions Indians to be continually coming to and fro from the interior to Washington, and returning home; and, from all that I could learn, a great deal of hardship and injustice to these helpless tribes goes unredressed. The department for the sale of the public lands is reputed to be a fertile source of jobbing and corrupt patronage, of which so many proofs were given to me as to remove all doubt in my own mind as to the fact. The millions of acres yet for sale, the number of land-offices opened and land-agents employed in different parts of the Western territory, and the difficulty of bringing to constant publicity the multiplied transactions of purchase and sale which are continually occurring, open a wide field for corrupt practices. The patent-office *was* a most valuable and interesting repository of all the ingenious inventions of the country for which patents had been granted, and of which the models and specifications were here preserved. The reason why this office is *no longer* what it was, is, that in the Vandal attack of the English upon Washington at the close of the last war, they not only burned a great portion of the Capitol, destroyed the library of the Congress, and set fire to the president's dwelling, but they burned down the patent-office, by which, in addition to the many other valuable books and records lost, there were consigned to the flames upward of 10,000 various inventions, with the models and drawings belonging to them, as well as the correspondence of the accomplished Dr. Thornton, the director of this department, with the most celebrated of the scientific men of America and Europe, for a period of more than twenty years. Well may the name of "Englishman" sound harshly in the ears of the rising as well as of the departing generation of Washington, who have reason to regard those of the English, at least, who formed the destroying armament of incendiaries that laid their public buildings in ashes as a set of ruthless marauders, neither entitled to pity nor to praise.

Of places of public worship there are fourteen in number; two Episcopalian, three Catholic, three Presbyterian, two Methodist, two Baptist, one Unitarian, and one Quaker. Neither of these is larger than will contain a congregation of about a thousand persons, and most of them are smaller than this. They are all served by able and zealous ministers, and these live in great harmony with each other. The Episcopal churches appear to be most fully attended by the fashionable and official part of the population; but, in addi-

tion to these, there is public service in the Hall of Representatives, at which the chaplains of the Senate and of the House, who are both Methodists, and obtain their appointment by election of the members, alternately officiate.

I was told a remarkable anecdote by a member of Congress on this subject of alternate duty, which I had an opportunity of testing and ascertaining to be true. The hour fixed by law and regulation for the opening of both houses is twelve o'clock at noon, and it is the duty of the chaplain of each house to be in attendance in his place, to commence the proceedings with prayer. It was thought by these gentlemen, however, that a slight acceleration or retardation of time in the opening of the respective houses would enable one of them to do the duty of both for a given period, during which the other might be relieved from duty and enjoy his holyday, at the expiration of which he could return and release his friend; so that the burden and the pleasure might be alternately the lot of each in equal proportions. Accordingly, the clock of the Senate was put seven minutes and a half in advance of the real time, and the clock of the House of Representatives seven minutes and a half in arrear, so as to keep them at a uniform rate of fifteen minutes' difference from each other. This done, the one chaplain performed this double duty by first opening the Senate with prayer, for which fifteen minutes was ample time, and then, stepping across the Rotunda into the other house, he there repeated the same formality, so that each was served punctually by the same man, according to the clocks of the respective houses.

In Washington there are two colleges of theological education, one Protestant, the other Catholic; there are a few benevolent institutions on a very small scale, three banks, a fire insurance company, a small glass-manufactory, five large hotels, and a great number of boarding-houses for strangers, as nearly all the members of Congress reside in these during the session, and keep no house-establishment. There are two daily papers, one in support of the Democratic party, the *Globe*, and one of the Whigs, the *National Intelligencer*; two tri-weekly, the *Madisonian* and the *Chronicle*, each representing a separate political party; and two weekly papers, the *Native American*, founded on national prejudices, and another, the *Huntress*, conducted by a female, sold for a cent, and living, like the slanderous *Morning Herald of New-York*, on abuse, ridicule, and private history of private individuals. Here are four market-hou-

ses for provisions, a slave-market for the sale of human beings, a jail, and two theatres; the latter open only while the Congress is in session.

During our stay at Washington, Mr. Forrest, the great American actor, was engaged at the principal theatre; and, as connected with his performances, some anecdotes came to my knowledge, which, as they are strikingly illustrative of the state of feeling in the slave states on all matters touching negroes and slavery, deserve to be mentioned. After his representation of Othello, the editor of the "Native American," published here, denounced the play as one wholly unfit to be permitted in any Southern state, where it was revolting, as he thought, to represent the dark Moor, Othello; paying his suit to the fair Desdemona. This was an outrage which he deemed it the duty of every white man to resent; and he shadowed forth the sort of resentment which he thought ought to be put in practice, by saying that "even if Shakspeare, the writer of the play, were to be caught in any Southern state, he ought to be 'lynched' (that is, summarily punished by being tarred and feathered) for having written it!" In strict harmony with this sentiment was the other incident that occurred. Mr. Forrest had performed the part of Spartacus, in the play of the Gladiator; and in this is represented, first, the sale of a wife and child away from her husband, all Thracian captives, at which great horror is expressed by the characters of the play themselves; and next, the Gladiators, who are all slaves, are incited by Spartacus to revolt against their masters, which they do successfully, and obtain their freedom. On the day following this, Mr. Forrest's benefit was attended by the president and his cabinet, as well as members of both houses of Congress, and a full share of residents and strangers. But the manager of the theatre received many anonymous and threatening letters, warning him against ever permitting this play to be acted in Washington again; and one letter, from a member of Congress, told him that, if he dared to announce it for repetition, a card would be addressed to the public on the subject, which the manager would repent.* Such is the feverishness of alarm among a population whose constant objection to the quiet and legal emancipation of the

* This matter was subsequently compromised by the exclusion of all the coloured population, whether slave or free, from the theatre, into which they are admitted on ordinary occasions, on condition of sitting in a separate gallery, apart from the whites. On this occasion, however, they were not to be admitted at all; and, accordingly, in the National Intelligencer of March 15th, over the announcement of the play of the Gladiator to be performed that evening, was placed conspicuously the following line: "On this occasion, the coloured persons cannot be admitted to the gallery."

slaves is, that they are so happy and contented that there is no need of change ! and that they are so satisfied with their present condition that they would not accept of their freedom if it were offered to them !

The private buildings in Washington are, with very few exceptions, small and mean, and offer a striking contrast to the great public edifices of the Capitol and other structures. The number of wooden houses in the whole area of the city is much greater than those of brick ; these, too, are so scattered in detached groups and single isolated dwellings, as to look more miserable than if they were in continuous streets. The portions of the city which are built up with any regularity, such as Pennsylvania Avenue, the most perfect of them all, have houses of such diminutive size, and such constantly differing heights, styles, orders, and description, that heterogeneity is the rule, and uniformity the exception. The shops are also small, scantily furnished, and everything seems to be on a temporary and transitory footing.

The population of Washington is estimated at present at 20,000 persons, of whom 15,000 are supposed to be permanent residents, and the remaining 5000 strangers, visiting the city on business or pleasure, including members of both houses of Congress.

The whole of this population is subject to the local jurisdiction of a municipal body, incorporated by act of Congress as the Corporation of Washington, with a mayor and aldermen, elected by the freeholders of property within the town, and chosen annually. These have the power to raise the city revenue by an annual assessment of the real and personal property of each householder within its limits, and the fixing a rate of impost per cent. on the assessed value ; in addition to this, several occupations are subjected to the necessity of a license for carrying them on, and the sale of these licenses furnishes another considerable branch of revenue. From the following selections from the abstract of the city laws, some idea may be formed of the nature of the whole.

Auctioneers must take out a license, for which 100 dollars are charged, and security is required in 5000 dollars for payment of the city dues. They are authorized to charge commissions varying from one to five per cent., and the corporation is entitled to receive duties on such sales varying from one to five per cent. also. Brick-kilns are also required to be licensed, and all carts and wagons of every kind. For billiard-tables, the cost of the license is

100 dollars annually. Confectioners only pay ten dollars a year. Taxes are payable on dogs, two dollars per annum for males, and five dollars per annum for females; and any untaxed or uncollared dog may be killed by the constables, who have a fee of a dollar for its burial. No geese are allowed to go at large in the city, except in certain prescribed quarters; and any found straying may be seized by the police, and handed over to the trustees of the poor, on the payment of twenty-five cents, about a shilling English, for their delivery. Hackney-coaches pay ten dollars a year each for their licenses, and their fares are fixed by law. Tavern-keepers pay sixty dollars a year, and money-changers fifty dollars. Hawkers and pedlers pay fifty dollars for a license to sell small wares. Lottery-office keepers are charged 300 dollars for a license, and pawnbrokers 200 dollars. Bread, flour, meat, fish, coals, and many other necessities, are all subject to assize, regulation, and inspection, and everything, almost, is subjected to rule.

Notwithstanding all these sources of revenue, the city is largely in debt, the amount being at present 799,824 dollars, or about £160,000 sterling. The salary of the mayor, which is 1000 dollars per annum, and the pay of all the aldermen and other officers, is punctually discharged, whether any progress be made in the redemption of the debt or not; but many things languish for want of funds. Among these are the street-lights: gas is as yet nowhere in use in Washington, and oil is very scantily supplied, as one of the recent publications at Washington has this expressive paragraph on the subject: "The mayor is *authorized* to have the streets and avenues lighted, and to *pay* for the same; but poverty has extinguished the lights of the city, and the citizens are wont to cry out, 'Give us of your oil, our lamps have gone out.'" The revenue of the last year, arising from the city assessment of one per cent. on the real and personal property of the inhabitants, was about 60,000 dollars; and from the sale of licenses and other sources, 20,000 dollars more. The interest payable on the city debt was about 50,000 dollars, and the expenses of the corporation were 15,000 dollars, so that a surplus of 15,000 dollars remained.

The mayor and aldermen have the power of regulating by law all the movements and intercourse of the negroes or blacks—or, as they are invariably called in America, "the coloured people"—whether slaves or free; and some portions of the regulations now in force on that subject may not be without their interest and utility.

If any free coloured person is found playing at cards,

dice, or any other game of an "*immoral tendency*," or is even present as one of the company, though not engaged in playing himself, he may be fined ten dollars. No free blacks or mulattoes can have a dance at their houses without a special license from the mayor, specifying the place and time of meeting, number of guests, and hour of breaking up, under a penalty of ten dollars. No coloured person can go at large in the City of Washington after ten o'clock without a pass from a justice of the peace. Any free black found under this act refusing or being unable to pay, may be committed to the workhouse for six months for each offence; and if any slave subjects himself to the same penalties and cannot pay, then "he or *she* may be sentenced to receive any number of stripes on his or *her* bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine!" Such is the condition of those "happy and contented beings," as they are here commonly called, "who would not," according to the statement of the white residents, "have their freedom if you would offer it to them," but who are, nevertheless, not permitted to go into the gallery of the theatre to see the play of the *Gladiator*, lest the revolt of *Spartacus* and his fellow-slaves against their Roman masters should induce them to follow their example!

In the building-regulations for the city there is a very singular condition imposed on the builders of houses, expressed in the following terms: "The walls of no house to be higher than forty feet to the roof in any part of the city, nor shall any be lower than thirty-five in any of the avenues." This is extracted from a series of "terms and conditions for regulating the materials and manner of the buildings in the City of Washington," bearing date October 17, 1791, and signed by the then president, General Washington, as his own act and deed. This maximum height for the houses may account for the stunted and pigmy style of building that is generally characteristic of the city, and which looks the more diminutive from the great width of the avenues: but, though the maximum has been rarely exceeded, the minimum is constantly violated, as there are many small wooden houses not twenty feet high in different parts of the town; and in passing through the principal avenues, which were originally intended, no doubt, to look imposing, the lover of uniformity and good taste is perpetually shocked by the succession of a dozen buildings on each side, following in "most admired disorder," no two of which are alike in height, in breadth, in design, in style, or in dimensions.

CHAPTER XVII.

Diversity of Character in the Population.—Proportion of the black to white Inhabitants.—Residents, Members, Strangers, and Visitors.—Members of the Senate, Appearance, Manners.—Great Speeches of Mr. Calhoun, Clay, and Preston.—Opinions of the Newspapers on these Efforts.—Two Days' Speech of Mr. Webster on the Treasury Bill.—Opinions of the Press on this great Speech.—Opinions of Mr. Webster's great Speech.—Anecdote of Mr. Webster's Physiognomy.—Anecdote of General Washington's Temper.—Character of the House of Representatives.—Remarkable Members.—John Quincy Adams.—Quorum of the House.—No counting out.—Public Funerals of the Members of Congress.—Specimen of an Oration on such Occasions.—Pay of the Members.—Privilege of franking.—State of the general and fashionable Society at Washington.—Madame Caradori Allan's Concert.—Anecdote of Mr. Wood.—Hotels of Washington.—Boarding-houses.—Inferiority of both to those of New-York.—Domestic Attendants.—Style of Apartments.—Manner of living.—Hurry at Meals.—Inattention to Comfort.—Coarseness of Fare.—Coldness and Selfishness of Manners.

THE population of Washington is of a more motley complexion than that of any of the cities or towns we had yet seen in the United States. Of the 15,000 settled residents, most of whom have come from all parts of the Union, it may be said that their chief characteristic is variety; and among the strangers and visitors this distinction is even still more marked. The members of Congress, for instance, come, of necessity, from every state in the Union, as fixed residence and property in the state represented are necessary qualifications. With many of the members it is usual to bring their families for the session. These attract visitors for pleasure, who desire to see the Capitol, hear the public debates, and enjoy the pleasures and parties of the Washington world of fashion; so that here, perhaps, more than in any other city of the Union, may all the different races of its population be seen. The fierce and impetuous *Southern-er*, the rough and unpolished *Western-man*, and the more cautious and prudent *Northerner*, all mingle together; while Indians of different tribes, coming and going on deputations, lawful traders, land-speculators, gamblers, and adventurers, help to make up the variety, and give a tone of carelessness and recklessness to the general exterior of the moving crowd, such as none of the Northern cities exhibit. The proportion of the black and mulatto people is also very great: equal, it is thought, including the free and the enslaved, to the whole number of the whites, as all the domestics, nearly all the drivers of vehicles, and most of the labouring classes, are of the coloured race; this gives an unpleasant aspect to the streets and the groups that occupy them, from the asso-

ciations of degradation and inferiority which the presence of the whites among the blacks must necessarily connect with the condition of the latter.

Of the members of the Senate, fifty-two in number, two being elected by the Legislature of each of the separate states of the Union to represent them in this body, the greater number are undoubtedly men of information and ability, and some of very distinguished talents; they are generally persons above the middle age, of competent fortunes, possessors of freehold property in the state in which they reside; and they add to knowledge experience, gravity, and sober judgment.

I attended the Senate often, having admission to the floor among the members themselves; and on two occasions I had the opportunity of hearing, under the greatest advantages, the speeches of some of their most eminent orators: John C. Calhoun, from South Carolina; Henry Clay, from Kentucky; Colonel Preston, from South Carolina; and Daniel Webster, from Massachusetts. To show that these were thought most highly of, and that the particular occasion of their speeches was an important one, I subjoin the notices of the Washington papers on the occasion, and will then add an observation on them of my own. The following is from the Washington Chronicle of March 13, 1838, a paper advocating the inviolability of state-rights, and generally representing the extensive Southern interests, of which Mr. Calhoun is the great leader. The editor says:

"We presume that on no past occasion was there so much interest felt in the Senate as on Saturday last. It was the promised '*day of settlement*' between the senator from South Carolina and his assailant, Mr. Clay. At a very early hour in the morning, the galleries, the ante-chamber, the doors and entrances, every vacant spot, were crowded to the last inch of space. Hundreds were unable to get within hearing, though the doors that led to the Senate Chamber were thrown open, to allow those who could not see to hear. The House, too, adjourned at an early hour (a quorum not being obtainable), and the hall poured out its population on the floor of the Senate. A still, earnest, and dense mass filled every portion of tenable space.

"At one o'clock Mr. Calhoun rose, with that calm dignity which so eminently distinguishes him, and with that coolness and confidence which belong only to conscious innocence. He commenced by briefly reviewing the perversions, omissions, and misstatements which characterized the late criminating speech of Mr. Clay. This task he performed in a brief, clear, and pointed manner. He then took up the particular charges of inconsistency one by one; went back to the commencement of his political life, and traced with wonderful force and precision the great questions in which he had taken part from 1813 up to the present time. He adverted to the rise, progress, and termination of the great questions of a National Bank, the Protective Tariff, Inter-

mal Improvements, State Interposition, and the more recent measures connected with the currency, and the connexion of the government with the banks. He read copious extracts from his speeches delivered in the Senate since he was a member of the body, and referred to documents drawn up by himself, while in other situations, to prove the consistency of his course, and the groundlessness of the charges brought against him by the passionate senator from Kentucky. The whole of this retrospect was made in a manner so dignified, so eloquent and conclusive, as to carry conviction to every mind not filed against the influence of truth. A more triumphant vindication of innocence, and sublime statesmanship, never was made in any assembly. The trite, testy, fugitive charges of his assailant vanished before it as the thistle-beard driven by the tornado. He wrested from his adversary even the *pre-text* upon which he had based his accusation, and exposed him naked before the Senate, as one whose passions, personal and political, had made him to play with shadows.

"He then responded to the remarks of his assailant having a personal bearing; and while he vindicated his motives from the malignant aspersions of his adversary, he applied the *experimentum crucis*, and stretched his own limbs on the wheel. For keen, piercing, epigrammatic sarcasm, we have never heard anything that we could compare with it. And yet there was not the slightest departure from that dignity and self-respect which mark his character and conduct on all occasions. Sternly, yet without the least appearance of *bullyism* in phrase or gesture, he trampled the insinuations of his antagonist under his feet, and hurled back his pointless darts in scorn upon him. Maintaining only and strictly a position of *defence*, he left his assailant to pursue his remedy in the mode best suited to his purposes or inclinations. His remarks occupied about two hours in the delivery, during which time the most profound silence reigned throughout the immense crowd of listeners. Every eye was fixed on him with a stirless and absorbing attention. He stood like Demosthenes, on a very similar occasion, in the Areopagus, pouring forth the precepts of an elevated patriotism, and hurling the shafts of indignant innocence against *Æschines*, his accuser. Perhaps there is no other example in ancient or modern history more aptly illustrative of the scene in the Senate Chamber, whether we regard the vindictive malignity of the accuser, or the triumphant vindication of the accused. The scene will be long remembered by all who witnessed it; and we trust it will convince party leaders that the aspirations of personal ambition are not to be advanced by menace, nor measures of policy carried by malignant invective and empty declamation."

This was the opinion of a partisan, it is true; but even with all the allowance for the high colouring in which partisanship too often indulges, this surpassed all my previous experience in matters of this description. I went to the Senate strongly impressed with the most favourable expectations from Mr. Calhoun; and agreeing much more nearly in his general views about the impolicy of protecting duties for trade and the mischievous influence of irresponsible banks, than with his opponents, who were advocates of high tariffs and an almost unlimited issue of paper money, my prepossessions would assist, rather than retard, a favourable

opinion. But, with all these appliances, truth compels me to say that I was grievously disappointed. Mr. Calhoun's style of speaking is what would be called in England clear, self-possessed, and firm; but with nothing approaching to eloquence, and the entire absence of all action, however gentle, the monotony of tone, and the continual succession of emphasis on every sentence, made it tiresome to the ear after the first half hour. By the monotonous voice and perpetual emphasis, I was reminded strongly of Mr. Matthias Atwood, the member for Whitehaven; and by the motionless attitude and passionless expression, I was equally reminded of Mr. Grote, the member for London. As far as *persuasion* may be considered a test of success, I could not learn in any quarter of this being the effect of Mr. Calhoun's speech on a single individual: and I do not wonder at it.

Mr. Clay followed Mr. Calhoun, and spoke at still greater length—about three hours. He professed to labour under indisposition, and his admirers said he was not in good voice; but, making all allowance for these drawbacks, his effort appeared to me hardly more successful than Mr. Calhoun's. He had the advantage, no doubt, of more graceful elocution, more varied intonation, and more easy and unconstrained action. But with all this, it was what would be thought in England a third or fourth rate speech, such as might be delivered by Sir James Graham, Mr. Poulett Thompson, or Mr. Clay of London; clear and intelligible, and sometimes impressive, but having nothing of the higher characteristics of oratory in it. And yet, by Mr. Clay's partisans, this speech was said "to have surpassed all that was ever delivered in ancient or modern times, in any age or in any country!" So excessive is the exaggeration in which all parties seem here to indulge.

Colonel Preston, of South Carolina, rose at the close of Mr. Clay's speech, to reply to some unjust aspersions, as he considered them, on the political conduct of the Nullifiers, as they were called, of the state he represented. He spoke for about half an hour, with his arm in a sling, and still suffering from a recent accident by which he had been hurt. His language, emphasis, gesture, and action were more elegant than either of those who preceded him; and his speech was, to my judgment, by far the most eloquent and impressive of the day, and might be compared with a speech of Mr. Canning, Lord Holland, or any other of the more impassioned speakers of the old English school.

Mr. Webster having moved the adjournment of the House, had the possession of the floor, as it is called, for the next day, on which he spoke for four hours, from one to five, but without concluding; and, resuming his argument on the following day at one, he closed about four, thus making a speech of seven hours on the main question in debate, namely, the merits and defects of the sub-treasury bill, from which the speeches of the others were merely episodes or digressions for the settlement of personal disputes. A speech of seven hours would be deemed of intolerable length in England; but here it is not at all unusual for a speaker to occupy the floor for three days in the session, speaking four hours in each; for no sort of restraint seems to be placed on the orator, who may wander over every topic that his mind suggests, and no one rises to call him to order, or bring him back to the question, however far he may wander from it. An instance was mentioned to me of the late John Randolph, a senator from Virginia, speaking for twelve hours in succession, from one in the afternoon to one on the following morning. By the Constitution the Congress must expire on the 3d of March, at midnight, in the second year after its being elected; and as some measure was before the Senate which wanted only the third reading, and which Mr. Randolph desired to defeat, he spoke against time, and continued on his legs till the Congress had expired by law, at one in the morning of the 4th of March; by which the measure was of course extinguished.

Mr. Webster is, and I think justly, considered to be the most powerful orator, the best reasoner, and the most sound-judging of all the senatorial or representative body; yet even he, I think, is greatly overrated. The doctrine of high duties, tariffs, and protection for domestic manufactures, so long exploded by all the best writers on political economy in Europe (French, Italian, and German, as well as English), is dear to Mr. Webster, and he lauds it as the keystone of the American System. Bank monopolies, and the possession of the immense power which such monopolies give to those who enjoy them, appear to him wholesome and beneficial to trade. He is what in England would be called truly Conservative; and if he were in the English House of Commons, he would act with Mr. Matthias Atwood, Mr. Alderman Thompson, Mr. George Robinson, Mr. Aaron Chapman, and Mr. George Frederic Young, on all questions of protection for shipping and trade. He is, no doubt, a more able man than any of these, and a far better speaker. In-

deed, he may be justly called a statesman and an orator, and in both these capacities he seemed to me far superior to Mr. Clay or Mr. Calhoun, the former of whom entertains all Mr. Webster's contracted views about the tariff and bank monopolies, while the latter is the gentleman who declared "that the slavery of the blacks was the most perfect guarantee of freedom for the whites," and who had such just conceptions of this freedom as to declare that, "if the whites of South Carolina could but catch an abolitionist within their borders, they would hang him up without judge or jury." But that the partisans of Mr. Webster might not be behind those of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, the following were the eulogiums of the two Washington papers of the day following, March 14th. The Washington Chronicle says :

"Mr. Webster concluded his speech on Tuesday in opposition to the Sub-treasury. It is regarded as one of the greatest efforts of his life ; portions of it certainly surpassed anything we have heard or read. The battery he opened upon Mr. Calhoun, it must be admitted, was overwhelming."

The National Intelligencer of the same date, which is generally one of the most subdued of the public journals in its tone of praise or censure, says,

"Mr. Webster concluded yesterday, in the Senate, his great speech—we may say the greatest of all his speeches—on the Constitution and the Union, their origin, powers, and obligations. The solemnity and eloquence of his close were as impressive and soul-stirring as his argument had been transcendent and unanswerable. In saying thus much of this extraordinary speech, there is not one of the crowded auditory which heard him who will deem the praise too high, nor one of his distinguished peers, however eminent, who will consider it as derogating from his own just claims to distinction as a statesman or an orator."

Now, although this great effort of Mr. Webster's would have been thought a good speech in either house of Parliament, or at any public meeting in England, it certainly would not be described in terms of such extreme eulogy as is here bestowed upon it. It was far inferior to speeches delivered in every session in England by such speakers as Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham in the upper house, and by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. O'Connell, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Shiel in the lower house ; and the only way in which I could account for this extravagant praise of it, was to attribute it partly to the bias which partisanship gives to all opinions, and partly to the want of familiarity with higher models of excellence than those by whom they are surrounded.

In personal appearance Mr. Webster is rather above the

middle size, and presents the figure of a powerfully athletic man. His complexion is very dark, as much so as that of the darkest Spaniard, and his full hair is jet black. His countenance is striking; but, from his large dark eyes, full overhanging eyebrows, and curl of the lip, the expression is not that of kindness or benevolence. It is said that a friend once remarked to him the impression which his countenance had conveyed to a skilful physiognomist, and his answer was, "He is right; there is hardly a man breathing, perhaps, who by nature is more disposed to the indulgence of strong passions than myself; and it requires the constant exercise of a strong moral restraint, and the greatest vigilance, to prevent these passions getting the mastery over me." So much the greater merit and honour in the victory which he thus obtains over his nature.

A similar story to this is told of General Washington, with whom Mr. Webster will not be ashamed of being compared. With all his great qualities as a soldier and statesman, and with the undoubted purity of his conduct in public and private life, in which he was equally free from everything that was either corrupt, sordid, or mean, General Washington was, nevertheless, extremely subject to violent ebullitions of anger, though he almost instantly struggled to subdue them; and when an English painter who took his portrait, Gilbert Stuart, remarked to him that his head and countenance indicated the possession of strong passions, he made an answer similar to that of Mr. Webster, and lamented its truth.

In the House of Representatives, though the numbers are greater than in the Senate—there being 244 members instead of 52, each state sending a number proportioned to its population, in the ratio of one member to every 47,000 persons—yet the prominent speakers are fewer in number and less eminent in reputation. The more distinguished members of the House of Representatives are, indeed, almost sure to become members of the Senate, which thus distils, as it were, the essence of the elected body, and absorbs it into itself. There are, however, in the lower house a number of men of fair talents and respectable powers of oratory, especially among the legal members, who form, perhaps, a majority of the whole number. Mr. John Quincy Adams, the ex-president, and son of the third president of the United States, is the most eminent and remarkable man in the House of Representatives at present; and it is something new to see an individual taking his seat among the representatives of the

people who had occupied the highest post of power as president, but who, in descending from that high office, was content to merge himself into the great body of citizens, and to become again their member. Mr. Adams has been in public life since he was fifteen, being then secretary to his father. He has filled the office of ambassador at several foreign courts of Europe; at home he has been secretary of state, senator, president, and he is now a representative at the age of seventy. He is admitted to be the most learned of all the public men of America, adding, however, to his book-learning an extensive knowledge of the world and experience in public affairs; but the noble stand he has always taken against slavery causes him to be an object of distrust, if not of hatred, to those members who desire to perpetuate that degrading institution, and therefore he is more frequently annoyed and interrupted in his proceedings than he would be if less firm and less consistent in his course. His habits are peculiar: he has risen every morning of his life for the last forty years, it is said, at four o'clock in the morning, lighting his own fire in the winter at that hour, and in the summer taking an early daylight walk; and before the hour of the meeting of Congress arrives, which is noon, he has usually performed a good day's work. He has kept a full record, it is asserted, of all the most interesting events of the times, and especially those of which, though relating to public affairs, he may be said to know the secret history and workings; and it is added that he has no less than seventy-five folio manuscript volumes of this description, written with his own hand. I had the pleasure of seeing him often, in interchanges of visits during my stay at Washington, and can testify to the great extent of his general information, his humane and liberal principles, his fine, clear intellect and vigorous mental power, and his very cheerful and agreeable manners.

The absorption of the public interest by the proceedings of the Senate, in consequence of the Sub-treasury bill, the great measure of the session, being now before that body, prevented any business of importance being done in the House of Representatives beyond mere matters of course; and it often happened, while the great speakers were engaged in the Senate, that the members of the other house crowded to hear them, so that their own assembly became deserted. No public business can be legally transacted by either house unless there is a quorum; but that quorum, instead of being, as it is with us, forty for the Commons and

five for the Lords, must consist of an actual majority of the whole number of the assembly, namely, 27 out of 52 senators, and 123 out of the 244 representatives. If in any counting of the members, however, that number does not appear, the house is not, therefore, of necessity adjourned, as with us; but the speaker is required to wait until, by the addition of other members, the quorum may be completed, as there are persons in attendance or near at hand who may be summoned for the purpose. The *trick*, therefore, of "counting out the house," so often and so unworthily resorted to by the ministers in England to get rid of disagreeable motions which they are either ashamed or afraid to oppose openly, and desire to "burke," as it is called, by a *manceuvre*, is not, therefore, resorted to here.

The most solemn of the proceedings that we witnessed in the House of Representatives were the funeral ceremonies attending the death of two of its members; one the late Mr. Cilley, killed by Mr. Graves in a duel, which has been already adverted to, and the other a member from the same State, who died from natural illness just three weeks afterward. It is a rule of both houses, that, when any member of either dies, he shall be honoured with a public interment: and the custom is to adjourn both houses for two days, when they meet to attend the funeral in a united body, accompanied by the president and all his cabinet, with heads of departments. The sum of 2000 dollars is appropriated in every such case from the public funds to defray the expenses: one item of which is to engage *all* the hackney-coaches of the city, to convey, free of cost, whoever chooses to attend the procession from the Capitol to the place of interment; and, long as this train of carriages always is, they are sure to be well filled with gratuitous occupants. It is also usual for some friend in each house to make a formal announcement of the death, and the occasion is then taken to pronounce a eulogy on the deceased. As an illustration of the manners of the country, and a fair sample of the taste of such compositions, I subjoin the one pronounced in the House of Representatives on this occasion, taken from the National Intelligencer of March 16, under the ordinary head of "Proceedings in Congress," to which are appended the resolutions which are invariably adopted on the death of every member without distinction.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"As soon as the House was organized this morning,

"Mr. Evans, of Maine, addressed the Chair in the following words:

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"Mr. Speaker: These badges of mourning which we still wear denote that death has lately been in the midst of us. Again his arrow has flown; and again has the fatal shaft been sent, with unerring aim, into a small and already broken rank. It is my melancholy office to announce that, since the last adjournment of the House of Representatives, Timothy Jarvis Carter, then one of its members from the State of Maine, has surrendered up to the Being who gave it a life upon which many anxious hopes depended, and for whose preservation many an ardent prayer had gone up to the Father of all Spirits. He died last evening at 10 o'clock, at his lodgings in this city, after a sickness of not very protracted duration, but of great and excruciating intensity of suffering and agony. The ways of a righteous Providence are inscrutable; and, while we bow in submission, we are yet oppressed with deep and solemn awe.

"Our deceased friend and colleague was a native of the state and the district which so lately he represented in this branch of Congress; and he therefore brought with him the confidence, largely bestowed, of those who had known him from his earliest years. Well did he deserve it. His character for probity, integrity, uprightness, morality, was free from spot or blemish. His principles were well founded. Loving the country of his birth and its institutions with all his heart, he pursued with fidelity such measures as his judgment deemed best calculated to promote the welfare of the one and the durability of the other. He was a lawyer by profession; faithful, just, discriminating, attentive, humane in its practice.

"Of manners mild, courteous, affable, and a temper kind, conciliating, patient, he won respect and attachment even from those who differed with him in matters of opinion; and probably there lives not a human being who has a single resentment, or one unkind recollection, to bury in his grave. He has gone, in the strength of his manhood and the maturity of his intellect, the road that all must once pass.

'—calcanda, semel, via lethi.'

"The ties that bound him to life are severed forever, as all human ties must be severed.

*Linquenda tellus, et domus, et amans
Uxor; neque harum, quæ colas, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos
Ulla, brevem dominum sequetur.'*

"Although, when his eyes opened for the last time upon the earth and the sky, they fell not upon his own native hills; though the sod which shall cover him will not freshen in the same influences which clothe them in verdure and beauty; though he died far from his home, the companions and the brothers of his childhood were with him; the sharer of his joys, the solace of his griefs, stood by him; and the hand which could best do it assuaged the bitter pains of parting life. The last earthly sounds which fell upon his ear were tones of sympathy, and kindness, and affection, and support; tones which ceased not, even when they vainly strove to pierce the cold and leaden ear of death. Tears shall flow copiously, and deep sighs be heaved over his lifeless form; tears not more scalding, sighs not deeper drawn, because mingled with any bitter recollections, any unavailing regrets.

"If human means could have availed; if devoted fraternal sympathy and care; if constant, abiding, self-sacrificing affection, triumphing over exhausted nature, and bearing up a feeble frame, unconscious of weariness, through long and painful vigils, could have saved his life, he would long have been spared to the friends who now deplore his death, and to the state and to the country which he served. To that stricken

bosom we proffer—alas! how little will it avail!—our sincere sympathy and condolence. He has gone from this place of earthly honours and human distinctions to a seat in that 'house which is not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'

"As a token of our regard for his many virtues, and of our respect for his memory, I move the adoption of the resolutions which I now submit.

"*Resolved*, That the members and officers of this House will attend the funeral of Timothy J. Carter, deceased, late a member of this House from the State of Maine, at 12 o'clock on Saturday, the 17th inst.

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to take order for superintending the funeral of Timothy J. Carter, deceased.

"*Resolved*, That the members and officers of this House will testify their respect for the memory of Timothy J. Carter, by wearing crape on the left arm for thirty days.

"*Resolved*, That when this House adjourn to-day, it will adjourn to meet on Saturday, the 17th inst.

"These resolutions were unanimously agreed to."

The members of both houses are paid at the rate of eight dollars per day for their attendance during the session, and a certain amount per mile for their journeys to and from their homes to Washington; a remuneration which is not sufficiently large to tempt persons to become representatives or senators for the salary of the office, yet large enough to defray the actual cost of their living, and not to make the discharge of the public business a pecuniary burden to themselves; and as the pay and travelling expenses of the members are defrayed out of the general revenue, no constituent body feels it to bear heavily on them. There is no privilege enjoyed by them, as far as I could learn, but that of franking; but this is carried to a much greater extent than in England. The number of the letters they may send out or receive in any day is unlimited; the weight of letters must not exceed two ounces; but public documents and printed papers are sent and received without reference to weight or number. The member is not obliged to write the whole of the directions in his own hand, as with us, nor to put any date at all upon the cover; but if any number of letters are taken to him, under two ounces each, and addressed by any other person, all that is required is that he should write the word "free," and add his signature on any part of the cover, and this ensures its free transit by post to every part of the country.

Of the general society at Washington, in the morning visits and evening parties of the most fashionable circles, we had a good opportunity of judging during our stay among them. With more of ostentation, there is less of hospitality and less of elegance than in New-York, and a sort of aris-

tocratic air is strangely mingled with manners far from polished or refined. The taste for parties of pleasure is so general, however, that dissipation may be said to be the leading characteristic of Washington society, and one sees this fearfully exhibited in the paleness and languor of the young ladies, who are brought here from their homes to be introduced into fashionable life. These are seen in a state of feebleness and exhaustion, from late hours and continued excitement, long before their forms are fully developed or their constitutions perfectly formed; and while these ravages are committed on their bodies, their minds are neither cultivated nor strengthened, as the gossip and talk of the morning is usually but a recapitulation of the adventures and occupations of the evening. During all our stay, in all our visits, I do not remember a single instance in which any literary or scientific subject was the topic of conversation, or the merits of any book or any author the subject of discussion. There seemed, in short, united in the circles of Washington all the pretensions of a metropolis with all the frivolity of a watering-place, and the union was anything but agreeable.

Besides the opportunities we possessed of seeing the largest assemblages at the president's drawing-room and at private parties, we attended a concert given by Madame Caradori Allan, at Carusi's Saloon, where it was said all the beauty and fashion of Washington were present, and, being advantageously seated, we had the best opportunity of observation. The female beauty was not to be compared, in number or degree, to that which we had seen in similar assemblages at New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, nor was there nearly as much elegance of dress or gracefulness and propriety of manner. The ladies were noisy and almost vociferous in their conversation, which is contrary to the general habit of American ladies, who are more tranquil and retiring in mixed society than the English; and the men were in general boisterous in their manners, with a greater attempt at playing the dandy or beau, than we had before observed in our journey through the country. The concert-room was very large, and the ladies were intermingled in all parts with the gentlemen; yet the greater number of these last stood up, even during the performance, while the ladies were seated behind and beside them; many kept their hats on, and a great number came with stout walking-sticks; so that, when any part of the music was applauded, it was done by the loudest knocking of these sticks.

against the floor instead of the clapping of hands. In the remote part of the room some of the ladies stood, and the gentlemen, still desirous of being above them, then left the floor and stood on the benches; while behind these again, and near to the door, were two gentlemen seated on the top of the elevated steps by which the candles were lighted. Among the persons standing on the benches, the figure of Mr. Clay, the great orator of the Senate and leader of the Whig-Conservative party, was conspicuous; yet it attracted no particular attention, as if it were nothing unusual. The same sort of rudeness, disorder, and noise often occurs in the theatre, where it is said the beating of the walking-sticks of the audience on the partitions is sometimes so violent that the house seems to be in danger of coming to pieces if a minute or two more should elapse than the audience may think proper between the acts; but in a concert-room we had not expected such displays as this. The excuse given for it was, that it was occasioned by the large admixture of Southern and Western people, who are less refined than those from the North and the East; and also that the members, idle strangers, and visitors who make up such assemblages, come to them rather as a rendezvous than for the sake of the performance, and therefore wish to be at their ease.

As the company, though numerous, was composed of persons of the least personal beauty, the plainest dresses, and the rudest manners that we had before remembered to have seen congregated anywhere in America, I had imagined that it was not a fair specimen of a Washington fashionable assembly; but all to whom I ventured to express this opinion corrected me by the assurance that they had never before seen so brilliant an audience collected at a concert here; and the leading journal of the following day, the *National Intelligencer* of March 22, which spoke, it was believed, the general sense of those present, expressed its opinion in this short paragraph:

"The concert given by Madame Caradori Allan in this city on Tuesday, was attended by an audience never exceeded, either in brilliance or in numbers, on any such occasion in this city. To those who know the vocal power and musical talent of this accomplished lady, we need not say that her performance gave the highest gratification to all present."

Madame Caradori's own performance gave, undoubtedly, the highest gratification to all who heard it: for so accomplished a singer and musician as she is could scarcely sing anything that would not give delight to an ear having the slightest taste for sweet sounds; but to those who, like our-

selves, had often heard this charming lady at the opera or in the concert-rooms of England, sustained by powerful orchestras, worthy of her own distinguished reputation, it was painful to witness the meagerness of the musical assistance received by her here; the only instrument being a piano-forte, and the only singer except herself being Signor Fabj, who would scarcely have ventured to appear in any concert-room in Europe. The performances of the evening were therefore all solos by Madame Caradori and Signor Fabj in alternate succession. Madame Caradori's songs were these: "Una voce poco fa," "Angels ever bright and fair," "Ouvrez, c'est nous," "Steh nur auf," "Io l'udia," and "I'm over young to marry yet." Signor Fabj, who could not take even so high a range as this, contented himself with singing "Viraviso," "Qui riposai beato," "Ah! perche non posso odiarti," and "Amor di patria," from Bellini, Baglioli, and Generali. The good-nature of the audience was certainly evinced in this, that they applauded heartily at the end of every piece; and, to prevent all envy or jealousy among the parties applauded, they gave an equal measure of praise to each. The whole performance was over in about an hour from the time of its commencement. What surprised me at first, I own, was this, that Madame Caradori Allan, a lady known and honoured by all the courts of Europe, should have been so unjust to her own high reputation as not to desire to leave a better impression behind her, by singing some of the many excellent and beautiful pieces with which she has delighted the hearts as well as ears of the first circles in Europe, and which her own recollection would have readily supplied; but she had probably discovered by experience that the standard of musical taste in this portion of the United States was such as would be best pleased with the productions she had presented to them, and the audience appeared to be so satisfied as to leave no doubt that she had judged correctly in this respect; what she did sing was executed with all the sweetness, grace, and expression for which she is so deservedly and universally admired.

A remarkable instance of "impressment," practised on Mrs. Wood, the popular singer, who had preceded Madame Caradori Allan in her visit to America, was mentioned to me here by one who was present at the party. A general living in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, who had become suddenly rich, furnished a house in a costly manner, and gave gay parties. He had little else but his wealth,

however, to render them attractive; his wife being especially untutored and unpolished, as he had married before he became rich, and both were elevated to their present importance without the requisite personal qualifications to sustain it. To render one of their parties more than usually popular, they invited Mr. and Mrs. Wood among their guests; these at first respectfully declined, on the ground of fatigue; but they were pressed with so much earnestness that they at length were subdued into consent. When the entertainments of the evening were fairly commenced, and several ladies among the visitors had sung, the hostess invited Mrs. Wood to seat herself at the piano, as the company would be delighted to hear her beautiful voice; but Mrs. Wood begged, with a very serious countenance, to be excused. At first the astonishment created by this refusal was evinced by a dead silence and a fixed stare; but at length the disappointed hostess broke forth: "What! not sing, Mrs. Wood! why, it was for this that I invited you to my party. I should not have thought of asking you but for this; and I told all my guests that you were coming, and that they would hear you sing!" "Oh!" replied Mrs. Wood, with great readiness, "that quite alters the case; I was not at all aware of this, or I should not have refused; but, since you have invited me professionally, I shall of course sing immediately!" "That's a *good* creature," rejoined the hostess; "I thought you could not persist in refusing me." So Mrs. Wood seated herself at the piano, sang delightfully, and, to the entire gratification of hostess and guests, gave, without hesitation, every song she was asked for, and some were encored. On the following day, however, when the host and hostess were counting up the cost of their entertainment (for, rich as they were, they had not lost their former regard for economy), to their utter consternation there came in a bill from Mr. Wood of 200 dollars for Mrs. Wood's "professional services" at the party of the preceding evening, accompanied by a note, couched in terms which made it quite certain that the demand would be legally enforced if attempted to be resisted; and, however much they were mortified by this unexpected demand, they deemed it most prudent to pay it and hold their tongues.

The hotels of Washington, at which strangers usually reside for a few days before they get into a boarding-house, if they intend a long residence in the city, or where they remain entirely if their visit is a short one, are greatly inferior to those of New-York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore; and

the boarding-houses are still worse. In both the domestics are all negroes, and in the latter mostly slaves. They are generally dirty in their persons, slovenly in their apparel, and unskilful and inattentive in their duties. In the boarding-houses, the members of Congress and other inmates who use them occupy a separate bedroom, which they use for office, bureau, receiving-room, and all; and, on passing by these when the door is open, one sees a four-post bed without canopy or furniture, the upper extremities of the posts not being even connected by any framework, and the bed pushed close up against the wall by the side, to leave the larger space in the rest of the room. A table covered with papers occupies the middle of the apartment, often with a single chair only, and that frequently a broken one; and around on the floor are strewn, in the greatest disorder and confusion, heaps of congressional documents, large logs of firewood piled up in pyramids, the wash-basin and ewer, printed books, and a litter of unfolded and unbrushed clothes.

The drawing-room of the hotel or boarding-house is used by all equally, and is usually in better condition than the private apartments, though even in these the dust of the wood fires (universal in Washington), the multiplicity of newspapers and other things scattered about, take away all appearance of cleanliness or elegance. The eating-room is used for breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper; and a long table, spread out the whole length of the room, is kept *always* laid throughout the entire day and night. The process is this: the table is first laid over-night for breakfast; when this meal is over, however, the table is merely swept, so as to remove the crumbs, and the cloth, not being taken off even to be shaken or folded up, is suffered to continue on for dinner, the only precaution used partaking at all of cleanliness being that of laying the dinner-plates, which are put on the moment breakfast is over, with their faces downward, so that they may not receive the dust.

Dinner is brought on at the appointed hour; but so unacquainted with comfort, or so indifferent to it are the parties furnishing it, that no warm plates are provided; iron forks alone are used; the earthenware and glass are of the commonest description, and often broken; indeed, articles that would be thrown away as worn out in England continue to be used here, broken as they are, and no one seems to think of repairing or mending; while the provisions are of the poorest kind, and most wretchedly cooked and prepared. The dishes are all brought to table without covers, and are

consequently cold before the parties are seated ; and, with the exception of now and then, but very rarely, a good fish (rock-fish and perch) from the River Potomac, we never partook of any good dish of meat, poultry, or vegetables during all our stay in Washington, though not at all fastidious in our taste or difficult to please in this respect, preferring always the plain and simple in food as well as drink. The table-cloth used for breakfast and dinner remains on for tea, which is taken at the same long table from common earthenware teapots, broken and smoked by long standing before the fire ; and after supper the same cloth still remains on for breakfast the next morning, which is laid over-night as soon as the supper is done.

The same hurry in eating was observable here as in all the other cities we had visited. The boarders are rung out of bed by a large and noisy hand-bell at half past seven, and at eight the breakfast is begun. Many persons seemed to us to finish in five minutes, but none exceeded a quarter of an hour ; and, the instant that any one had done, he rose up, quitted the table, and went into the drawing-room to read the newspapers ; so that it sometimes happened that at a quarter past eight we came down and found everybody gone, leaving us in exclusive possession of the breakfast-table. At dinner it was the same ; and the whole style and manner of living had a coldness and selfishness about it which we could not approve.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Private Friends in Washington.—Judge White.—Quaker Deputation from Philadelphia.—Attempted Fraud on the Seneca Indians.—Practices of Land-speculators towards these People.—Peculiar and remarkable Personages in Washington.—Mr. Fox, Relative of Lord Holland, the British Minister.—Mrs. Madison, Widow of the late ex-President.—Privilege of franking conferred on her by Congress.—English Gentlemen arriving in Washington.—Practice of wearing Arms.—Recklessness of Character.—Instances of Profligacy.—Women and Gamblers.—Influence of Slavery in producing this State of Things.—Anecdote of Life on the Western Waters.—Shameful Indifference and Silence of the Clergy.—Demoralizing Effect of Slavery on Social Life.

AMONG the individuals whose private friendship we had the good fortune to cultivate and enjoy while we were at Washington, none delighted us more by their intelligence, urbanity, and perfect freedom from that overweening assumption of national superiority and exclusiveness, which

we had too often occasion to observe in others, than Judge White and his lady. These were fortunately inmates of the same house with us, so that our opportunities of communication were frequent and acceptable. They were both from Tennessee, of which the judge is one of the senators. At the last contest he was one of the candidates put in nomination for the presidency; for, though upward of seventy years of age, the universal appreciation of the justness of his character was such as to overcome this objection, and he was thus very extensively supported in the states in which he was best known. This reputation for integrity still occasions him to be the senator most frequently appealed to against acts of oppression and injustice, whether committed by the government or by private individuals.* Several instances of this became known to me, as the deputations that waited upon him were often received in the drawing-room, so that we had an opportunity of hearing their statements.

One of these, a deputation from Philadelphia, came to seek his counsel in the following case. They said that, about fifty years ago, some members of their body, the Society of Friends, living at Philadelphia, considered that, as they were occupying the lands that once belonged to the Seneca tribe of Indians, though these lands were ceded by voluntary treaty, and fairly and fully paid for, yet as they, the Quakers, had many of them grown rich by the occupation of the territory, through the improved condition of it by themselves, they felt it to be their duty to take the Seneca nation under their especial protection, and do all they could to advance them in comfort and civilization. They had accordingly sent agents among them, prevailed on them to hold lands in severalty, and to follow the arts of cultivation; and had so improved the adults, and so trained the children of the tribe, that the greater portion of them were now fixed as permanent occupiers of the soil in the Western country, and were slowly, though steadily, advancing onward in the same career.

A fraudulent attempt to remove these Indians still farther West, beyond the Mississippi, had recently been made known to them, and they had come on to Washington to stop its farther progress if they could. Some unprincipled land-speculators, white men and Americans, had been among them, and tried all their arts to persuade them to part with

* This venerable and upright man is since deceased, but his name is held in universal estimation throughout the country; and, as these remarks were written during my stay at Washington, I suffer them to remain unaltered.

their lands for a given sum of purchase-money, quite insignificant as compared with the real value of the territory; but neither misrepresentations, blandishments, nor threats could prevail on the Indians to assent. Failing therefore in this, these speculators drew off, one by one, a few of the most ignorant of the tribe, and, by false representations and false promises, got a very few to come with them here as a deputation from the Indian tribe, bearing a treaty assigning their whole territory to the speculators in question; which treaty was signed by the said Indians for, and on behalf of, the tribe who, it was pretended, had deputed them. The Quakers, however, who suspected this story from the beginning, sent some of their own members to the West, and ascertained from the mouths of the chiefs that they had never delegated their power to treat to any persons whatever; when they returned, bearing a protest against the alienation of their lands, and declaring their entire dissent from the pretended treaty in question.

As all treaties are of necessity sent by the president to the Senate for their approval, it would fall within the power of Judge White, as one of that body, to give due exposure to this nefarious transaction, and thus the benevolent mission of these worthy Quakers—always engaged in this country, as the members of their society are in every other in which they exist, in doing good—would be crowned with success; though, for want of similar interventions of friendly parties, the poor Indians are often plundered and pillaged by unprincipled and cunning speculators, who grow rich by the spoil, and pass from the completion of one successful aggression to the commencement of another and a greater one, till death or exposure puts an end to their wicked career.

Among the remarkable persons to be seen in Washington besides the president, heads of departments, and members of both houses of Congress, the British minister, Mr. Fox, deserves mention. This gentleman, a near relative of Lord Holland, is upward of sixty years of age: he has the reputation of being amiable and learned; but he is so rarely seen, either in his own house or out of it, that it is regarded as quite an event to have met with him. His appearance indicates feeble health, and his habits are quite sufficient to account for this. Instead of rising at four in the morning, like the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, he goes to the opposite extreme of not quitting his bed till one or two in the afternoon; and he avoids mingling with society, either at home or elsewhere, as if it were naturally distasteful to

him. Book-auctions, which are frequent here, sometimes tempt him, but scarcely anything else can draw him out. He has the reputation of being a great entomologist, and it is said that his greatest happiness consists in the frequent receipt of cases of insects from the various parts of the world in which he has either travelled or resided, or where he has friends or correspondents. His life is therefore probably as happy in the solitude to which he seems voluntarily to have devoted himself, as that of men who seek their pleasure from other sources; but his influence upon society is absolutely nothing. This furnishes a striking contrast to his predecessor, Sir Charles Vaughan, who is regretted by most of the residents here, as he is described to have been one of the most social, affable, familiar, accessible, and agreeable ministers ever sent to Washington from the Court of St. James, and, as such, his good qualities drew everybody constantly around him.

Mrs. Madison, the widow of the ex-president Madison, is also one of the remarkable personages of the city. Though past eighty years of age, she is tall, erect, clear of sight, hearing, and intellect, most agreeable in manners, well dressed, and still really good-looking. She has resided in Washington almost ever since it was first begun to be built; and by her extremely affable temper and her kind-heartedness has won the esteem of all parties. Every stranger who comes to Washington is sure to be told of Mrs. Madison, and informed that it is his duty to call and pay her his respects: so that her drawing-room is almost an open levée from twelve to two on every fine day, and between the morning and afternoon service of Sunday. As a personal compliment to herself, and as a mark of the high estimation in which she was held by the Congress, both houses of that body conferred on her, by a joint resolution, the only privilege within their power to bestow, namely, the right of franking, or sending and receiving all her letters free of postage; she being probably the only individual, and especially the only female, upon whom such a privilege was ever personally conferred by an act of the legislature of any country.

During our stay in Washington, two Englishmen of some distinction arrived here, but their stay was very short; one was Lord Clarence Paget, a son of the Marquis of Anglesea, who came to Norfolk in the Pearl sloop-of-war from Bermuda with despatches, which he brought on from thence; and the other was Lord Gosford, the late governor of Low-

er Canada, who had come here to confer with the American government previous to his going to England.

The longer we remained in Washington, the more we saw and heard of the recklessness and profligacy which characterize the manners both of its resident and fluctuating population. In addition to the fact of all the parties to the late duel going at large, and being unaccountable to any tribunal of law for their conduct in that transaction—of itself a sufficient proof of the laxity of morals and the weakness of magisterial power—it was matter of notoriety, that a resident of the city who kept a boarding-house, and who entertained a strong feeling of resentment towards Mr. Wise, one of the members for Virginia, went constantly armed with loaded pistols and a long bowie-knife, watching his opportunity to assassinate him. He had been foiled in the attempt on two or three occasions by finding this gentleman armed also, and generally accompanied by friends; but though the magistrates of the city were warned of this intended assassination, they were either afraid to apprehend the individual, or from some other motive declined or neglected to do so; and he accordingly walked abroad armed as usual.

Mr. Wise himself, as well as many others of the members from the South and West, go habitually armed into the House, of Representatives and Senate; concealed pistols and dirks being the usual instruments worn by them beneath their clothes. On his recent examination before a committee of the House, he was asked by the chairman of the committee whether he had arms on his person or not; and answering that he always carried them, he was requested to give them up while the committee was sitting, which he did; but on their rising he was presented with his arms, and he continued constantly to wear them as before.

This practice of carrying arms on the person is no doubt one of the reasons why so many atrocious acts are done under the immediate influence of passion; which, were no arms at hand, would waste itself in words, or blows at the utmost; but now too often results in death. A medical gentleman, resident in the city, told me he was recently called in to see a young girl who had been shot at with a pistol by one of her paramours, the ball grazing her cheek with a deep wound, and disfiguring her for life; and yet nothing whatever was done to the individual, who had only failed by accident in his intention to destroy her life. In this city are many establishments where young girls are col-

lected by procuresses, and one of these was said to be kept by a young man who had persuaded or coerced all his sisters into prostitution, and lived on the wages of their infamy. These houses are frequented in open day, and hackney-coaches may be seen almost constantly before their doors. In fact, the total absence of all restraint upon the actions of men here, either legal or moral, occasions such open and unblushing displays of recklessness and profligacy as would hardly be credited if mentioned in detail. Unhappily, too, the influence of this is more or less felt in the deteriorated characters of almost all persons who come often to Washington, or live a long period there. Gentlemen from the Northern and Eastern States, who, before they left their homes, were accounted moral, and even pious men, undergo such a change at Washington by a removal of all restraint, that they very often come back quite altered characters; and, while they are at Washington, contract habits, the very mention of which is quite revolting to chaste and unpolluted ears.

There can be no doubt that the existence of slavery in this district has much to do with creating such a state of things as this; and as Washington is one of the great slave-marts of the country, where buyers and sellers of their fellow-creatures come to traffic in human flesh, and where men, women, and children are put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder, like so many head of cattle, this brings together such a collection of speculators, slave-dealers, gamblers, and adventurers as to taint the whole social atmosphere with their vices. All this is freely acknowledged in private conversation; but, when people talk of it, they speak in whispers, and look around to see that no one is listening; for it is at the peril of life that such things are ventured to be spoken of publicly at all.

An instance of this occurred not long since in one of the steamboats navigating the Western rivers. A gentleman who had been to the South was describing to another, in confidential conversation, his impressions as to the state of society there, and happened to express his great abhorrence of gamblers, when a fashionably dressed person in the same boat, who had overheard this conversation, came up to the individual who had used these expressions, and said, "Sir, you have been speaking disparagingly of gamblers; I am a gambler by profession, and I insist upon your apologizing, and retracting all you have said." The person thus addressed replied that, as the conversation was confidential, and addressed only to his friend, without being intended for any

other ear, he could not have meant any personal offence; but as what he had said was perfectly true, he could neither apologize nor retract; whereupon the gambler drew the concealed dagger which almost every one in the South carries about his person, and stabbed this individual to the heart. His death was the immediate consequence, and yet no farther notice was taken of this affair by the captain or any other of the passengers except to land the murderer at the next town, where he passed unmolested, and ready, no doubt, to repeat a similar atrocity.

Even the clergy maintain a profound silence on the subject of these enormities, and never mention the subject of slavery in the states where it exists except to apologize for it or to uphold it, and to deprecate all the "schemes," as they call them, of the abolitionists for hastening the period of its annihilation. So tolerant are the clergy of the South on this subject, that, as was shown in the resolutions of the Episcopal-Methodist Conference in Georgia, they publicly declare their belief "that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *not* a moral evil," and if so, of course they are not called upon to remove it. As a specimen, however, of one of the many modes in which it does operate as a moral evil (notwithstanding these Episcopalian-Methodist resolutions to the contrary), this single fact may be stated: A planter of Virginia had among his slaves a coloured female of handsome figure and agreeable person, who acted as a household attendant; having been present at some religious meetings of the Methodists, she became piously disposed, and at length attached herself to their Church as a member; for members are admitted from the coloured population, though they sit apart in the gallery at public worship, and have a separate table when they receive the sacrament in communion! How the Divine Instructor of this solemn and endearing observance would regard such a separation, has not, perhaps, been often thought of. A short time after this female had joined herself to the Church as a communicant, the son of the planter returned home from completing his studies at college, and, as is usual with sons of that age, communicated to his father the necessity of his having a mistress! The handsome Christian slave was accordingly selected for this purpose, and made a *present* to the son! She was horror-struck, and at first resisted; but, as there was no law that could protect her, no tribunal that could help her, her entire person being the property of her master, to do with her whatsoever he pleased, and to strip and flog her into compliance

if she refused, there was no alternative but concession and patient resignation. She communicated this fact, however, to her religious teacher, the minister of the Church she had joined, expressed the deepest repugnance at the committal of the sin, and asked him what was her duty. He replied that her duty, as a slave, was clearly passive submission, and that resistance or refusal could not be countenanced by him! And yet the Methodist-Episcopal Conference of Georgia, met in solemn conclave, publicly proclaim their belief to the world, in a resolution formally put and unanimously adopted, that "Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *not* a moral evil." Such is the perversion of Christianity by some of its professed ministers in the slaveholding states of America!

CHAPTER XIX.

Environs of Washington, Scenery and Views.—Georgetown older in Date than Washington.—Climate of Washington extremely variable.—Captain Smith's and Jefferson's Account of the Climate.—Last Survey of Washington in an Excursion round it.—Visit to the Arsenal, and Description of it.—Visit to the Navy-yard of Washington.—Description of its Resources and Works.—Return to the City of the Capitol.—Battles of the Giants and the Pigmies.—Last Sunday passed at the Service in the Capitol.—Admirable Sermon of the Rev. Dr. Fisk.—Excursion to Alexandria across the Potomac.—Embryo City of Jackson, near Washington.—Sale of Lands for non-payment of Taxes.—Singular names of new-settled Estates.—History and Description of Alexandria.—Museum and Relics of General Washington.—Mount Vernon, the family Seat and Tomb.—Disinterment of General Washington's Corpse.—Veneration for Washington and Lafayette.—Native Indians seen at Washington.—Farewell Views on leaving the City.

THE environs of Washington, though not inviting in winter, must be agreeable in the spring and autumn. The broad Potomac, a mile and a half across where it receives the tributary Anacosta, and still widening below their confluence, is a very noble object from every elevated point of view. The long bridge across it, exceeding a mile, though at the higher part of the river, has a very picturesque effect. The hills on the other side of the Potomac, within the District of Columbia, are well wooded, and those in Maryland, on the other side of the Anacosta, are really beautiful. The small town of Alexandria, on the Virginian side of the Potomac, is visible from Washington, the distance being six miles only; and Georgetown, which may be called a suburb of Washington, though a separate city, is but a continuation of the latter, there being an almost unbroken line of

houses connecting the two. Georgetown is older than Washington, having its name from the King of England long before the Revolution, and that name being still retained. It is compactly built, and not straggling, like the younger city. Its population is estimated at about 10,000, but it is diminishing in opulence and consideration. It once enjoyed a direct trade with the West Indies, and many ships came to its port, as well as to Alexandria, from various parts. But both these places have suffered by a diversion of their trade into other channels, especially since railroads, opened from the interior of Maryland and Virginia direct to Baltimore, have made that place the great emporium of commerce for this part of the South. At Georgetown is a large Catholic college, under the direction of very learned and skilful Jesuits, as well as a monastery and a nunnery, both well filled; the professors of the Catholic faith abounding in this quarter, from Baltimore having been originally founded by a Catholic nobleman, and the religion having there taken root, and spread extensively all around.

The line of separation between Washington and Georgetown is a stream called Rock Creek, into which a smaller stream called Goose Creek enters. Mr. Thomas Moore, in one of his epistles from Washington, takes a poetic license with this latter stream when he says,

“And what was Goose Creek once is Tiber now,”

because, though it answered his purpose to turn the sharp and pointed satire conveyed in this line, it does not happen to be correct. Goose Creek is still Goose Creek, as it ever has been: Tiber is another stream altogether, and is found under that name in the old maps of Maryland before Columbia was made a district, or the City of Washington was laid out. It is very insignificant, it is true (though even the Tiber of Rome, by-the-way, is an insignificant stream when compared with the Potomac of Washington). It rises in the hills of Maryland, just beyond the boundaries of Washington, flows nearly through the centre of the city in a small rill, which runs underneath the Pennsylvania Avenue, and comes out of an arched conduit a little to the west of the Capitol, where it joins a branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and empties itself with it into the Eastern River.

The climate of Washington is complained of by all parties. In the winter the cold is as severe as it is at Boston, though the winter is of shorter duration; and in the summer the heat is as great as it is in the West Indies; while in the spring and autumn the sudden oscillations from one

extreme to the other are most trying to the constitution. There is a piercing quality in the cold winds sweeping across the rivers and marshes which is most disagreeable to encounter, and from which we suffered severely ; for, when we arrived from Baltimore, on the 26th of February, the ground was covered with snow, and the pavements of brick, or the side-causeways, were, on the shady side of the streets, literally sheeted with smooth ice. Yet before we left, on the 26th of March, we had had such heavy rains as to make the streets impassable puddles ; such excessive heat as to make cloth clothing disagreeable ; and such clouds of white dust in the badly macadamized roads of the avenue as to blind and choke one at the same time ; while, to make the variety complete, we had on some days fogs as dense as in England.

Captain Smith, in his account of the Chesapeake Bay, which was drawn up and presented to Queen Anne, says, " In this country the summer is as hot as in Spain, and the winter as cold as in France or England ;" and he adds, " In the year 1607 was an extraordinary frost in most parts of Europe ; and this frost was found as extreme in Virginia. But the next year, for eight or ten days of ill weather, other fourteen days would be as summer." And Mr. Jefferson, in his " Notes on Virginia," says, " The extremes of heat and cold, of 6° below zero and 98° above, are distressing." He adds, that " in the year 1780 the Chesapeake Bay was solid from its head to the mouth of the Potomac. At Annapolis, where it is five miles and a quarter over between the nearest points of land, the ice was from five to seven inches thick quite across, so that loaded wagons went over it." Severe colds, rheumatism, intermittent fevers, and agues are the natural consequences of such extremes as these.

Our last survey of Washington was made in a carriage-drive around its whole extent during a delightful day, the 22d of March, in which we traversed nearly every part of it, and closed our excursion with a visit to the Arsenal and the Navy-yard. The aspect of the city is certainly unlike that of any other in the world. In some places new houses are building, as if it were a place just rising into being, while in others there are whole terraces and groups of houses completely in ruins, as if it were a place that had been long abandoned to decay. One group of these was so conspicuous, that the facetious friend in whose carriage we made the excursion had long since called it " The Ruins of Baalbec ;"

and at a distance, the range of buildings in this group was sufficiently dilapidated to look ruinously picturesque. The cause of this singular contrast of a rising and a falling city existing on the same spot and at the same time, is this: the lots or parcels of ground for bulding on having been most injudiciously sold by the government to different speculators at different times, without any condition of building up first the grounds near the Capitol before the remoter parts were built upon, each speculator has made an attempt to draw the population towards the particular quarter in which his lots were situated. Some thus built up fine terraces near the river, and these were let cheap, to draw inhabitants; but a counteraction was soon produced by some rival speculator, who built another group in some other quarter of the space laid out for the city. Each of these have been therefore successively inhabited and abandoned; and many are now not merely without tenants, even of the poorest kind, but falling to pieces for want of repair, the owners not thinking them worth that expense, as they have no hope of receiving any rent for them. Add to this, that between these distant groups the way is often over marshy and always over miserably barren and broken ground, and some idea may be formed of the sort of living wilderness which many parts of Washington exhibit, though from many points of view it looks less scattered than, in traversing it, one finds it to be.

Ever since the days of Moore, who described Washington as

"The famed metropolis, where fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees,"

this strange intermixture of city and wilderness has been the most characteristic feature of the place; and, for many years to come, it will still continue to be "the city of magnificent distances," as it is facetiously called by its inhabitants. If Washington should ever be made either a commercial or manufacturing city, its outlines would soon be filled up; but of this there is no immediate prospect, though in half a century hence it may become the seat of both, and the banks of the Potomac be as thickly peopled as those of the Clyde or Mersey.

The Arsenal of Washington is an interesting spot. Placed at the confluence of the two rivers, Potomac and Anacosta, it has an open and extensive view both up the two separate rivers and down their united stream. The interior, which is like a garrison, is remarkably neat and commodious, and all the workshops and storehouses are in the best

condition. Through the polite attention of the superintendent, Captain Ramsay, who accompanied us, we had an opportunity of inspecting everything at leisure, and saw enough to satisfy us that the Americans are not behind any nation in Europe in their ready adoption of all improvements that are introduced in the founding of large pieces of ordnance, the making of small arms, or the manufacture of the other munitions of war. The artisans employed are among the most skilful that can be procured; many of them are paid as high as five dollars, or about a guinea a day, these being occupied in constructing models; and their workmanship surpassed, in skill and beauty, any that I remember to have seen in this line.

It may show the extent of patronage bestowed by the government of the United States on inventions which they deem valuable for warlike operations, to mention the fact that a Captain Bell, of their service, was recently paid 20,000 dollars out of the public funds for a very simple and almost obvious improvement, by substituting a vertical worm or screw to elevate and depress heavy pieces of artillery with greater ease and precision than could be effected by the wooden quoins formerly used for that purpose, the effect of which improvement is to enable the person firing the cannon to take his deadly aim with greater precision.

How liberally the arts of destruction are rewarded compared with the arts of preservation, one need not visit America to learn. All Europe furnishes many striking examples of the same kind; but, while such is the perverted taste and judgment of mankind that the warrior, whose life is devoted to the slaughter of his fellow-men, shall be crowned with honours and rewards, while the schoolmaster, who instructs them, shall pine in neglect and obscurity, who can wonder that it is deemed less honourable to *save* than to *destroy*?

The Navy-yard is a much larger establishment than the Arsenal. It is higher up on the Eastern Branch or Anacosta River, and is under the superintendence of Commodore Patterson. No ships were building in it at the time of our visit; but the large shed or ship-house under which the Columbus 74 was built was still standing, and perfect in its kind. The most interesting processes we saw here were the forging of the large anchors for line-of-battle ships, the welding the links of the great chain-cable for the first-rate ship of war the Pennsylvania, of 130 guns, and the manufacture of the cooking-houses or cabooses, and iron tanks

for water, as well as the machinery for making blocks. Although the dockyards of England are more extensive than this at Washington, and employ a greater number of men (the number employed here being about 200 at present), yet the works executed here in every department appeared to me as perfect as at Portsmouth, or any other of our great naval ports. Many of the leading workmen, indeed, were English; and the person who conducted us through the different departments was a native of Devonport, and had served his apprenticeship there; but he said the wages paid to able workmen here were so much higher than the same class could obtain in England, that he considered himself to be twice as well off here as if he had remained at home, and was very happy at having made the change.

On our return by the Capitol, we heard that the Senate was still in debate upon the never-ending topic of the Sub-treasury Bill; but, conceiving that all that could be said on either side had been already exhausted—for the measure had been under debate in the Senate for a greater number of days than there are members of that body, and these are fifty-two—we did not stop, though, according to the National Intelligencer of the following morning, March 23, the contest was severe, for it is thus characteristically described:

"THE WAR OF THE GIANTS.—The debate among the great men of the Senate still continues, and continues to be distinguished by passages of arms of unexcelled skill and ability. Yesterday Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Webster encountered, and held a large audience rapt in admiring attention to the conflict for several hours."

We had learned to estimate at its proper value, however, this exaggerated style of description, and bore our disappointment meekly, as well as the loss of a scene which contrasts well with the former, and which, by way of appendage, might be called "the battle of the pigmies." This scene took place on the same day in the House of Representatives, and is thus described by the same paper:

"Mr. Boon commented with very great severity on Mr. Halsted's speech of yesterday, and avowed his intention 'to skin' that gentleman. He said his speech evinced the advantage of being high-born and college-bred; characterized its strain of language as low and vulgar, and every way unworthy of a representative; referred to Mr. Halsted's consumption of pens and paper as being ten times greater than his own; he remarked upon his dress, as being that of a dandy, &c.; and concluded by comparing the whole speech to butter churned without a cover, which splashed on all around," &c.

We passed our last Sunday in Washington in attending Divine service in the House of Representatives at the Capitol. It had been announced that the Rev. Dr. Fisk, presi-

dent of the Wesleyan University in Connecticut, was to preach there to-day, and the weather being beautifully fine, the preacher eminent, and the place very popular, a crowded audience was assembled, and the scene was impressive and imposing. It was curious to see nearly all the representatives' seats occupied by ladies, while members of both houses crowded around in the passages and avenues, and the galleries were filled with strangers. The preacher occupied the chair of the speaker or president of the assembly, and the service consisted of the usual succession of the hymn, the extempore prayer, the lessons, and the sermon. This last was a very able and beautiful discourse on the words of the Psalmist, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof," in which the reign of the Almighty over the material and the moral world was impressively explained, and a deep attention was bestowed on every part of it by the audience.

On returning from the Capitol, we lingered for a long while on the terrace that sweeps its western front, from whence the view over Washington below it to the westward, as well as over the broad Potomac and the distant hills, is one of the most pleasing that the city affords. The day was as bright and sunny as our finest days of June in England; and, though all vegetation was still clothed in the brown and leafless garb of winter, it was full-blown summer all around and overhead.

Our last excursion from Washington was to pay a visit to Alexandria, to which place we accompanied a young Virginian, who was returning to her home there after a visit to our amiable and excellent friend, the lady of Judge White, in whose carriage we performed the journey. The position of Alexandria being on the Virginia side of the Potomac, as Washington is on the Maryland side (though both are now in the District of Columbia), we had to cross the long bridge over the Potomac, which exceeds a mile from bank to bank, with a small drawbridge over the navigable channel for the passage of vessels up and down the stream. The views from this bridge are very charming; and, as we were fortunate enough to arrive at the drawbridge when it was open, we had to alight and enjoy the sight of a beautiful schooner cutting her way, with a fine breeze, against the descending stream, and steering under full sail right through.

On the opposite side of the river to Washington, at the point where the bridge terminates, we were shown the foundations of a new town, intended to have been built as a rival

to Washington, and to be called Jackson, after the late President of the United States. The history of this little spot is worth giving, because it is a specimen of similar acts of folly committed in many other parts of the United States within the last ten years, and within the last five especially, originating partly in the vanity and partly in the cupidity of the people, and resulting in their bankruptcy and ruin. An idea was conceived by some real admirer or sycophantic flatterer of General Jackson (it is not certain which, for there were many of both), that it would be well to set up a rival city on the south of the Potomac, to eclipse Washington on the north, and to call it by the name of the rival chief. This idea was at once acted on by the immediate survey of the spot where the bridge touches the shore, and, being a perfect level, a city was soon mapped and planned on paper, with squares, avenues, markets, an exchange, churches, and all the usual accompaniments of a large emporium; General Jackson was applied to for his patronage to the undertaking, which was readily granted; and, thus provided, the individual who got up the whole sent on to New-York, where the rage for speculating in lands and city lots was at its highest, and forthwith a number of those gentlemen came here to purchase.

When they had bought their lots at high prices, they repaired back to New-York to sell them to other speculators at still higher; and General Jackson having, at the request of the founder, attended the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Exchange of Jackson City, before a single dwelling of any kind was erected, and delivered a long oration on the occasion, the lots rose in value, because the city had been actually begun; and buyer after buyer continued to give a higher and a higher price. At length, however, the sums per foot given for this waste-land were so extravagant that no farther advances could be had upon it, and the last buyer consequently found himself stuck fast, and could only get out of his difficulty at an immense sacrifice. After this a retrograde movement took place, when prices went down even more rapidly than they had risen; and the lots are now worth absolutely nothing, since no one would be at the expense of clearing them. In fact, the whole space is covered with a marsh, over which it has been difficult to construct an ordinary road; and the auctioneer who sold the last lots that were brought to the hammer very accurately characterized its fertility by describing it as being "so rich that it produced sixty bushels of frogs to the acre;" to

which he facetiously added that "there was no need of incurring expense for fencing, as there were alligators enough on the spot to form an excellent fence, *if you could catch them*, by planting them with their heads downward and their tails in the air." The croaking of these frogs was loud and discordant, as we went over the road that crosses this marsh early in the afternoon; and when we returned, after sunset in the evening, it was absolutely deafening.

The remainder of the way to Alexandria was over a tolerably level road, with well-filled cedar plantations on either side, the greenness of which was an agreeable relief to the brownness of everything else. These public roads are kept in repair by a general assessment on the landed property of the district; but this, though considered a good road for America, would be called a very bad one in any part of England, from being so full of ruts and pits, and its surface so uneven. There was only one turnpike in the way, at which half a dollar was paid for the carriage; but this, we learned, was over the private property of an individual, to whom alone the receipts went, and no part of it was expended in the repair of the road.

A great portion of the land in the District of Columbia is so poor as to be not worth paying the taxes on; and it is therefore often sold for the unpaid dues upon it, though these are very trifling indeed. In the National Intelligencer of March 27 are no less than three columns of specified estates and plots of ground advertised for sale by the commissioners of taxes in Columbia and Maryland for nonpayment of these dues, though their amount seems insignificant compared with the size of the estates on which they are due. For instance, on an estate in St. Mary's county, called "Scotland," consisting of 2273 acres, the sum due was only six dollars and 43 cents; and on an estate in Alleghany county, called "Western Connexion," consisting of 8808 acres, the sum due was 19 dollars and 70 cents; and this last belonged to the United States' Bank. On looking over the names of these tracts and appropriations of lands advertised for sale, it was impossible not to be struck with the singularity of them, of which the following are only a few examples:

"Hard Struggle," 1554 acres; "Isaac's Blessing," 48 acres; "Rights of Man," 189 acres; "Paradise Regained," 1500 acres; "Now or Never," 600 acres; "Myself," 61 acres; "Commonwealth," 3817 acres; "Canaan," 3648 acres; "Hornet's Nest," 208 acres; "Honest Miller," 50

acres ; "Hard Bargain, resurveyed," 329 acres ; "Last Shift," 100 acres ; "Hope," 6638 acres ; "What you Please," 73 acres ; and "Blue-eyed Mary," 987 acres.

When all these tracts become settled and occupied, as in time they are sure to be, their names will mingle oddly with those of Nineveh, Babylon, and Troy ; of Memphis and Thebes ; of Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Utica ; of Rome and Syracuse ; of Jerusalem, Joppa, and Lebanon ; and the many other classical and scriptural cities whose names are adopted by humble villages in America.

Alexandria itself is a small, but well-planned and neatly-built town, occupying a favourable position on a projecting point of land on the southern bank of the Potomac, at a distance of about six miles below Washington. It was originally a village, first inhabited by a native of Scotland, and called by him Belhaven. Its name was subsequently changed to Alexandria, which it still retains. At one period of its history it enjoyed a considerable commerce, as a point of shipment for tobacco, the chief product of Virginia, in which state it was situated previous to its being included in the cession of the district ten miles square to form the present Columbia, as well as a point of import for goods for internal consumption in the country behind it, to which it is an inlet. The beginning of its decay may be traced to the attack made upon it by the marauding squadron of the British, under Sir John Cockburn, in their expedition up to Washington. Not content with burning some parts of the town and sacking others, they wantonly destroyed a large quantity of goods of various kinds then in Alexandria, belonging to the exporters and importers in the interior, and without benefiting themselves by such destruction in any way. The owners of the goods so destroyed demanded payment of their value by the Alexandrians, as they were uninsured, and held at the risk of the persons in whose custody they were. Their demands could not be complied with for want of means, as the Alexandrians themselves had been impoverished by the general plunder of the British. The owners therefore refused to export or import any more through Alexandria till their old accounts were settled ; and this being impossible, the trade of the place was crippled at a blow. Soon after this, the finishing stroke was put to its decline by the construction of the railroad from the interior of Maryland and Virginia to Baltimore, by which imports and exports could be more advantageously made through that

port; so that, unless some new causes arise to produce new sources of prosperity, Alexandria seems doomed to decay:

The plan of the town is extremely regular, and its whole aspect pleasing; but, amid all its beauty of situation and regularity of design, it wears an aspect of melancholy and gloom. Grass is growing in most of the streets, and even the great thoroughfares seem altogether deserted. The number of houses to let are as great as those occupied, and its population of ten thousand has dwindled down to less than half that amount. Closed windows and shutters, and broken panes of glass, give an aspect of dilapidation quite unlike the generally thriving appearance of towns in America; and there was one sight which reminded me of the Liberties of Dublin. A large and handsome mansion, built as a family residence by an English gentleman named Carlisle, is now occupied by a number of poor families, two or three living on each of the separate floors; and the whole building, exterior and interior, is going gradually to ruin for the want of occasional repairs.

Among the public buildings in Alexandria there is a court-house, a large theatre, and a theological college, besides six good churches. There is also a museum, which is enriched by some highly-prized relics belonging to that universal object of homage and veneration in every part of America, General Washington. Among these are the satin robe, scarlet lined with white, in which the infant George Washington was baptized; a penknife, which was given to him by his mother when he was only twelve years of age, and which he kept for fifty-six years of his life, amid all its vicissitudes and dangers; a pearl button, taken from the coat which he wore when first inaugurated as President of the United States at New-York; a masonic apron and gloves, worn by him at a lodge-meeting; a black glove, part of the suit of mourning which he wore at the death of his mother; a fragment of the last stick of sealing-wax that he ever used to seal his letters; and the original of the last letter ever penned by his hand, written to decline, on his own behalf and that of his wife, a joint invitation which they had received to attend a ball at Alexandria, in which, while politely apologizing for this refusal, he says, "Alas! our dancing days are over."

In the museum of the Capitol at Washington we had previously seen a military suit of the general's, which he had worn in the revolutionary campaign; and all these are looked upon by every American, of whatever age, sex, or

condition, with a personal regard and veneration such as no relics of any other national hero excites, I think, in any other quarter of the world. People not only admire, but they seem to love the name of Washington, and hold sacred everything that ever belonged to him; consequently, there is scarcely a single dwelling in all America, however splendid or however humble, and few public buildings of any kind, except perhaps places of religious worship, in which a portrait of Washington is not to be found. All parties claim him for their own; and the expression of any doubt as to the wisdom, courage, virtue, or excellence of Washington, would be a treason that few would be disposed to forgive.

Mount Vernon, the country-seat of the Washington family, and the spot that contains the ashes of the general himself, is not more than ten miles from Alexandria; but, though we had several times planned an excursion to visit it from Washington, one obstacle after another intervened to prevent it. Sometimes it was some great speech in the Senate or House of Representatives, the expectation of which kept us in either house, and prevented our leaving the Capitol; and sometimes it was the detention there, not by the expectation, but the reality, of the speeches delivered. Sometimes it was a party in Washington that prevented our leaving the city. And when these or other causes did not prevent, the terrible state of the weather, and the impassable condition of the roads beyond Alexandria, from the snow or rain, as effectually defeated our intentions.

We regretted this, because, though there is nothing of unusual grandeur or beauty in the house or grounds, both of which have been neglected by the present occupiers, who are distant relatives of the illustrious chief, yet it would have given us great pleasure to have looked upon the tomb that contains his earthly remains, and thus have paid to his memory that homage which all admirers of freedom and justice must delight to show to the last resting-place of one who was so distinguished a friend of both.

Not long since, in December last, the body of the general was taken from the coffin in which it was originally deposited at Mount Vernon, and placed in a marble sarcophagus; and this event is thus described in the Philadelphia Gazette of that day.

"GENERAL WASHINGTON.—The remains of this illustrious man, the Father and Saviour of his country, were recently placed in the sarcophagus made by Mr. Struthers of this city, from whom we learn that,

when the vault and coffin were opened 'where they had lain him,' the sacred form of Washington was discovered in a wonderful state of preservation. The high pale brow wore a calm and serene expression; and the lips, pressed still together, had a grave and solemn smile, such as they doubtless wore when the first president gave up his mortal life for an immortal existence;

'When his soft breath, with pain,
Was yielded to the elements again.'

The impressive aspect of the great departed overpowered the man whose lot it was to transfer the hallowed dust to its last tenement, and he was unable to conceal his emotions. He placed his hand upon the ample forehead, once highest in the ranks of battle, or throbbing with the cares of an infant empire, and he lamented, we doubt not, that the voice of fame could not provoke that silent clay to life again, or pour its tones of revival into the dull cold ear of death. The last acts of patriotic sepulture were thus consummated; and the figure, which we can scarcely dissociate from an apotheosis, consigned to its low, dim mansion, to be seen no more until mortal shall put on immortality and the bright garments of endless incorruption."

Next to General Washington, Lafayette ranks higher than any other public man in the general estimation of Americans. About Jefferson and Madison, Monroe and Adams, there are still differences of opinion; and still greater differences respecting General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren. But Lafayette, like Washington, seems to unite all suffrages; and, accordingly, the portrait of this venerable Friend of Liberty is generally to be found accompanying that of his hardly more illustrious companion in arms and partner in glory. Besides the full-length picture of Lafayette, which is suspended on the walls of the Hall of Representatives, opposite to that of General Washington, there is a beautiful marble bust of him in the library of Congress, an admirable likeness, and on the other side of the bust are inscribed the two following short extracts. The first is from the words of his speech, delivered at Washington, in the Hall of Representatives, on the 10th of December, 1824, when he said, "What better pledge can be given of a persevering national love of liberty, than when those blessings are evidently the result of a virtuous resistance to oppression, and of institutions founded on the rights of man, and the republican principle of self-government?" The second is the closing sentence of his answer to the president's farewell speech, delivered in Washington, September 7, 1825, when he said, "God bless you, sir, and all who surround you. God bless the American people, each of their statesmen, and the Federal Government. Accept the patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart. Such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat."

In my inquiries respecting the Indians during our stay at Washington, I learned many new particulars, and from extremely favourable sources. The venerable Judge White, who was an inmate of the boarding-house in which we lived, was chairman of the committee of the Senate on Indian affairs, and we therefore saw many Indians and Indian agents, who came to see him on business. I became acquainted also with other Indians then at Washington, through other sources, and particularly with some of the Cherokees, one of whose tribe invented an alphabet, printed books, and gave to the whole body an impulse of advancement of considerable force. I had leisure also to read Captain Carver's remarkable Travels among the Indians in the Wisconsin Territory, with occasional comments and explanations by the experienced judge, who was so competent to the task. The result of all this was to convince me that the task of civilizing and instructing the Indians, if it be practicable at all, must be directed chiefly to the younger portion of the tribes, as the whole career of an Indian, from his cradle to manhood, is calculated to fix his habits and prejudices deeper and deeper with every succeeding year, so as to make the civilization of the adults almost hopeless.

We had a missionary and his wife staying with us, from New-England, on their way to the Rocky Mountains, where some tribes exist who have had no intercourse whatever with white men : and even these acknowledged the extreme difficulty of bringing them into any state of civilization. Some of them, however, become nominal Christians, and evince all outward respect to Christianity. But any progress beyond that seems very doubtful. From one of these, our venerable friend, Judge White, received an Indian version of the Prayer-book used by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, printed in English characters, but in Indian words, and having on the leaf preceding the title the following inscription : " To the Hon. Judge White, of Tennessee, a distinguished chief, now sitting by the great council-fire of the American nation in the City of Washington : from Daniel Bread, Chief of the Oneidas, who has the honour of sitting by the small council-fire of his nation at Dutch Creek, in the Territory of Wisconsin, Feb. 28, 1838."

It has been remarked of the Indians that, though they have all the ferocity which is characteristic of savage life, their feelings of generosity and gratitude towards those whom they esteem and respect are much more powerful than among

civilized people ; and therefore it is that all who have lived longest among them, and know them most intimately, appear to entertain the most favourable opinion of their characters, which, according to the testimony of all parties, is never improved, but continually deteriorated by their intercourse with the more civilized race, because they rarely adopt their virtues, while they speedily acquire their vices, that of drinking to intoxication especially ; and this soon leads to the indulgence of all the evil passions, since drunkenness, besides being a vice in itself, is the prolific source of almost every other.

Our last day at Washington was passed in paying and receiving farewell visits to the friends whose kindness we had experienced during our stay there, many of whom we hoped we might meet again in some other portion of the Union, where more leisure and less dissipation might admit of our enjoying, what Washington will rarely admit, a quiet and social intercourse suited to the tranquillity of intellectual enjoyment ; and with several there was not only the hope, but almost the assurance, of such meetings in the various states in which they resided when at home, and through which it was our intention to travel before we should leave the country.

On the evening of Monday, the 26th of March, we left Washington for Baltimore by the railroad cars, passing over the viaduct, which forms a picturesque object in the way ; the whole country looking better than when we last traversed it, from the entire disappearance of the snow and the approach of spring ; and, after an agreeable ride of about two hours and a half, over a distance of thirty-eight miles, we reached Baltimore before eight in the evening, and found excellent accommodation in the Eutaw House Hotel, one of the most comfortable and commodious that we had yet met with since our landing in the country.

CHAPTER XX.

Stay at Baltimore, and agreeable Intercourse there.—History of the First Foundation of Maryland.—Character of Lord Baltimore, a Catholic Peer.—Settlement of the Colony by his Son.—Followed by Roman Catholics of Rank and Fortune.—Religious Toleration the Principle of these Settlers.—Kind Treatment and Gratitude of the Indians.—Foundation of St. Mary's and Annapolis.—Early Existence of Negro Slavery in the Colony.—Origin and Cause of the First Indian War.—Progressive Prosperity of Maryland as a State.—First Foundation of the Town of Baltimore.—Elevation to the Dignity of a City in 1796.—Effects of the Revolution on its Prosperity.

Our stay at Baltimore, which extended to a month, was unusually favourable in every point of view. The families with whom we had the good fortune to be acquainted were as hospitable and generous as they were intelligent and agreeable, and carriages were daily placed at our disposal for any excursions we designed to make. The weather was beautiful throughout the whole period, and scarcely a day passed without our being taken, by one friend or another, to some point of view in the city or its environs, from which the most extensive and advantageous prospect of the surrounding scene could be enjoyed. We visited in succession all its public institutions, attended its principal churches, were entertained both by social and by brilliant parties, and had every source of information and pleasure thrown open to us without reserve. I gladly availed myself, therefore, of these valuable advantages to acquire as full and accurate an account of Baltimore as was practicable, and to add to that which was necessarily gleaned from other sources the observations which our stay here enabled me to make for myself, the result of which will be found imbodyed in the following sketch.

In describing Baltimore it is necessary to go a little farther back than the history of the city itself, for the purpose, of showing how the influence of the first founders of society here continues to operate on the taste and habits of their descendants, and to make Baltimore essentially different from any of the cities of the Union which we had yet visited.

It was as early as the year 1620 that the first Lord Baltimore (then Sir Charles Calvert) obtained from James the First, to whom he was at that period secretary of state, a grant of land in America; but this being far north, in Newfoundland, the colony he founded there did not prosper. His visit to Virginia, eight years afterward, inspired him

with the first idea of settling there, if possible, instead ; but, being obliged to quit that country by the persecution of the Protestants, who hated and feared him because he was a Roman Catholic, he subsequently formed the design of obtaining a royal grant of the lands north of the Potomac and at the head of the Chesapeake, for the purpose of founding a colony of refuge for the persecuted of his own sect in Europe. He succeeded in obtaining the grant he desired from the next sovereign, Charles the First, but did not live to carry his plans into execution. His son, however, Cecilus, the second Lord Baltimore, took up his father's project, and had the chartered grant confirmed to him, with the rest of the estates and title of his parent.

It was in 1632 that this charter began first to be acted on. A younger brother of Lord Baltimore, Leonard Calvert, was appointed governor of the province ; and from the great number of Roman Catholics then suffering in England from the severity of the laws against them there, the materials of the new colony were easily obtained. But what was extremely favourable to the future character of the settlement and its inhabitants was this : that the most intelligent as well as the most moderate of the Catholic body in Britain were among the first to embark for this new land of liberty ; and, as if they were determined, on their first entry into the sanctuary themselves, to make it a place of refuge also for all others, they established their colony on the liberal principles of perfect freedom of conscience, and tolerated the open profession and undisturbed practice of all forms of worship and tenets of doctrine, at the very period when the Puritan fathers of New-England, who, like themselves, had fled from the religious persecutions of the mother-country, were acting so unworthily as to proscribe and persecute persons of all other faiths than their own, and Roman Catholics especially.

The number of persons who embarked in the first expedition with Leonard Calvert did not exceed 200 ; but these were almost all gentlemen of rank and fortune, accompanied by about an equal number of adherents and attendants, all of the Roman Catholic Church. They took possession of the territory by landing near the mouth of the Potomac in the Chesapeake, planting there a cross, and claiming the soil "for our Saviour and our sovereign lord the King of England." But, that justice should be done to the aboriginal possessors of the region, a negotiation was opened with the Indian chief who was then sovereign of these wilds ; and

the price demanded for the land having been amicably adjusted and fairly paid, the generosity of the settlers so won the hearts of their new friends, that the chief expressed his confidence in them in the following striking language : " I love the English," said he, " so well, that if they should go about to kill me, if I had so much breath as to speak, I would command my people not to revenge my death ; for I know that they would not do such a thing except it were through my own fault."

The town which they first occupied stood on the north point of the Potomac, at its entry into the Chesapeake, about half way up that bay on the left ; they called it St. Mary's, and the whole district was called Maryland ; and so rapidly did they increase in prosperity in their new abode, that in the short period of two years after their first landing they exported 10,000 bushels of Indian corn to New-England, in exchange for the articles which they required from thence. The intelligence of their safety and success soon spread to England ; and many, who were not bold enough to risk the first adventure, soon flocked around them when all danger was past. Lord Baltimore, too, aided the transport of all who desired to go by munificent grants from his own purse, so much so that in two years he had expended £40,000 ; and, in addition to this, he gave to every settler who came out a present of fifty acres of land, in absolute right of fee, still adhering to the original principle of tolerating all religious opinions, and not assuming supremacy for any mode of faith or worship.

In 1639 the first representative assembly was formed in Maryland, and the persons elected by the votes of others to sit as members of this assembly were called burgesses. But one of the most striking singularities of the law prescribing this election of representatives was this, that it enacted that if any freemen refrained from giving their votes to any representative at the time of election, they should have liberty to sit in the assembly in person themselves ; the principle being probably this : that if a man did not vote for any one of the persons put before him as a candidate, it was because he had no confidence in him as his representative ; and therefore, not having delegated his rights to any one to represent them for him, he should go and represent them for himself.

It is remarkable, however, that, notwithstanding the extreme liberality which characterized the conduct of Lord Baltimore and the early settlers on religious matters, they were not superior to their neighbours in their respect for

civil liberty, as negroes were held in slavery by them from the beginning; and in an act of the Maryland Assembly as early as 1639, the "people" are declared to consist of "all Christian inhabitants, slaves only excepted." This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Catholics of those days had shown more abhorrence in general than Protestants to the state of slavery; for, while Sir John Hawkins was tolerated by the Protestant Queen Elizabeth in the slave-trade which he first originated on the coast of Africa, the Roman pontiff Leo X. had declared, when a controversy on this subject had been submitted to him for his decision, that "not only the Christian religion, but Nature herself, cried out against slavery."

Not long after this, in 1641, the great accumulation of settlers led to encroachments on the rights of the aboriginal Indians by persons less scrupulous than their predecessors; and by the agency of ardent spirits, which they first introduced to the knowledge and use of these unhappy people, they so defrauded them as to excite universal indignation among the tribes, and provoke an Indian war. This lasted for two years, with losses on both sides and advantages to neither; and when peace was happily restored, a law was enacted by the Maryland Assembly which made it illegal to obtain grants of lands from Indians without the consent of the Legislature, which constituted it felony to sell or kidnap any friendly Indians, and made it a high misdemeanour to put them in possession of arms and ammunition, or to supply them with spirituous liquors, then, as now, the most prolific source of crime and misery to all who used them excessively themselves, or administered them to others.

In 1649, the principles of religious toleration, which Lord Baltimore had been the first to establish by his individual authority in the Western world, were embodied in "an act concerning religion," passed by the Maryland Assembly, composed almost wholly of Roman Catholic members. In this act, the preamble asserted the dangerous consequences of attempting to enforce the conscience, and the benefits of leaving it free; and the enactments imposed penalties of different degrees on all who should molest individuals on account of their religious worship, or who should apply opprobrious names or epithets to persons on account of their faith. What is the more remarkable is, that while the Catholics of Maryland acted with so much liberality to their Protestant brethren, these last, who had many of them come to seek refuge from Protestant persecution in the North, returned

this liberality with the basest ingratitude, and sought by every means to crush those by whom they had been so hospitably received.

In 1661, at the period of the Restoration, the colony of Maryland contained about 12,000 inhabitants, and in 1666 these had increased to 16,000. The number of vessels trading from England to this province was estimated at more than 100. Labourers of every kind were so amply employed and so liberally paid that want was unknown; and many persons who had been unfortunate in business at home, repaired here for a few years to retrieve their misfortunes, and were almost uniformly successful.

In 1676, the venerable founder of this colony, Cecilius Lord Baltimore, died full of age and honours; and the very maxim which he is represented as constantly expressing and enforcing, and on which his policy was founded, gives him a high claim to distinction as a man of a sound head and generous heart. It was a favourite saying with him, "that by concord a small colony may grow into a great and renowned nation, but that by dissension mighty and glorious kingdoms have declined and fallen into nothing;" and all history testifies to its truth. The colony suffered no reverse, however, from the death of its first patron, as the son, by whom he was succeeded in his titles and estates, Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, inherited all his father's enlarged views and generous principles. A very happy allusion is made by one of our English poets (Burroughs) to the virtues of Calvert and Penn, the two most just and liberal of all the founders of colonies in modern times, when he thus adverts especially to their legal provisions for religious toleration:

"Laws formed to harmonize contrarious creeds,
And heal the wounds through which a nation bleeds;
Laws mild, impartial, tolerant, and fixed,
A bond of union for a people mixed;
Such as good Calvert framed for Baltimore,
And Penn, the Numa of the Atlantic shore."

After various vicissitudes, the intolerant spirit of the Protestant at home so gained the ascendancy, that in 1692, under William and Mary, the proprietary government of Lord Baltimore was taken from him, for no other reason than that he was a Roman Catholic, after it had been exercised with the greatest justice and mildness for a period of fifty-six years. In 1695 the Church of England was declared by law to be the established church of the State of Maryland. Catholics were prohibited, under the severest penalties, from all acts of public worship, and even from exercising the profession of teachers in education.

In spite of all this reaction, the colony went on advancing in prosperity and population. In 1690 the province contained 30,000 persons, and exported as much of its principal produce, tobacco, as the much older and far more extensive province of Virginia. In 1669 the town of Annapolis, higher up the Chesapeake, was substituted for St. Mary's as the capital, and this still continues to be the seat of legislation for the State, its central position giving it the preference over all other places for this purpose.

It was not until 1711 that the town of Baltimore began to be laid out and built upon, the first sale of land for that purpose being made at that period, consisting of 31 acres, and subsequently augmented by other sales of adjoining tracts, amounting to 550 acres. In 1729 an act of Assembly was passed, authorizing the erection of a town on the north side of the River Patapsco. The ground selected for it was sold by the proprietors at the rate of forty shillings an acre for the absolute fee, and the commissioners authorized to conduct the purchase bargained to pay this amount in tobacco, at the rate of a penny per pound; for at this period, and long before, tobacco may be said to have formed the common currency of Maryland: purchases were made by it, and salaries were paid in it; even the revenue was often collected in it, besides being used for remittances to England, as well as for the payment of local dues; for then gold and silver money was very scarce, and paper currency was not yet substituted, though it was soon after abundantly used.

The progress of the town under the old colonial system was slow, compared with its more rapid progress since. In 1752 the number of houses was twenty-five, only four of which were of brick, and all the rest of wood. In 1752 a brig and a sloop were the only vessels actually belonging to the port; and, about the same period, the only newspaper published in Maryland was issued at Annapolis, under the title of the "Maryland Gazette," one of the numbers of which for the year 1752 contains an advertisement for a schoolmaster, of "a good and sober character, who understands teaching English, writing, and arithmetic," and who, it is added, "will meet with very good encouragement from the inhabitants of Baltimore town, if well recommended." In 1767 Baltimore had sufficiently increased in importance to be made the county-town, instead of Joppa, which formerly enjoyed that distinction. The removal of the county-court to this spot added at once much to the importance of

Baltimore; and in 1773 the first newspaper was established in the town by Mr. Goddard, of Rhode Island, who came down from Philadelphia for this purpose; but an attempt to establish a circulating library at the same time by a Mr. Joseph Rathel failed for want of adequate support!

The Revolution, which achieved the independence of the United States of America, did for Baltimore what it effected for every other town and city in the country: gave it a greater impetus of advancing and accelerating prosperity than all previous causes put together. Baltimore soon became the seat of an extensive foreign commerce, by the exportation of tobacco to Europe, of flour to the West Indies, and of the produce of the fisheries of the Chesapeake to places nearer at hand. Ship-building began to be practised on an extensive scale; the carrying trade of Europe was shared largely by the Baltimore ship-owners; and in 1790 some of her vessels went round the Cape of Good Hope to the Isle of France.

In 1793 a new impulse was given to the prosperity of Baltimore by an unlooked-for cause. The revolution in St. Domingo, which followed almost immediately that of the mother-country, France, caused a great number of the French colonists to seek an asylum in Baltimore. Many rich families having succeeded in escaping with their wealth, brought it to Baltimore with them; and, in addition to the substantial capital thus added to the means of the city, there was an importation also of talent, ingenuity, gentlemanly manners, and generous hospitality, which harmonized well with the spirit that still prevailed among the descendants of the high rank and gentle breeding of the first founders of the colony.

It was in 1796 that Baltimore received the dignity of a city, by a charter of incorporation for a mayor and city council; and about this period its prosperity was higher than at any previous time, as its superiority in the fast-sailing qualities of its ships and schooners, known by the name of the "Baltimore clippers," gave it the advantage of effecting quicker voyages than the vessels of any other port could accomplish; and in cases of war between rival nations, they were enabled, by means of these swift-sailing vessels, to break almost every naval blockade, to carry on with great success the various contraband trades of the West India Islands, and the continental ports of the Spanish dominions in Mexico and South America. The supplies of imported goods from Europe for the newly-settled territories in the

great valley of the Mississippi came also chiefly through Baltimore, and were transported from thence across the Alleghany Mountains, as the opening of the channel by New-Orleans and the use of steamboats on the great Western rivers had not then begun.

In 1812 the war with Great Britain affected Baltimore in common with all the seaports of the United States; but Baltimore suffered less than any other, because nearly all her large ships were abroad, engaged in the carrying trade between nations at peace with each other, while their fast-sailing "clippers" eluded the blockade of the Chesapeake by the British squadron, not a vessel of which could ever overtake them.

In 1814 the British forces landed at the mouth of the Patapsco, close to Baltimore, when a battle was fought between the British and Americans, which ended in the repulse of the former, and the death of their commander, General Ross; after which the British retreated to their ships, and did not again renew the attack.

When the peace of 1815 came, the change operated most favourably on Baltimore; and for the few years next immediately succeeding to this, its shipping and its population greatly increased. Its commercial operations abroad were extended to India, Batavia, and China in the East, and to the islands of the Pacific in the South and West; while to almost every large port of Europe vessels from Baltimore found their way. Imports of British and French, as well as German manufactures, increased in an equal degree; the value of land and houses rose in each succeeding year; and this state of constantly-accumulating wealth has gone on, with slight and occasional reverses, till the present time, when, instead of twenty-five houses and a population of about one hundred persons, which it possessed in the year 1752, it has now nearly 10,000 houses, and a population of 100,000 souls; and, instead of the brig and the schooner which were then the only two vessels belonging to the port, it has now about 1500 vessels of various kinds, amounting at least to 100,000 tons. Such is the brief but instructive history of Baltimore; a history which, like that of New-York, shows what can be achieved by the industry and energy of man, when placed under the protection of equal laws and liberal institutions.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Topographical Situation of Baltimore.—Finest Points of View in the Panorama.—Form and Plan of the City.—Private Residences and public Buildings.—Exchange, Custom-house, City Hall.—Courthouse, Jail, and Penitentiary.—Separation of the Sexes in the latter.—Night-cells open to constant Supervision.—Workshops for the daily Labour of the Convicts.—Produce of their Work sustains the Institution.—Plan of Government and internal Economy.—Places of public Worship in Baltimore.—The Catholic Cathedral, Beauties and Defects.—Pictures of the Interior, presented by France.—Unitarian Church, Exterior and Interior.—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches.—Medical College for Students.—Benevolent Institutions of Baltimore.—Asylum at Calverton, Plan and Condition.—The Hospital under the Catholic Sisters of Charity.—The Infirmary, Illustration of Catholic Zeal.—Dispensary, Orphan Asylum, Marine Society.—Penitent Female Refuge Society, and others.—Baltimore characterized as the "Monumental City."—Washington Monument, Column and Statue.—The Battle Monument, in Monument Square.—The Armistead Monument, near the City Spring.—Fountains or enclosed Springs in Baltimore.—The City Spring.—The Western Fountain.—The Eastern Fountain, the Centre Fountain.—Places of public Amusement.—Theatre, Circus, Concert and Ball Room.—Museum, public Gardens, Racecourse.—Municipal Government, Commerce, and Shipping.—Capacities for Trade, Banks, and Insurance-offices.

THE topographical situation of Baltimore is, like that of all the American cities we had yet seen, extremely well chosen and advantageous. The town is built around the skirts of an inlet on the north side of the Patapsco River, which discharges itself into the Chesapeake at a distance of about fifty miles from the northeastern extremity of that long gulf or bay, and about 120 miles above the entrance to it, between the Capes of Virginia, as Cape Henry and Cape Charles are called. A finer situation for a seaport it is therefore difficult to imagine; and the number and size of the various rivers that flow from the east and west, but especially from the latter quarter, into this great estuary, give it the advantage of water communication with extensive tracts of country in the interior; while the path for its ships from their docks to the Atlantic Ocean is perfectly clear, and unobstructed by any impediment in the way of navigation.

The finest views of the city are obtained from the following points, each of which we visited in succession. The first is from the Federal Hill, which lies to the south of the city, and across an arm of the water, which runs up like an inlet or creek, below the hill and the town. This hill is about 100 feet in elevation, and on its summit are a station-house for look-out down the Chesapeake Bay, and a telegraph for communicating the arrival of ships while they are yet at a distance in the offing. From it the view is exten-

sive and beautiful. To the north, the whole city is spread out like a picture, and every one of the principal buildings can be seen; but the view embraces too many objects for any picture except a panorama. To the south and south-east the eye extends down the Patapsco into the Chesapeake, the distant horizon being the long level line of the sea; and in the same direction, but nearer at hand, are the projecting points by which the entry to the harbour of Baltimore is guarded, and on one of which stands Fort M'Henry.

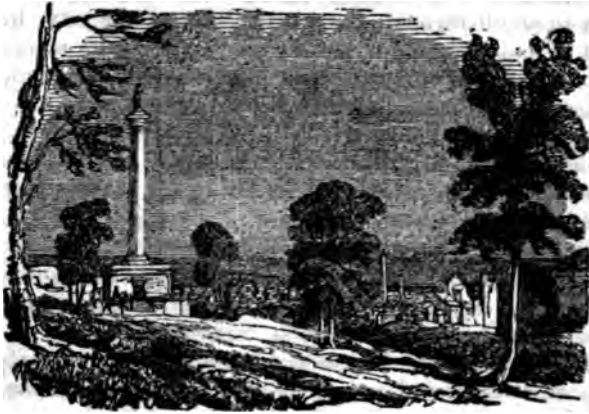
Between the Federal Hill and the city, and at the foot of the spectator on the north, is the Basin, as this inlet of water is called, in which twenty or thirty steamboats of various forms and sizes, with a large number of schooners and other small craft, are crowded along the wharves; while at Fell's Point on the east, and the city-dock in the same direction, the larger vessels are moored in tiers and groups in great numbers.

The second view is from the gallery at the top of Washington's Monument, which gives you a complete map of the city laid out at your feet, and enables you to see the direction of almost every street, and the position of all the public buildings, with Federal Hill, Fort M'Henry, and the Chesapeake in the distance to the south and southeast, this monument being on the northern extremity of the city.

The third view is from the Medical College and from the hill beyond it, which, being on the east, gives you a new and equally interesting view in the opposite direction, and thus completes the series.

The form of Baltimore is irregular, but approaches nearer to a square than to any other shape. As now built upon, it is about two miles in length from east to west, and a mile and a half from north to south; but the ground is marked off for new buildings, and streets are mapped and planned for a considerable distance in each direction beyond these limits. The site is not level, like that of New-York or Philadelphia, but the ground has many risings and declivities, which give it a picturesque appearance. The number of the elevations and depressions exceeds fifty; and the highest of the former, on which the monument of Washington is placed, is at least 150 feet above the harbour.

This inequality of surface is favourable to the cleanliness of the streets, and to the exercise and health of the population. It gives also great variety of views to the several openings through the streets towards the surrounding coun-



try, and affords many charming prospects of the distance, as well as of the immediate environs.

The plan, or laying out of the city, is characterized by the same uniformity and regularity which mark the other cities of the United States. The streets are generally broad, few being under 50 feet, and some 80 and 100. These cross each other mostly at right angles; the few deviations that here and there appear being but exceptions to the general rule. The centres of all the streets are paved, strongly though roughly, and are kept remarkably clean. There are side pavements to each, mostly made of red bricks placed in a diagonal interlacing, which is agreeable to the eye, and dry and comfortable to the feet.

The business part of the city is in the neighbourhood of the water, along the wharves, from Light-street, at the head of the basin, west, to Thames-street, at the extremity of Fell's Point, to the east. The north end of the town is the fashionable quarter, in the vicinity of the Washington Monument, and all around it east and west; and the principal promenade of the gay pedestrians is Baltimore-street, which runs nearly east and west through the centre of the city, having about an equal portion of it north and south. This being the great thoroughfare and place for stores, was originally called Market-street, but it is now called Baltimore-street. It is at least two miles in length, and corresponds to the Broadway of New-York, the Pennsylvania Avenue of Washington, and the Regent-street of London; though in length, breadth, and general style or character, it is more like Oxford-street in London than either.

A small muddy stream, called Jones's Falls, runs from north to south through the eastern part of the city, but, instead of contributing either to its beauty or its advantage, it is a source of considerable expense and vexation, from the great quantities of alluvial mud which it brings down every year from the rich lands of the Patapsco, over which it flows, and which requires the constant use of many expensive machines to prevent its filling up the harbour, into which it runs.

The private residences of the more wealthy inhabitants of Baltimore are handsome and commodious, without being imposing or ostentatious. There are no great squares that can compare with Washington Square in New-York, nor any terraces or rows of houses equal to those of Lafayette Place or Waverley Place in that city, or some of the large old private mansions near the Battery, at the lower end of the Broadway; but, taken as a whole, there is a greater uniformity of neatness, taste, and substantial comfort in the dwellings of the first class in Baltimore than in New-York.

Of the residences of the middle classes the greater number are also excellent; and even those of the mechanics and artisans are such as in England would be deemed comfortable abodes for persons far above that condition. There is not nearly so large an admixture of mean wooden houses with the better kind of brick and stone dwellings as in Washington and New-York; and the whole air and aspect of Baltimore is that of a city of substantial wealth and general prosperity, without the least semblance of ostentation or attempt at display.

The houses are chiefly built of fine red bricks, which are manufactured of excellent quality, and beautifully worked here; and as in the neighbourhood of the town there are fine quarries of granite and marble, these two materials are used for surbasements and flights of steps, and both are of the finest colour and quality.

Of the public buildings of Baltimore it may be said that they are fully equal to the size and wants of the city, and are each well adapted to the purposes for which they were designed.

The first in order of importance is perhaps the Exchange, which is situated nearly in the centre of the business part of the city, in Gay-street, near the water. It was built in 1815 by an incorporated company, from the design and under the superintendence of the city architect, Mr. B. H. Latrobe. The front of this building in Gay-street is 255



feet, and its depth is 141 feet. It is four stories in height, including the basement, which is vaulted throughout, and the whole is crowned by a dome, which rises to the height of 115 feet above the pavement. There are three separate entrances into this great building, from the streets to which its several fronts are presented; namely, from Gay-street, Water-street, and Second-street; and on the fourth side, under a colonnade, is another entrance to the Exchange reading-rooms.

The interior hall, used as the "Change" for the assemblage of merchants from one to two o'clock in the day, is 53 feet square; and east and west of this are colonnades composed of six Ionic columns each, the shafts of which are single blocks of fine Italian marble, and the style and proportions according to the best Greek models. The several compartments of the building are furnished with every requisite for the information of men of business, and with newspapers from all parts of the world; and the edifice itself is a great ornament to that quarter of the city in which it stands.

The Custom-house offices are now in a wing of the Exchange; but there is a noble edifice in progress of erection on the opposite side of Gay-street, to form the new Custom-house of Baltimore, which was begun under General Jackson's administration: it is now nearly roofed in, and, when completed, it will be a great ornament to this quarter of the town.

The City Hall, which is used as the seat of the municipal government, and as the depository of the public records, is

greatly inferior in size and beauty to the City Hall of New-York ; yet it is a substantial and convenient building, and adequate to all the purposes for which it is required.

The Courthouse, in which the courts of justice hold their sittings, is a large and stately edifice in Monument Square and Lexington-street. Its architect, Mr. George Milliman, is said to have been a self-educated man ; and it is a proof of the absence of a well-regulated taste, that he should have placed the principal front of his building on the declivity of a steep hill in Lexington-street, and the end of the building on the level platform of Monument Square, where the front certainly ought to be. The consequence of this is, that the edifice does not look half so commanding, in an architectural point of view, as it would have done by the other arrangement. Its front is 145 feet in length, and it is 65 feet deep. It rises to the height of five or six stories, is built of brick, with Ionic pilasters of marble running up the whole height of the building from the base to the cornice, and has a small circular tower or cupola crowning its roof. Its interior arrangements are so spacious and commodious as to give it the reputation of being the most perfect courthouse in the United States.

The County Jail of Baltimore is another of its public buildings that may be spoken of with praise. It was built by Mr. R. C. Long, an architect of great taste. It stands in the eastern quarter of the city, near Madison-street, but, being encompassed with high walls, is not so ornamental in its immediate vicinity as when seen from one of the commanding eminences in other parts of the town. It is spacious, airy, fire-proof, clean, and well regulated, under the superintendence of a board of visitors.

The Penitentiary is another of the public buildings connected with the administration of justice which is of essential benefit to the town. It was completed in 1811, previous to which time the criminals were sentenced to labour on the high roads, but since then they have been sent to this establishment. It is in the same quarter of the city as the jail, but farther to the northeast, being seated on a gentle eminence to the north of Madison-street, in an airy and healthy spot. It is composed of a centre building and two wings, the basement of which is of stone, and the upper parts of brick. The centre building has a southern aspect, and is used by the keeper's family, the officers, and guards.

The wings are appropriated to the prisoners. The sexes are separated, and there are cells for solitary confinement

of all the convicts at night, so arranged that, while there is light and air for each, the guards can see the interior of every cell, and exercise a constant vigilance of supervision. There are also ranges of workshops for the occupation of every individual in labour of some description or other during the day, which extend over a space of 250 feet in length and 25 in width, some of them being two stories in height, but the greater number only one.

Here all are obliged to labour while they have health and strength; and the tasks assigned to them are rigidly exacted, under penalties sufficiently severe to enforce their performance. The principal kind of labour is weaving, which all understand or can soon be taught; and the produce of their labour has not only paid the whole expense of the institution, but in some years left a surplus, which keeps a fund in hand for meeting deficiencies or carrying forward improvements, as may be thought best.

The government of the prison is vested in twelve directors resident in Baltimore, who are appointed annually by the executive council of the state; and these appoint a resident keeper, sixteen deputy-keepers and guard, a bookkeeper, a clerk, and a physician. The directors meet at the jail in a body once a month; and two of their number, as a visiting committee, meet at the prison every week, so that the management is vigilant and complete.

Of public edifices for religious worship there are a great number in Baltimore, and these generally above the average of such buildings for architectural beauty.

The first in size and importance is the Metropolitan Catholic Cathedral, which occupies a commanding situation



on one of the most elevated summits of the town, at the corner of Cathedral and Mulberry streets. It was designed by Mr. Latrobe, but his original plans, which were very beautiful, were obliged to be abandoned for less expensive ones, the restriction in funds obliging him to reduce his building, in size and decoration, to a much humbler standard than was at first intended. This is necessary to be stated, to account for many of the discrepancies it exhibits. It was begun in 1800, and completed up to its present condition in 1821, since which it has remained stationary, though it is still wanting in its chief ornament, the fine Ionic portico, which ought to adorn its west front, and the absence of which is a deformity that completely mars the general effect of the building.*

Its form is that of a long cross; the length of the whole, from the altar to the portico of entrance, being 190 feet, and its breadth at the arms of the cross 177 feet, while its height, from the pavement to the top of the cross that surmounts the dome, is 127 feet. The walls of the exterior are perfectly plain, excepting only the tablets left by the architect for sculpture, but which have been strangely disfigured, in an architectural point of view, by the long passages from Scripture inscribed on their surfaces: a most unusual practice on the exteriors of religious buildings. The dome is extremely flat, representing a section of about one fourth of a globe downward from the pole; while at the west end, where the absent Ionic portico should be, rise two tall towers like minarets, crowned with Saracenic cupolas, such as are commonly seen in Constantinople and the larger cities of the East; and these towers are loftier than the dome, which they thus overtop and leave below in the shade. If the Ionic portico were built, its fine fluted columns and noble pediment, with sculptured tympanum and tablets, would eclipse these incongruities in the building, and give a Greek character to it, notwithstanding its defects; but as it stands, with gray stone walls, perfectly plain in the exterior, the abrupt termination of the western front in a dead, high blank wall, surmounted with a brick screen, and flanked by the two Saracenic towers, it looks much more like a Turkish mosque than a Catholic cathedral; and if Arabic inscriptions occupied the tablets of the exterior instead of those in Roman characters which now fill it, the resemblance would be perfect.

* The portico is given in the engraving accompanying this, which was taken from Mr. Latrobe's original drawing of the building.

It is in the interior of this edifice, however, that its principal beauties are to be seen. The dome, which crowns the centre of the Cathedral, is 231 feet in circumference externally, and 207 feet internally, and it is so relieved on the inside with panels and rosettes as to take off the appearance of the size, and give great richness to the whole. The light from above is also skilfully managed, so as to combine great effulgence with sufficient softness and general diffusion of the rays.

The high altar is very imposing, both in its architecture and decorations. The organ in this Cathedral is the largest in the United States, having 6000 pipes and 36 stops.

There are two fine pictures here also; one a present from Louis the Sixteenth of France to the archbishop of that day, and the other a present from Charles the Tenth to the present metropolitan. The first is the Descent from the Cross, painted by Paulin Guerin, and the second is a representation of St. Louis burying his officers and soldiers slain before Tunis. It is by the celebrated Steuben, and the subject of the picture is thus narrated: "St. Louis could find no one to bury the dead of his army for fear of contagion; but this heroic prince could not bear to see the bodies of so many brave men exposed to be devoured by hyænas and birds of prey. To encourage his army, he began the work of charity, accompanied by his armour-bearer and chaplain. He is represented as holding the corpse of an officer, who is his relative, which he is depositing in a rude grave made in the sands." The picture is very beautiful, and harmonizes well with the surrounding architectural ornaments.

Amid the splendour of this Cathedral, with its grand altar, lofty crucifix, and overshadowing domes, there is a peculiarity which is never witnessed in the Catholic countries of Spain, Portugal, or Italy, namely, the arrangement of pews for separate families, instead of the broad and open pavement, where all the worshippers are placed on the same level before their Maker, in the building dedicated to his worship. This innovation the Catholics of Baltimore, no doubt, borrowed from the Protestants, with whom it is universal. There is another arrangement, however, to which both Protestants and Catholics appear to me to have given too ready an assent, and that is, the separation of the coloured races from the whites, even in the worship of their common Deity.

There is a separate gallery for the coloured people at Baltimore in this and in most other of the Christian places

of worship ; a distinction which could not be made in any cathedral of the usual Catholic construction in Europe, and which no Mohammedan community would permit for a moment in any mosque of their dominions ; yet the Presbyterians and Episcopalians at Washington constantly enforced this separation of the coloured and the white races in their worship, as if the same Saviour had not died for the redemption of both ; as if salvation was not attainable by both on equal terms ; and as if the distinction of colour was to be preserved hereafter, in the assignment of their stations in a future world as well as in the present.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Catholic Cathedral is the Unitarian place of worship, which, in its general style of architecture, has some resemblance to the former, and it is justly accounted one of the handsomest religious edifices of the city. The building is 108 feet long and 78 feet broad. The portico is of the Tuscan order, with three arched entrances ; and in the centre of the pediment which it supports is a sculptured figure, intended to represent the "Angel of Truth," surrounded by rays of light, and holding a scroll on which is inscribed ΤΩ ΜΟΝΘΕΩ, "To the Only God." From this portico five bronze doors, in imitation of those of the Vatican at Rome, open into the building, three leading to the body of the edifice, and two to the galleries.

The interior of the church is a square, formed by four equal arches of 33 feet span, which support a dome of 55 feet diameter. The summit of the cupola, which is flattened like that of the Catholic Cathedral, is 80 feet high, and is terminated by a star of light through the glass that crowns the summit, the whole of the dome being an imitation of that of the Pantheon at Rome. The pulpit stands upon a double pedestal, the lowest of which is of a fine green variegated marble, from Connecticut, like the verd antique of the ancient buildings ; and the upper pedestal is of fine white marble. The pulpit itself is of the wood called bird's-eye maple. The organ in this church is very singular in its shape, but appropriate and beautiful. It has the external form of the ancient lyre, the perpendicular pipes representing the strings ; the instrument being about 23 feet high and 17 feet wide, and containing 1400 pipes and 22 stops. It was designed and built under the superintendence of Maximilian Godefroy, and opened in 1818.

Of the other churches of Baltimore, numerous as they are, there are none remarkable for the beauty of their archi-

ture; St. Paul's, which may be called the aristocratic or fashionable church of the Episcopalians, is a brick building, cast into the shade by the disproportionate heaviness and height of its tower and steeple. The first Presbyterian Church, with its pair of towers and cupolas, is a large and substantial building; and the first Baptist Church, with its Ionic portico and circular dome, is also a fine edifice; but these are all that possess any claim to notice on architectural grounds, among the forty or fifty places of worship, of different denominations, which the city contains.

Among the other public buildings of Baltimore may be mentioned the Medical College, on the eastern extremity of the city, which, though a substantial and commodious edifice, and well adapted, in all its interior arrangements, to the purpose for which it is designed, is really a deformity instead of an ornament to the view, from the absurdly lofty and narrow front which it presents to the west; and the effect of this absurdity is greatly increased by the planting of four white pyramids on the summit of the roof, which attract the attention of the observer, and excite pity for the taste that could design anything so incongruous as these appear.

The benevolent institutions of Baltimore are numerous and well sustained. The first that we visited was the Asylum at Calverton, a distance of about a mile and a half from the city towards the west. This building occupies a fine airy position, commanding most extensive and agreeable views of the country. It extends over a frontage of 375 feet, and a depth of about 50 feet. The central building was originally the private residence of a Baltimore banker; but, on its being vacated by him, it was taken for an asylum, and two wings added to it, one on each side, east and west. Attached to the estate are about 500 acres of land, with a stream of water running through it, and the cultivation of this land yields a large part of the revenue of the institution.

The building and estate are the property of the state government of Maryland, and therefore no rent is payable for either. To it the poor of the city and county of Baltimore, who have fallen into distress either from their own imprudence or any other cause, are sent as to an almshouse, and here they receive food, shelter, and clothing as long as they remain. They are charged, however, on account, twenty cents, or about tenpence English, per day for their subsistence while they do not work; but, the moment they are

able to labour in any branch of occupation that can be found for them there, they begin to receive their food, clothing, and shelter free, and have seven cents per day allowed them, besides this, for their labour, by which the industrious soon pay off their account, and some accumulate a little sum with which to go out into the world again. This constant occupation is favourable to health and morality, and preserves habits of industry, all of which are of great value to the paupers themselves, while, at the same time, the institution is benefited by the profits arising from their labour over and above the sums paid for it.

The average number of persons in this institution is about five hundred; at present there were nearly eight hundred; the commercial pressure in Baltimore having produced the same effects as elsewhere, in throwing labourers out of employment. But the medical gentleman who accompanied us over the institution assured us that, in nine cases out of ten, intemperate drinking was the cause of persons finding their way into the Asylum; and he expressed his belief that if, by legislative enactment, the distillation and sale of ardent spirits could be positively prohibited under the severest penalties, nine tenths of the disease, poverty, and crime of the country would be swept away at a blow. The central part of the edifice is occupied by the superintendent and officers of the establishment.

The wings are divided into wards, in which there is a separation of the males from the females; of the latter who have children from those who have not; and also of the coloured from the white inmates. Of the whites, the women seemed the most abandoned, and most difficult to keep in order or reclaim; and of the two races, the coloured were by far the most obedient, decent, and industrious, and their wards were in every respect better kept by themselves than the wards of the whites by their occupants, although they laboured under the disadvantage of being more crowded, and of occupying the least commodious part of the building.

The revenue produced by the working of the farm, and by the labour and production of the inmates, is nearly equal to the entire maintenance of the whole establishment, though they have often many unproductive occupants, as young children, extremely aged or decrepit persons, some blind, others diseased, and some insane, all of whom are taken great care of. Whenever a deficiency occurs in the funds, the representation of this to the city council of Baltimore obtains the requisite relief. Each ward of the city elects a

manager for the poor, and these appoint four trustees, by the joint superintendence of which the whole is well conducted.

In one of the late reports of this institution the following passage occurs: "The trustees have frequently adverted to the fruitful source of nearly all the pauperism that comes under their notice, the intemperate use of ardent spirits. They have now the satisfaction, however, to say, that the rule of the institution forbidding the use of any vinous, spirituous, or fermented liquors as an article of diet, has been strictly enforced; and the late harvest at the farm, which employed several hands, was secured without any such allowance."

It is to be hoped that the frequent reiteration of convictions like these will at length awaken the attention of governments generally to the duty of banishing, by legislative prohibition, the manufacture of and traffic in this deadly poison, the source of no one earthly good to counterbalance the countless miseries which it carries in its train.

The next of the benevolent institutions which we visited in Baltimore was the Hospital. This stands on the opposite side of the city, being on the east, while the Almshouse is on the west; like it, however, it is some distance from the town, and is seated on a fine eminence, commanding a most extensive and beautiful view of the entire city below it, the harbour, the river, and the far-surrounding country. Indeed, the view from this Hospital, especially from the cupola on the summit of the roof, to which we ascended, is quite equal to that from Federal Hill, and as extensive as that from the gallery of the Washington Monument.

It is about thirty years since the Hospital was begun to be built, at the expense of the state; and by donations and loans from private individuals, and the proceeds of lotteries specially drawn for this purpose, it was completed to its present state. It is a fine brick building, 184 feet in length by 56 feet deep in the centre, and 36 in the wings; it is four stories in height, the cupola of the central dome being about 100 feet from the foundation; and its erection cost from time to time about 150,000 dollars.

The interior is admirably arranged; in the basement are all the requisite offices of the domestic establishment, and in each of the other stories are wards for the sick, private apartments for the convalescent, and separate chambers for the insane. The rooms were all in the nicest order, clean, airy, and well-furnished; and nothing seemed wanting for the comfort of every class.

The superintendence of this institution is under the Catholics of Baltimore ; twelve nuns, called Sisters of Charity, are always in the house, subject to a superintending sister of their own order. They all wear the black dress of the convent, with their hair cut off, and an ill-looking black leather cap over their heads in summer and winter. The sister-superintendent conducted us over the building, and answered all our inquiries with great affability. It appears that these sisters give their labours gratuitously, and go through them with the greatest cheerfulness ; they are occasionally relieved in rotation, but many remain here for several years, and account themselves happy in being able to do good. A small Catholic chapel is fitted up in the building, to which the patients of that religious persuasion go ; but the utmost liberty of conscience is allowed to all the inmates, and no attempt is made to coerce any in the choice of the worship they may prefer.

This institution, like the Almshouse or Asylum, is the property of the state, and there has been recently granted to it a considerable addition of surrounding land for walks and gardens, and 30,000 dollars in money to make additions and improvements to the building. The annual current expenses, however, are amply provided for by the receipts of the sums paid by the inmates for their accommodation. Those who live in the wards pay three dollars a week for board, medicine, and attendance, including washing ; and the occupiers of private apartments pay increased rates, varying from five up to as high as ten dollars per week ; while those who are destitute and unable to pay have all the requisite accommodations free of cost ; but the number of these is comparatively few.

The Baltimore Infirmary is another institution, attached to the Medical College ; this also is superintended in all its domestic arrangements by the Catholic " Sisters of Charity ;" and we heard it admitted by a Protestant lady, who lamented the fact while she described it, that when this institution was under the management of Protestant superintendents, it was not half so well conducted, as the managers were deficient in that zeal, self-denial, and devoted attention to their duties by which these Catholic sisters are so constantly characterized. There are three physicians and four surgeons regularly attached to the Infirmary, and all the students of the Medical College use it as their school of practice. The rate of payment for board, medicine, and attendance by the patients is three dollars per week.

Besides these, there are the following excellent institutions, all well supported and well conducted, in different parts of the city. A general Dispensary, for supplying medicine and advice to the poor gratuitously, supported by voluntary contributions amounting to about 1000 dollars annually. A Catholic Orphan Asylum, for the education and support of Catholic orphans, under the management of the Sisters of Charity. A Benevolent Society, for educating and supporting destitute female children, whether orphans or otherwise, conducted and maintained by the Episcopalians. A society for the relief of the poor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Charitable Marine Society. A Female Penitent's Refuge Society. A Humane Impartial Society, for bettering the condition of the large class of females who live by needlework, and whose inadequate wages often leave them in a state of want, and exposed to many temptations. An Indigent Sick Society, composed of Protestant ladies, who undertake to visit personally the indigent sick in the several districts of the town, of which each takes charge of a separate one, and to supply them with food, clothing, and other comforts needed by the sick, while the dispensaries supply them with medicine. A Mary-and-Martha Society, of the same description, conducted by Catholic ladies; and a Dorcas Society, who prepare clothing and materials for the necessitous poor, and by bazars or fairs, by subscriptions and donations, as well as by the labours of their own hands, greatly contribute to relieve the sufferings of their fellow-beings.

Baltimore is often called "The Monumental City," from the fact of its containing a greater number of public monuments—though these are still very few—than the cities of the Union generally, in which the practice of erecting public monuments has hardly begun to receive much popular support.

The most important of these is the "Washington Monument," which was first proposed to be erected in 1809, and for defraying the expenses of which a lottery was permitted by the state, to raise the sum of 100,000 dollars, or about £20,000. This amount being thus secured, the place selected for it was an elevated part of the northern edge of the city, where the requisite area of ground was given for this purpose by Colonel Howard; and on the 4th of July, 1815, the foundation-stone was laid, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America. This monument is a noble Doric column of mar-

ble, rising from a base of ample dimensions, 50 feet square and 20 feet high. The shaft of the column is 160 feet, its diameter about 20 feet, and the statue of Washington, which stands on its summit, is 13 feet in height. The base and pedestal are of pure white marble; the shaft, which is built like the Monument of London, is hollow, with a winding staircase up the inside; it is of a whitish marble also, here and there slightly veined with blue streaks. The gallery at the termination of the capital, to which visitors ascend, is also of pure white marble; and the colossal figure on the summit, which represents Washington after he had resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American forces at Annapolis, is of the same material.

Though every part of the successful career of Washington is reverted to by the American people with great satisfaction, there is none on which they dwell with greater admiration than on this last great act of his military life, when, having attained to a power as great as that of any of the warriors of other countries, with more of the affection as well as admiration of his adherents and followers than perhaps any hero that ever lived, he did not use this power as ~~an~~ Alexander, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon would have done, but cheerfully and voluntarily resigned it into the hands of those from whom he received it, and for whom he held it but in trust. This act of virtuous self-denial and conscientious discharge of duty has therefore endeared his memory to the wise and good of all countries, but especially of his own.

The workmanship of this column is of the first order, and the monument, as a whole, both from the chasteness and good taste of its design, its size, and its commanding position, is equal in beauty to any similar column in London or Paris. It has a general resemblance to the Duke of York's monument in Waterloo Place, overlooking St. James's Park; but it is greatly superior in size, materials, and execution, and forms a prominent object in all the distant views of Baltimore.

The prospects of the city from this gallery, with the extensive sea-view down the Patapsco to the Chesapeake on the one hand, and the distant land-view over the northern and western boundaries of Baltimore on the other, richly reward the visitor for the trouble of his ascent.

The second of the monuments of Baltimore is that called "The Battle Monument," which stands on what was once the site of the old courthouse of the town, but is now an

open space, called Monument Square, nearly in the centre of the city. It is intended to commemorate the battle of North Point, when the British attacked Baltimore in 1814, at the period of their burning and destroying expedition up the Potomac to Washington. The British were in this instance successfully repulsed, and this monument was erected by the American survivors of the battle, to the memory of their comrades who fell in defending their hearths and their homes. It was designed by the architect Maximilian Godefroy, who built the Unitarian Church, and the Gothic Chapel of St. Mary's for the Catholics of Baltimore. The effect of



the monument is striking, though the design is somewhat incongruous. The base is Egyptian, rising to the height of about twenty feet from the ground, characterized by the lessening breadth of the square mass as it ascends, the outline showing the inclined lines within the perpendicular. On each front is an Egyptian doorway of the same form, and the whole is surmounted by a deep overhanging cornice, with the winged globe and other Egyptian symbols. Above this base rises the column, which represents a Roman fasces, on the bands of which are inscribed, in bronze letters, the names of those who fell in the battle which it commemorates.

At the angles of the square base on which this column is erected are four figures called griffins, which seem to unite the body of the lion with the head and wings of the eagle ;

and on the summit of the fasces which forms the circular column is a figure meant to be, and called, "the Statue of the City," holding a wreathed garland or crown for the honoured dead in her hand, and having the American eagle at her feet.

The monument is composed of fine white marble, its entire height is 52 feet, and its auxiliary decorations are rich and ornamental. Separate inscriptions on the north and south front record the erection of the monument to commemorate the battle of September 12, 1814; and the recollections it cherishes are such as the inhabitants of Baltimore have no reason to be otherwise than proud of, as their defence of their homes was as gallant and patriotic as the attack upon them was unprovoked and unsuccessful.

The third monument of Baltimore is that called "the Armistead Monument," which is erected in the Gothic niche of a building near the City Spring, and was set apart to the memory of the brave Colonel Armistead, who conducted the defence of Fort M'Henry, at the entrance of the harbour, against the bombardment of the British on the 13th of September, the day following the battle of North Point. He was not killed in the engagement, but died about four years afterward, in April, 1818, at the age of thirty-nine; and his defence of the fort at which he commanded being still fresh in the recollection of his grateful townsmen, they honoured themselves as much as him by erecting this monument to his memory.

There are several springs or fountains in different parts of the city, which add to its beauty and convenience. The City Spring is enclosed by an iron railing, and covered by a dome supported by pillars; it is surrounded by trees and foliage, and has a very pleasing effect. The Western Fountain, in another quarter of the town, is also covered with a dome supported by columns, and is used for the supply of ships in the harbour of Baltimore with water. The Eastern Fountain is much larger, and adorned with more of architectural beauty. It has an Ionic colonnade, open all around, supporting a roof over the spring, which is enclosed within iron railings. The Centre Fountain, in front of the market, is also an ornament to the spot. The markets are excellent structures, and well adapted to their several uses.

It is to be regretted that the introduction of fountains is not more frequent in the cities of England and America. Whoever has travelled much in Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, cannot fail to have admired the many

beautiful fountains adorning the open places and public squares of the ancient cities of these countries. The refreshing coolness of the atmosphere, the sparkling brilliance of the waters, the soothing murmur of their falling sounds, and the air of freshness, luxury, and repose, which are all sources of enjoyment, are in themselves sufficient recommendation. It seems astonishing that London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, as well as New-York, Philadelphia, and Washington, should be so deficient as they are in these combinations of beauty and utility.

Of places of public amusement there are not many, and these are but little frequented. There is a large theatre, but the taste for dramatic exhibitions is everywhere on the decline in America; for it is only on occasions when some very great attraction, or some new or distinguished performer is presented, that an audience can be collected. There is a smaller theatre, which, however, is entirely abandoned; and there was recently a large circus for the exhibition of horsemanship, but it was destroyed by fire, and nearly all the valuable stud of horses perished in the flames. There is a good concert-room in the Law-buildings, and another over the Assembly-room, and music appears to be well cultivated and enjoyed. The suite of dancing and refreshment rooms, in which the regular winter balls are held, are not surpassed in beauty by any in Europe. There are many much larger; but for richness, taste, and effective decoration, nothing can be more chastely beautiful than these. The Baltimore Museum, which is well furnished with collections of various natural productions, a skeleton of the great mammoth, and other curiosities in nature and art, has also a minor theatre attached to it, in which farces and vaudevilles are performed, but to very thin audiences.

There are some public gardens in Baltimore, the Columbian, Vauxhall, and the Citizen's Retreat; and public baths have been lately introduced on a good scale. The sports of the turf are much patronised here, and in Maryland the horses are considered to be better trained than in any other state of the Union. At a place called Canton, a few miles from Baltimore, down the river, a large training establishment exists, and horses are kept there during the intervals between the racing seasons, at which time persons interested in this amusement come here in great numbers from the North and the South. An excellent rule prevails in the race-club, that no gambling of any kind is allowed; and

gamesters, whenever known as such, are excluded from membership.

Of hotels there are a great number ; and the three principal ones, the Exchange, Barnum's, and the Eutaw House, are perhaps equal to those of any town of a similar size to Baltimore in England. The last, indeed, which is a new establishment, erected by a company, is equal to any in the Union, and combines more of cleanliness, comfort, and adequate attendance than any hotel we had yet visited in the country. The boarding-houses are not nearly so numerous, in proportion to the population, as in New-York, and such as we inspected previous to our fixing on our abode were very inferior in almost every requisite. We were fortunate, however, in getting admission to one in Gay-street, kept by Mr. West, where the apartments, table, and society were all agreeable, and where we passed our time most happily.

The municipal government of Baltimore is vested in a mayor and city council, the elections for which take place every two years : in most of the other cities of America the election is annual. The city is divided into 12 wards ; the inhabitants of each ward elect an elector, and these 12 electors choose the mayor. The salary of his office is 2000 dollars, or about £400 per annum. His qualifications must be, to have been ten years a citizen of the United States, to be 25 years of age, to have resided in the city five years, and to have property assessed in the city to the extent of 500 dollars. His power and patronage in appointments are considerable, and his election is almost always made with reference to his party politics.

The city council is composed of two branches : the first consists of two members from each ward, who are chosen by the inhabitants directly, and elected annually ; the second branch consists of one member from each ward, chosen also directly, but elected every two years, with the mayor. The qualifications for a member of the first branch or lower house are, a residence in the city of three years, and to be assessed in property to the amount of 300 dollars ; also to be 21 years of age. The qualifications for the second branch or upper house are, to have been a resident of the city for four years, to be assessed to the value of 500 dollars, and to be 25 years of age.

The two branches of the council sit in separate chambers, and, together with the mayor, form the city parliament. Each has a negative on the proceedings of the other, and the concurrence of all these is necessary to the validity of

their ordinances. If the mayor exercise his veto, however, and, on a reconsideration of the subject, three fourths of both branches of the council concur in its adoption, it may become law without the assent of the mayor. Their duties are strictly confined to municipal government; and the salary of the councillors is a dollar and a half per day.

The commerce of Baltimore is varied and extensive, though inferior to Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, or New-Orleans, but superior to any other city or port. The exports are chiefly tobacco, the staple produce of Maryland, flour, salted provisions, staves and heading for casks and barrels, and turpentine. The imports are chiefly from England, the West Indies, South America, and China, in the various productions and manufactures of each. In the last year the amount of exports exceeded 4,000,000 of dollars, and the imports exceeded 6,000,000 of dollars. In the exports, the largest amounts were, to England, 882,000 dollars; to the Hanse-Towns, 682,000; to the ports of Chili, 620,000; and to the ports of Brazil, 407,000. Of the imports, the largest amounts were, from England, 1,822,000 dollars; from Brazil, 564,000; from Peru, 54,000; and from the Hanse-Towns, 265,000.

The shipping of Baltimore are not so numerous at present in the larger classes as they were some years since, but the smaller ones have greatly increased, so that the tonnage has not at all diminished. The waters of the various rivers that flow into the Chesapeake are covered with Baltimore sloops and schooners; many also are employed in the coasting trade; and a few larger ships sail regularly to England and other parts of Europe, as well as to India and China. In the last year, out of 115 vessels built here, nearly 100 were schooners; the whole tonnage built in that year exceeding 10,000 tons. The reputation of the Baltimore builders for constructing the finest models of beauty and the finest bottoms for speed, in their unrivalled small-craft, is still undiminished; and a "Baltimore clipper" may be matched against the world for fast sailing and keeping close to the wind.

The commercial capacities of Baltimore, however, are yet far from being developed to their fullest extent. The presence of no less than eight rapid streams, with considerable descents, in the immediate neighbourhood of Baltimore, are highly favourable to the application of machinery by water-power to manufacturing purposes, and this has recently been made available to the erection of some powerful mills for

grinding flour. No less than five railroads now lead from Baltimore in different directions ; the principal ones, to Philadelphia, to Washington, and to Harper's Ferry, on the way to the Ohio River, being already the channels of great and increasing intercourse ; and when this last is completed on to the western river, a distance of 350 miles, it is more than probable that Baltimore will be as much frequented by purchasers and sellers from the Southern and Western States as New-York and Philadelphia are at present.

As connected with its commerce, the banks here are as abundant as in any city of the same size ; they are all in good credit at present ; and the insurance companies and other establishments of this description are both numerous and well conducted.

CHAPTER XXII.

Population of Baltimore, white and coloured Races.—Position of Maryland as a Slave-state.—Maryland Colonization Society.—Severity of the Law against rescuing Slaves.—Vigilance of the Postoffice on Abolition Publications.—General Liberality of Sentiment.—Education of Coloured Children.—Negro Preachers.—Religious Sects and their Proportions.—Benefits of the Voluntary System of Support.—Institutions for the Promotion of Education.—Death of the Member of Congress for Baltimore.—Public Funeral, and marks of general Respect.—Eulogium on the Character of the deceased Member.—Newspapers in Baltimore.—Party and Neutral Remarks on the Partisanship of Political Writers.—Editorial Taste for Quaintness and Singularity.—Literary Institutions.—Lectures and Library.

THE population of the City of Baltimore by the census of 1830 was as follows : Whites, 61,710 ; free coloured persons, 14,790 ; slaves, 4120, making a total of 80,620. The rate of increase has been such as to create a belief that the population is at present a total of about 100,000 persons, just equal to the population of Sheffield in England. This proportion of the free coloured and slave population to the whites, as exhibited in the census of the city, is very different from the proportions of the same classes to each other in the census of the State of Maryland, which at the same period was as follows : Whites, 291,108 ; free coloured persons, 52,938 ; slaves, 102,994. In the city, therefore, it will be perceived that the slaves were not one fourth of the numbers of the free coloured people, and both these together were not more than one fourth of the whole population ; while in the state the slaves are twice as numerous as the

free coloured persons, and both together are equal to more than half the white population.

The position which Maryland occupies as a slave-state is peculiar, and has become a source of jealousy and alarm to some of the people of the more southern states, especially those on the seaboard. The feeling of the great body of the whites in Maryland, as well as in Virginia, is in favour of abolition; and if they did not apprehend danger to their connexions with the more southern and western states, it is probable that each would, before this, have made a commencement in the good work.

But Maryland has made at least one step in advance of her neighbours. There has existed for many years a general society for removing the surplus free blacks from America to Africa, called the American Colonization Society; and the colony of Liberia, in Africa, is their place of settlement. Mr. Henry Clay, the popular senator from Kentucky and Whig candidate for the presidency, is at the head of this; and nearly, if not all, the Southern States are in favour of it, because it keeps up the semblance of a wish to advance the question of emancipation gradually and by slow degrees, and thus enlists the sympathies and soothes the consciences of the scrupulous and religious, while at the same time it removes only those free blacks whose presence in the Southern States is thought to be dangerous, as likely to excite the envy and stimulate the dissatisfaction of the slaves.

The abolitionists of the Northern States are therefore almost all hostile to this Colonization Society, because they believe that, while the slaves increase in the southern parts of the Union at the rate of 60,000 a year, and the utmost efforts of the Colonization Society can get off no more than 2 or 3000 by emigration in the same period, the tortoise might as soon hope to overtake the hare as the Colonization Society to overtake the surplus population of the slaves, or at all lessen the number of the whole body. In Maryland, however, a great step has been taken, which is this: that, instead of joining the general body of the slave states in supporting only one society and one colony for the whole Union, they have established a State Colonization Society for Maryland only, and founded a separate colony for the settlement of free negroes and people of colour from this state alone; thus setting an example to the other states, which, if each were to follow out in good faith, might effect all that colonization is ever likely to accomplish for the negro race of America.

But a still stronger objection than that of the inefficiency of colonization to reduce the number of slaves to any great extent, is this: that the whites possess no moral right to expatriate those born on the same soil as themselves from the country of their nativity, and that it is an injustice to the coloured races to use even indirect coercion to drive them from what is as much their home as it is that of the whites, since both are strangers in the land, and interlopers on the soil of their red brethren, the Indians. This practice of forcing the Indians to go farther west beyond the Mississippi, and the Africans to go farther east beyond the Atlantic, to make room for the greater spread of the white race on the territory on which the red and black races are found to be an encumbrance, can only be justified, if justified at all, on the principle that the strongest have a right to do what they please with the weakest. This is the only intelligible principle, indeed, in which either war, or slavery, or extirpation can be maintained; though the same principle will equally sustain the right of the robber, the incendiary, or the murderer; and, when Christianity and reason shall overcome selfishness and prejudice, this will be perceived and admitted.

As an illustration of the severity with which any attempt at assisting slaves in their escape is still visited in the states of Virginia and Maryland—for in both the law is the same—the following, taken from the Baltimore Patriot of April 4, may be given:

"SERIOUS CHARGE.—On Saturday last, as we learn from the Norfolk Herald, a breach of the laws of Virginia, involving the severest penalty in her whole criminal code short of capital punishment, was charged against Captain Charles Hubert, of the British brig *Charity*. This was no other than an attempt to abduct, or a permission of the attempt by others to abduct, a slave, the property of a citizen of Norfolk, in the hold of the vessel under his command. It appears that the brig had taken in a cargo of staves, and was on the eve of departure for Barbadoes, when some detention was suffered in consequence of the desertion of several of the crew. In the effort to reclaim these, the captain brought himself under the penalties of the law by making a forcible entry into a sailor's lodging-house. An action of damages was the consequence of this illegal step, which the captain compromised by the payment of 112 dollars. Meantime the police officers succeeded in capturing one of the sailors who had deserted; and this man, on being taken, gave information that a runaway slave was secreted on board the brig. The same information had been imparted to the pilot of the vessel by the cook (a free coloured man), who pointed out his hiding-place, which was among the staves in the hold, and in which the fugitive was found. The negro was taken thence, and the captain of the brig was taken into custody, and committed to the county jail to stand his trial. The penalties against this act are particularly severe, being, as stated by the Herald,

'1. A fine of five hundred dollars, recoverable by any person who will sue for the same; 2. The value of the slave on the action of the owner, in which action the vessel is liable to attachment to answer the verdict of the jury, *no matter to whom she belongs*; 3. A fine of one hundred and fifty dollars, for the benefit of the Literary Fund; and, lastly, the master of such vessel is liable to a prosecution and three years' imprisonment if the slave shall be found on board after the vessel leaves the port, *whether he knew the slave was on board or not.*' The brig had been placed under attachment, to await the result of a judicial decision."

Another instance may be mentioned, which is quite as striking. There resides at Baltimore a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Robert Breckenridge, who has been for many years a warm advocate and supporter of the American Colonization Society, and, as such, has been much cherished and esteemed by the people of the South. Recently, however, either from some change in his views or from the more frank and full expression of them, he has attracted great notice, and inspired very opposite sentiments. In a religious periodical, edited and published by him in this city, he issued an article entitled "A Presbyterian on the Bible Doctrine of Slavery." This article led to the following correspondence, which has been recently published in the Petersburg Intelligencer, a newspaper published in the adjoining state of Virginia.

"The following is the correspondence between Mr. Shore, our postmaster, and General Pegram, the chairman of the committee of vigilance:

"Postoffice, Petersburg, February 8, 1838.

"Dear Sir,—At your leisure, will you have the kindness to peruse the article of "A Presbyterian on Bible Slavery," contained in three numbers of a religious periodical published in Baltimore by Breckenridge, &c. ? I am satisfied in my own mind that the article and magazine are of that class of *incendiary* productions which the act of Assembly was designed to suppress, and that it is my duty to hand them over to the magistracy to be *publicly burned*. Your opinion is respectfully solicited, as an experienced lawyer, touching the character of this article, as well as the organ of a committee raised by this commonwealth soon after that awful tragedy was acted called the Southampton insurrection, in which about sixty men, women, and helpless infants were cruelly butchered by their savage slaves.

"It does seem to me, sir, that I should subserve the cause of the abolitionists, and be instrumental in getting up the second act of this tragedy, by circulating the wild speculations of this *mad incendiary*. Let me ask you, sir, would it be safe to disseminate among our slaves the doctrine which "A Presbyterian" would establish, and which is so fully endorsed by the "disclaimer" of the editors ?

"If the doctrines of this writer be true, who will venture to condemn the conduct of the abolitionists ? He attempts to draw arguments from the Bible to show that slavery is a crying and damning sin. Vain is the attempt ! for not one condemnatory sentence can be found, from Genesis to Revelation, that touches slavery as it exists in this country.

"Excuse the trouble I have imposed upon you. My apology is to



be found in the grave importance of the subject upon which your opinion is asked. From the elevated station you occupy in the confidence and esteem of your fellow-citizens throughout our state, any opinion expressed by you will have weight, and will decide my ultimate course.

"I am, &c.,

"THOMAS SHORE, P.M."

"Petersburgh, February 9, 1838.

"Dear Sir,—I have carefully examined the article of "A Presbyterian on the Bible Doctrine of Slavery," contained in the January and February numbers of the "Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine," to which my attention has been invited by your note of yesterday.

"The act of Assembly, passed March 23, 1836, provides, "That if any person shall hereafter write, print, or cause to be written or printed, any book, pamphlet, or other writing, with intent of advising, entreating, or persuading persons of colour within this commonwealth to make insurrection, or to rebel, or *denying the right of masters to property in their slaves*, or inculcating the duty of resistance to such right, or shall, with intent to aid the purposes aforesaid of such book, pamphlet, or other writing, knowingly circulate or cause to be circulated any such book," &c., such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, &c. And the next section of the same act farther provides, "That if any postmaster or deputy postmaster within this commonwealth shall give notice to any justice of the peace that any book, pamphlet, or other writing hath been received at his office through the medium of the mail, *of the character and description* mentioned in the section of this act immediately preceding, it should be the duty of such justice of the peace to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and to have such book, pamphlet, or other writing burned in his presence," &c. "Any postmaster or deputy postmaster knowingly violating the provisions of this act, shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than fifty dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, to be recovered with costs," &c.

"I have read the two articles in the magazine referred to without prejudice, to discover if they contain anything offensive to any part of the provisions of the act I have quoted. Whatever may have been the motives of the writer, there cannot be a doubt that he has assumed positions and advanced arguments antagonist to "the right of masters to property in their slaves." And this right he has assailed in the most imposing of all other modes, by undertaking to prove that it is denied by the laws of God; that not only "the Scriptures of the Old Testament give no countenance to the system of slavery established in this land, but, on the contrary, they decidedly condemn it as oppressive and unjust;" but also that our Saviour "clearly condemns the system of slavery which prevails in our land." And after thus establishing his position, as he confidently supposes, that masters have no right of property in their slaves, and, by consequence, that the invasion and resistance of such claimed right would be sanctioned by the same high authority, he concludes with this dangerous suggestion: "The people of the South may take their choice, either to rid themselves of the sin of slavery peaceably and righteously, or, by persevering in their present course, leave a legacy of blood to their children."

"I am of the opinion that such a publication is clearly "of the character and description mentioned" in our act of Assembly, and that you would be subject to its penalties if you, knowingly, cause to be circulated the numbers containing the articles referred to. In examining this subject, I have carefully discarded the sensitive jealousy which may be supposed to influence the mind of a slaveholder, and have considered

it, as I presume you presented it to me, merely as a legal question arising under our statute.

“Yours most respectfully,
“J. W. PEGRAM.”

It is worthy of remark, however, that in all our intercourse with the people of Baltimore, and we were continually out in society, we heard less about slaves and slavery than in any town we had yet visited; and we never heard the institution of slavery defended or excused, as we had so often heard it done by the merchants of New-York. All parties here seem to admit it to be a great national evil; all appear anxious to see it abolished; and all with whom we conversed were more willing to listen to and consider any proposition for hastening the period of emancipation, than we had found to be the case elsewhere, except among the professed abolitionists.

It seemed remarkable to us, and was not less agreeable than unexpected, that we should thus meet, in the populous capital of a slave-state, more toleration of opinion on the subject of slavery, and a more general sympathy with efforts for its removal, than with a large number of those residing in the free state and populous city of New-York. For this reason there are many schools opened for coloured children, and many benevolent persons, ladies especially, assist personally in teaching them; so that here, at least, there is no dread of their becoming too intelligent. There are also five African churches in the city, where the service is performed by coloured preachers to coloured congregations, two of these being Methodists, and one a Protestant Episcopal Church.

Of the religious sects into which the 100,000 inhabitants of Baltimore are divided, the following is believed to be the order and predominance of extent and influence.

First come the Roman Catholics, who far outstrip any other separate sect in numbers and in zeal. Besides their large and imposing Cathedral, by far the most prominent of all the public buildings of the city in every view of Baltimore, they have churches and chapels scattered over all parts of the town, and others rising up in every direction. The last new one that we saw, just opened, has inscribed in large letters on the outside, “The Church of Mount Carmel and the Sacred Heart.” The Catholic archbishop, and all the subordinate priesthood, are learned, pious, and clever men; the Sisters of Charity have among their number many intelligent and devoted women; and these, with the semi-

nary for the education of Catholic youth, secure not merely the permanence of the present supremacy of Catholic numbers and Catholic influence, but its still farther steady and progressive increase.

Next to the Catholics, the Methodists are most numerous; and one branch of these are called Episcopal Methodists, from having bishops, but resembling the Wesleyan Methodists in all things else, whether in doctrine, mode of worship, discipline, or government. The Presbyterians follow next in order, and have several large places of worship, and excellent preachers.

The Episcopalians come next, following the ritual of the Church of England; and this being the religion of the more fashionable and aristocratical portion of the community, they have handsome churches, and highly educated and eloquent preachers. Dr. Wiatt, at St. Paul's; Dr. Johns, at Christ Church; and Dr. Henshaw, at St. Peter's, are all accomplished gentlemen and highly popular preachers; and their congregations are among the most elegant and distinguished.

The Baptists and Lutherans are also numerous, the latter mostly Germans; and, in addition to these, the Quakers, Unitarians, Swedenborgians, and Dunkers have each places of worship for their several congregations.

As no one among all these varied sects has any connexion with the State, or possesses any privilege over any other, there is no ground for envy or jealousy among them. There is, therefore, a generally tolerant and indulgent spirit pervading their common intercourse; and in all matters in which their co-operation is necessary, religious distinctions are disregarded. The voluntary system is found to be abundantly adequate to the support of religious teachers, without forced tax or impost of any kind; and while there is no clergyman who is thought to receive more than 2500 dollars, or about £500 sterling per annum, there is not one who has less than 1000 dollars, or £200 per annum; and from £300 to £400 may be taken to be the average of their salaries. The clergy of each of the denominations are of a higher order, on the whole, than the same classes in England; not, perhaps, in learning, but in unexceptionable morality, in gentlemanly manners, and in zealous and exclusive devotion to their duties; and the best understanding appears to exist between them and their followers.

Of institutions for education, and for the promotion of literature and science, there are several. As long ago as 1696, funds were appropriated by the province of Maryland,

when a colony of Great Britain, for the support of a college and free-schools. In 1782 Washington College, at Chestertown, was established. In 1784 St. John's College, at Annapolis, was founded; and these two were then united into a University. In 1807 the State appropriated 12,000 dollars per annum for its support; and in 1813 a tax was laid upon Bank-stock, which produced about 10,000 dollars a year, and which is expended in the support of free-schools. By an act of Assembly, the personal estate of all individuals who die intestate in Maryland, and leave no relatives within the fifth degree, is appropriated to this object, unless they are seamen; and in that case, the effects go to the funds of the Charitable Marine Society. Throughout the whole state Sunday-schools are very numerous, and all are well attended by teachers as well as pupils.

It was in 1807, after much difficulty, that the State Legislature succeeded in founding, in the City of Baltimore, the institution called The University of Maryland. The money for building it was raised by lottery, and it was incorporated in 1812. The professors of Law, Physic, Anatomy, Chymistry, and Mineralogy are all eminent in reputation; the apparatus is excellent, and the collection valuable. The State has made liberal grants for the support of the institution; and the fees of the students, though moderate in amount, are productive by numbers. The Roman Catholic College of St. Mary's is considered to be an excellent seminary of education for pupils of that faith; and the Protestant establishment of Baltimore College is equally so. There are private academies for both sexes in great abundance; and one of the most classical edifices in the town, architecturally considered, is a free-school, built in the form of a Doric temple, and liberally endowed by the late representative of Baltimore, Mr. Isaac M'Kim.

The death of this gentleman happened just after we had left Washington for this place, he being the third member of Congress that had died within the period of about a month; and each was honoured with a public funeral at the public expense, this being the custom observed towards all the members of both houses who may die during the sitting of Congress. It may serve to convey to the reader an idea of the respect shown to the office of a legislator, though in this instance enhanced by much personal respect for the man, to give the order of proceedings at the funeral of Mr. M'Kim, as it was observed at Washington, of which the following is the official report:

"The committee of arrangements and pall-bearers attended at the late residence of the deceased, at Gadsby's Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue, at ten o'clock A.M., at which time the remains were removed, in charge of the committee of arrangements, attended by the sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives, to the hall of the House.

"At eleven o'clock, funeral service was performed in the hall of the House of Representatives by Mr. Slicer, the chaplain of the Senate; who, having made an impressive prayer, and read the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' delivered an appropriate discourse upon the occasion, from Ecclesiastes, chap. ix., 5, 'For the living know that they must die.'

"After these services the procession moved to the railroad depot on Pennsylvania Avenue in the following order:

- The Chaplains of both Houses.
- Physicians who attended the deceased.
- Committee of Arrangements, viz. :
 - The Family and Friends of the deceased.
- The Members of the House of Representatives and Senators from Maryland as mourners.
- The Sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives.
- The House of Representatives, preceded by their Speaker and Clerk.
- The other Officers of the House.
- The Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate.
- The Senate of the United States, preceded by the Vice-president and their Secretary.
- The other Officers of the Senate.
- The President of the United States.
- The Heads of Departments.
- Foreign Ministers.
- Citizens and Strangers.

"The corpse was placed in the car provided for the purpose, and carried to Baltimore, attended by the chaplains and physicians, the committee of arrangements, the pall-bearers, the delegation from Maryland as mourners, and some of the members of the two houses of Congress, for whom cars were provided."

In this order the procession came over to Baltimore, where it was met by a great concourse of the inhabitants, who accompanied it to the place of interment, and the following is the official report of the proceedings here.

"FUNERAL OF MR. M'KIM.

"The body of Mr. M'Kim arrived at the Mount Clare depot yesterday afternoon at about four o'clock. It was attended by a committee of members of Congress.

"It was met at the depot by an immense concourse of people, who attended it in procession to the burial-ground belonging to the congregation attached to St. Paul's Church, where it was interred. The bells of the several churches were tolled during the procession, and the flags of the shipping and at various public places displayed at half-mast during the day. The following was the order observed in the procession:

- Mayor and City Council of Baltimore.
- Officers of the Corporation.
- Reverend Clergy.

Members of the State Legislature.
 Judges and Officers of Circuit Court, U. S.
 Judges and Officers of Baltimore County Court.
 Judges and Officers of Baltimore City Court.
 Judges and Officers of the Orphan's Court.
 Members of the Bar.
 Gentlemen of the Faculty.
 Officers of the Army and Navy.
 Civil Officers of the United States.
 Civil Officers of the State of Maryland.
 Foreign Consuls.
 Strangers.
 Masters of Vessels and Seamen.
 Citizens.

"On arriving at the depôt, the procession halted and formed a line on each side of the road, facing inward. The committee of Congress and other members of the government who accompanied the corpse, with the relatives of the deceased, passed through the procession, which immediately followed them in reversed order.

"At the conclusion of the ceremonies, an invitation was given from the mayor to the members of Congress to remain and partake of some refreshments, which was declined by Mr. Adams on behalf of the committee of arrangements, in consequence of their desire to return immediately to Washington."

Though Mr. M'Kim was a supporter of the present administration, and therefore called a Jackson or Van Buren man—and, as such, opposed by all the Whigs, who here, as elsewhere throughout America, include nearly all the wealthy mercantile classes—yet all parties joined in showing respect for his character in this last act of consigning his remains to the tomb. I never remember to have seen in any country more general or apparently more sincere sorrow evinced at the loss of any public man, than in the present instance of the unaffected mourning for Mr. M'Kim. The worth of his character—though he was denounced by his political opponents while living as a "Loco Foco," a term equivalent to "Ultra Radical" in England—and the real nature of his services, may be judged of by the following testimony, given by one of the most influential of the Whig papers, which constantly opposed his politics. It is from the "Baltimore American" of April 3, 1838.

"THE DEATH OF MR. M'KIM.

"Our form was opened on Sunday night, after the arrival of the cars from Washington, for the purpose of announcing to our readers, in yesterday morning's paper, the melancholy intelligence of the death of our late representative in Congress, the Hon. Isaac M'Kim. In referring to the demise of this valued citizen and estimable man, we feel that something far beyond the ordinary expression of regret is due to the memory of one who, while living, discharged the duties devolving upon him with a propriety and correctness that must long be remembered.

Whether we regard him in the relations of social life, or observe his course throughout his business transactions, as one of the most enterprising and wealthy merchants of our city, we find him alike distinguished for kindness and urbanity of deportment and liberality of spirit.

"Unlike many men—who, after having acquired riches by perseverance and activity, withdraw themselves from the busy pursuits of the world, and are contented to spend the residue of their lives in ease and quiet—Mr. M'Kim continued to make his immense fortune the means of affording support, in an extended degree, to honest industry. When, so far as he was personally concerned, all motives for active exertion must have been taken away, this valuable citizen persevered in his praiseworthy course of furnishing employment to hundreds of his townsmen, through the various operations of manufactures and commerce, kept in steady motion by his capital.

"As a ship-owner, the commercial marine of Baltimore is particularly indebted to him for the liberality displayed in engaging the services of those among her naval architects who were conspicuous for talent, and by suggesting to them such judicious improvements as were the results of his own experience, enabling them to produce some of the most perfect models in ship-building of which our city can boast. As a manufacturer, his services have not been less important, through the facilities afforded by his ample means in introducing the preparation of articles for which we otherwise would have remained tributary to other places.

"In point of active beneficence and open-handed charity, few persons have surpassed Mr. M'Kim. As an instance of his well-directed munificence, we would point to the beautifully classic building for a free-school, erected on East Baltimore-street at his own expense, and, it is believed, liberally endowed by him. It is by this and similar acts that Mr. M'Kim has left behind him a fond and lasting estimation among his fellow-citizens, many of whom, at present young, will, when their heads shall have been silvered over by the frosts of age, remember with heartfelt gratitude the philanthropist whose kindness bestowed upon them the lights of education.

"For many years past Mr. M'Kim represented the City of Baltimore in Congress, and to the extent of his ability exerted himself in the promotion of what he conceived to be the best interests of this metropolis. Whatever feelings may have been produced by party asperity in reference to his views of national measures, those sentiments were never permitted to invade the sanctity of the private relations in which, to the end of his life, he continued to possess the warm affection and unlimited confidence of all who enjoyed his friendship.

"As a token of respect and indication of the regret of his fellow-citizens generally, and particularly the commercial portion of them, the flags of the shipping in port, and all the public places, were during yesterday displayed at half-mast, and will, it is understood, continue to be so throughout this day."

The two opposing candidates named by the respective parties to fill the vacancy in the representation occasioned by the death of Mr. M'Kim were, for the Whigs, Mr. John P. Kennedy, a lawyer well known in England as the author of "Swallow Barn" and "Horse-shoe Robinson," and on the part of the Democrats, General W. H. Marriott, both men of good talents and high respectability; for universal suffrage does not lead here, any more than it would

do elsewhere, to the selection of representatives from any other class than that which the voters believe to be a much higher one than the average of their own.

Of newspapers in Baltimore there is no deficiency. There are four morning daily papers: the American and Chronicle, Whig; the Republican, Democrat; and the Sun (a paper selling at one cent, or about a halfpenny English, per copy, and issuing 12,000 daily), neutral; and two evening daily papers, the Patriot, Whig, and the Transcript, neutral. In addition to this, there are three weekly papers, chiefly literary: the Athenæum and Visitor, the Kaleidoscope, and the Monument. These last supply the place of larger periodicals; and in the Athenæum of April the whole of the February number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was published entire, and sold for six cents and a half, or about threepence sterling; a competition against which no English periodical could stand.

The character of the newspapers of Baltimore does not differ much from those of New-York. The neutral papers appear to give, honestly, fair and impartial reports of what really happens; but they are too impartial to please any party in politics, and their circulation is not so extensive as it would be by embracing either side. The party papers, on the other hand, can neither of them be relied on. As an instance, it may be mentioned that, during our stay here, a public meeting was held in Monument Square of those who were opposed to the Registry Law. It was attended by three or four hundred persons, and the proceeding was a manifest failure, as more than as many thousands usually attend such meetings; and the evening was fine, and everything in favour of a large assemblage. All the Whig papers passed it by in entire silence, which was a dishonest suppression of a fact that ought to be known, namely, that some, at least, were opposed to the Registry Law, and that it was not approved by all parties. The Republican, on the other hand, came out next day with a most exaggerated statement of the triumphant success which attended the meeting, and would lead its readers to infer that the Registry Law was execrated by the whole community. On looking over what I had previously written on this subject of the New-York papers, I had sometimes hoped that I should find it true only of them, or at least that the journals of other cities would not be so extremely partial and one-sided in their statements. But I find, in an article which has just appeared in a New-York paper, and has been transferred

to the columns of the neutral journal here, that this truth is beginning to make an impression even in the city where the evil is most conspicuous. Whether the calm exposure of this practice, in the candid spirit in which it is done, will lead to a correction of the evil, time alone will show; but it is an evil of great magnitude, and one that needs speedy and effective correction. The following is the article referred to:

The following sensible remarks on the practice of Washington letter-writers, of eulogizing, without discrimination, their political friends, and heaping anathemas upon their opponents, are from the New-York Commercial Advertiser. The practice is in the highest degree reprehensible, and we are glad to see that the political press is beginning to think so.

"The greatest fault on the part of the correspondents of the press at Washington, in our opinion, is to be found in the practice of bestowing universal praise and universal disparagement upon their political friends on one hand and their opponents on the other. We have inveighed against this practice of indiscriminate eulogy or praise in our private correspondence, and in conversations with various writers for the press; but the evil exists—to a much less degree, however, in regard to our own correspondence than in relation to that of most other journals on either side of the house.

"The natural consequence of these partial reports is to shake the confidence of the public in the general accuracy and tone of the Washington letter-writers. Not, in our opinion, that they wilfully misrepresent; but they allow their feelings, their partialities, and their animosities too frequently to mislead their judgments. Hence, whenever a leading Whig member of either house lays himself out in a set speech upon a great subject, we are quite sure of hearing that it is the ablest and most eloquent speech ever delivered. All his opponents who have spoken before him have been of course overthrown, used up, and annihilated; and all who attempt to answer him come off with miserable failures. On the other hand—to judge from the correspondents of the Evening Post, and of the other Post erected in Boston, the editorials of the Globe, and the general correspondence of 'the party'—there is neither statesman nor orator at Washington save those in the ranks of the administration. Messrs. Wright, Niles, and Benton, according to these authorities, are the most able and profound men in the Senate, and Mr. Cambreleng the most eloquent and sagacious statesman in the House.

"We might illustrate these positions by examples at length, were it necessary. For instance, Mr. Clay's speech in reply to Mr. Calhoun, the other day, was extolled by our friends as almost transcending human effort; and, by the unanimous vote of the Whig letter-writers, Mr. Calhoun was utterly prostrated, overthrown, torn to tatters, and used entirely up. Now we know the great powers of Mr. Clay as a clear logician and as a most eloquent rhetorician. He had, moreover, the right side of the question, and we doubt not that he was victorious in the argument. But—Mr. Calhoun used up! We know that gentleman too well to believe it. He may use himself up, politically, by his waywardness, and by pursuing the winding mazes of metaphysical abstractions. But a man of his splendid intellectual faculties, of his vast and varied learning, of his vigour of mind, acuteness and power in debate, is not so easily 'used up,' even by such a man as Henry Clay.

"These things ought not so to be. The correspondents of the press

at the seat of government should exhibit more of candour on both sides than we are accustomed to see. They should speak truly and justly both of men and things; avoiding the infliction of unnecessary pain upon the feelings of any one, and also refraining from the bestowment of unmerited praise.

"But this habit of indiscriminate eulogy or condemnation is not confined to letter-writers. It is but too common among the conductors of the press themselves. How strikingly is it evinced in the notices of orators at public meetings, whereby a foreigner at a distance might well suppose us to be a nation of Hamiltons, Sheridans, and Ciceros; a people born in the possession of universal knowledge, every tongue tipped with the oil of eloquence, and every lip dropping with the honey of persuasion."

In the Baltimore papers, as in all the others that I had yet seen, there is the same taste for odd and quaint displays of editorial singularity, and especially respecting the difficulties of getting their distant subscribers to pay up their arrears, an evil under which most of the newspapers seem to labour, and which they evidently feel to be a serious one, notwithstanding all their good-humoured jests about it. The following are three specimens, taken from the Baltimore papers of April, 1838:

"**LUMBER, SOUR-KROUT, &c.**—The editor of the Mohawk Courier, adjudged to be a bachelor, hangs out the following novel advertisement in his paper: 'For sale at this office, six hundred feet of hemlock boards, one thousand shingles, a quantity of leather, one keg of sour-kROUT, four yards of red flannel, nine bushels of potatoes, one barrel of vinegar, two bushels of corn, a few pounds of rusty pork, one patent screw-bedstead, and one—*Crib!* all of which, having been taken in payment for the Courier, will be sold 'dog-cheap.'"

"**ONE IN A THOUSAND.**—The Cincinnati Whig has *one* subscriber of which it has good reason to be particularly proud. The case is such a singular one that we must give it publicity. It says, 'He has taken the Whig ever since its commencement, and has invariably paid his subscription in *advance* without waiting to be called upon.'"

"**TOO BAD.**—The Mobile Mercantile Advertiser bestows a just meed of virtuous indignation upon a 'patron' of whom the editor heard that he had been seen laughing heartily over a paragraph in the paper of a previous morning, but who had not paid his subscription for two years! How could any man enjoy a joke with such a weight upon his conscience?"

The literary taste of Baltimore is quite equal to that of New-York, and its institutions as numerous and as well supported in proportion to the respective numbers of their inhabitants. Several literary and scientific societies which existed under separate names have recently associated themselves under one direction; and at the introductory address delivered before this body in the saloon of the Law-buildings during our stay here, at which I was present, a very large and attentive audience testified their deep interest in its prosperity. My own courses of lectures were also extremely

by well attended, and as highly appreciated and enjoyed by the audience as in any place in which they had yet been delivered. There is an excellent public library, containing upward of 10,000 volumes, well selected, especially in historical subjects; and its books are in constant use by the numerous and intelligent frequenters of this institution.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Classification of the varied Population of the City.—General Characteristics.—State of Society and Manners.—Supposed Causes of the Refinement of Baltimore.—Coexistence of depraved and abandoned Classes.—Instances of recent Outrage and Cruelty.—More disorganized State of Society in the West.—Retrospect of Baltimore Society a Century ago.—Extensive use of Tobacco by the Marylanders.—Evil Effects of this pernicious and offensive Practice.—Injury to Society by the waste of Land and Capital.—Growing opinion against the Use of Tobacco.—Cultivation of this noxious Weed by Slaves.—Exhaustion of the Soil in Virginia and Maryland.—Popular Appeal to Southern Men and Slaveholders.—Inconsistency of the Democratic Party on this subject.—Public Sale of Appropriated Lands for Arrears of Taxes.—Singular names of many of these Estates.—Public Labours of the Maryland Legislature.—Registry Law.—Imprisonment for Debt.—Wearing Weapons.

OF the 100,000 inhabitants now occupying the City of Baltimore, it is estimated that there are about 75,000 whites and 25,000 coloured persons, these last being in the proportion of about 5000 slaves and 20,000 free. The slaves are mostly in the class of domestic servants and labourers for hire, and their condition is consequently more comfortable than that of field-slaves employed in cultivation. They are among the least favourable in countenance and person of any that I had yet seen in the United States; but they are admitted to be orderly and unoffending, though considered to be deficient in capacity, and, therefore, no one appears to apprehend any danger from them. There are two extensive and several smaller slave-dealers in the city, the two principal ones having amassed large fortunes in the traffic. One of them has the singularly appropriate name of Woolfolk, it being the woolly-headed race, or woolfolk, in which he deals. I did not hear, however, of acts of cruelty being attributed to any of the dealers here beyond those inseparable from the coerced imprisonment to which they subject their victims to secure them from their escape to that liberty which it is so constantly asserted they neither value nor desire, but which, nevertheless, it is never deemed prudent to place within their reach.

The free people of colour are so far above the condition of the slaves in their appearance, dress, manners, and intelligence, that it must strike the most careless observer; it is indeed surprising that, in the face of such powerful evidence to the contrary, the whites should still insist, as many do here, that if the slaves were made free they would become deteriorated in condition, and be among the most indolent and vicious of their race. In Baltimore there are many coloured men engaged in trade, as small merchants, shopkeepers, traders, and dealers; while the coloured women, who are to be met with in great numbers in every street, are well dressed, orderly, and respectable, both in appearance and behaviour. Schools for coloured children abound; there are several coloured preachers; and in no instance that I could learn were the free coloured people implicated in any of the riots and mobs by which Baltimore has been so often agitated; these being invariably begun and carried on exclusively by the "more intelligent" and "more improvable" whites!

In the white population, there is a great admixture, both of races, occupations, and conditions. The great bulk of the labouring classes are Irish or German, originally imported as emigrants, with a union of Americans, and the descendants of all three. They are in general uneducated, intemperate, and turbulent, and furnish the largest number of subjects for the asylum, the hospitals, and the jails.

The class next above these are the small shopkeepers, native mechanics, and tradesmen, who appear to be better informed, more industrious, and in better condition as to circumstances than the same class of persons in England; labour of every kind being more in demand, and better paid, and provisions of all descriptions being more abundant and more cheap.

The large shopkeepers, or storekeepers, as they are here called, are many of them opulent, almost all intelligent, and of good manners; and intercourse with them on matters of business is extremely agreeable, from the frankness, cordiality, and perfect freedom from anything like over-reaching or hard bargaining, which too often characterizes this class in all countries.

The merchants, the bankers, the medical and legal professions, and the clergy, constitute here, as elsewhere, the most intelligent and the most polished portion of society. We had the best opportunities of seeing and enjoying this, in the various parties to which we were invited during our

stay ; and we were uniformly impressed, after leaving them, with the feeling that they were among the most agreeable that we had experienced in the country.

The ladies of Baltimore enjoy a high reputation throughout the Union for their personal beauty, and this reputation is well founded. There are few, if any, cities in Europe that could produce so many handsome women, out of such a population as this ; pleasing in person, graceful in carriage, intelligent, well bred, cordial in manners, and, in every sense of the term, "ladylike" in accomplishments and behaviour. The men, too, struck us as much more generally well informed than the same class of persons we had seen elsewhere in the country ; of handsome countenances, better dressed, and more "gentlemanlike" in their whole deportment.

This is accounted for in different ways by different individuals ; but here the observation generally is, that this superiority of appearance, intelligence, and manners is characteristic of the *South* in contrast to the *North* ; and that Baltimore, from its position and its trade, belongs to the South, and has an affinity with it in its interest and its tastes. But this in reality leaves the question just where it was, and the inquiry still presents itself, Why is it that the South possesses this superiority ?

For my own part, I am inclined to attribute the elegance and refinement which characterizes the society of the higher circles of Baltimore to the influences shed upon the existing generation by the character and condition of those who were its founders.

The two hundred of the Catholic nobility and gentry who came out under the patronage of Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore, under the personal protection of his brother Leonard Calvert, and the number of persons of rank, fortune, and education of the same faith who subsequently joined them in their refuge from religious persecution at home, sowed the first seeds of the fruit which their posterity now bears ; and the easy circumstances in which the early settlers were soon placed rendering it unnecessary either to toil very hard or to struggle against many difficulties, both of which were the lot of the pilgrim fathers of the North, would contribute largely to preserve that grace and urbanity which affluence and even competency is sure to generate and preserve. Add to this, instead of the rigid asperity by which the Puritans of the North were characterized, the first Catholic settlers of Maryland were liberal

in their notions both of religion and politics, were free and easy in their own mode of living, and tolerant towards the opinions and manners of others.

The influx of the wealthy and accomplished colonists of St. Domingo, who took refuge here at the time of the revolution in that island, and who brought with them the generosity of colonial hospitality, and the ease and grace of French manners, served no doubt to give a new infusion of these qualities into the society of Baltimore; and the joint influences of these two causes being again strengthened by the effect of the Catholic religion and the existence of slavery—both of these having a tendency to make men less anxious about the future, and more disposed to enjoy the present—account sufficiently, to my mind at least, for the elegance, ease, and agreeable manners which characterize the best society of Baltimore, and make their social parties the most cordial, and their gayer *soirées* the most agreeable that can be enjoyed.

It must not be supposed, however, that Baltimore is entirely free from that admixture of evil which seems in all communities to be infused, in greater or lesser degrees, with the good. Here, as elsewhere, are men of abandoned characters and dissipated habits, who obtain their subsistence by preying on their more industrious fellow-citizens, and who squander what they obtain in the most vicious indulgences, as well as others who are guilty of the grossest cruelty and tyranny towards those who are in their power. The following instances are selected from many reported in the Baltimore papers of April, 1838.

“BRUTAL OUTRAGE.—Our city is infested, disgraced, by a gang of ruffians, who, in defiance of every sense of shame, promenade the streets in company with the most abandoned of the other sex, and at night prowl about, insulting decent females, and, like assassins, waylaying peaceable citizens. They are dressed like gentlemen, and profess to be men of honour; but a chimney-sweep has more gentility, and a foot-pad is a better man. Three scoundrels, who, if they are not of this class, are fully entitled to rank among their number, rushed into the store of a highly respectable citizen in Market-street on Wednesday night, and, without cause or provocation, one of them struck him a severe blow in the face. The gallant youths then ran off, we presume to some of their haunts, to entertain their companions in iniquity with a description of their exploits. Measures have been taken for the arrest of these miscreants, when we hope our citizens will be shown that their lives and property will be protected by the law, without having recourse to those means of defence which heaven and the laws of nature authorize them to use when the ministers of the law fail to do their duty.

“IMPUDENT VILLAINS.—One day last week three well-dressed fellows went into a hat store in Pratt-street, and pretended to bargain with the

proprietor for a hat for each of them. They were soon suited with those of the latest fashion, and one of them was also fitted with a cap. But no money was forthcoming; two of the gentry deliberately walked out of the store with the new castors on their heads, while the third intimidated the probability of his paying for the hats by putting a ball through the head of the shopman if he attempted to follow them; and then taking out a fifty-cent note, tendered it to him, as he said, for the time he had lost in talking to them. Before the latter had recovered from his astonishment at their effrontery, the worthy trio were out of sight. Another robbery, similar to the above, occurred the same day in Market-street. Two men, fashionably dressed, walked into an umbrella store, where there was no one but a lady in attendance, bade the lady good-morning, selected two umbrellas, bade her farewell, and took their departure, but never mentioned anything about the price, or else took it for granted that umbrellas are public property, and so made off with them."

But even these cases are as nothing when compared with the accounts that are published almost daily of atrocities committed in the newly-settled states of the South and the West, where the insecurity of person seems much greater than the insecurity of property, and where outrages are committed with impunity. The following are all from the Baltimore newspapers of the same day, April 10, 1838:

"**INFAMOUS OUTRAGE IN MICHIGAN.**—The Ann Arbor State Journal of March 15 states that, on the night of the 12th, the Presbyterian Church in that village was forcibly entered, and numerous depredations were committed, such as breaking lamps, destroying the hangings of the pulpit, and some other acts of too brutal and revolting a character to be publicly mentioned. The trustees of the Church have offered a reward of one hundred dollars, and the town-council another hundred, for the apprehension and conviction of the perpetrators of these infamous acts. The next day the excitement was so great that a public meeting was held, and the act unanimously denounced as execrable. Yet it is boldly added that there is a class of destructives in that town capable of being guilty of any atrocity."

"There was an encounter a few days ago at Washington, Dallas county, Ala., between two brothers named Womack, in which one of them was killed. The difficulty arose out of an election of justice of the peace. Wm. Womack gave his brother Henry several severe blows with a club, when the latter drew a pistol and shot him dead. Henry has been examined and discharged."

"A bloody affray took place in the principal street of the town of Montgomery, Alabama, on the 28th ult. The persons engaged were Wm. J. Mooney and Kenyon Mooney his son, Edward Bell and Bushrod Bell, jun. The first received a wound in the abdomen, made by that fatal instrument the bowie-knife, which caused his death in about fifteen hours. The second was shot in the side, and would doubtless have been killed had not the ball partly lost its force by first striking his arm. The third received a shot in the neck, and now lies without hope of recovery. The fourth escaped unhurt."

"The Louisville Journal has also the following relation of a murderous affair which occurred in the southern part of Kentucky: 'We learn that two fatal encounters took place at Mills's Point, on the Mississippi, in this State, on Friday last. At first there was a fight between Mr.

Rivers, a lawyer, and Mr. Ferguson, a physician, in which the latter was worsted. Shortly afterward, Ferguson, burning with the mortification of defeat, procured a rifle and shot Rivers dead; and thereupon a brother of Rivers armed himself with another rifle, sought Ferguson out, and, after wounding him severely with a rifle-shot, rushed upon him with a pistol and despatched him at once. We do not learn whether any judicial proceedings have been instituted in consequence of these bloody transactions."

"The St. Louis Bulletin furnishes another addition to this bloody catalogue: '*Assassination*.—We regret to learn from a traveller that a murder was recently committed at Knoxville, Illinois, under the following mysterious circumstances. Two citizens of the place—Mr. Osborne and Dr. Dalton—were conversing in the street opposite the tavern, when a gun was discharged from a window of the building, and two balls entered Dalton's back below the shoulder. He exclaimed 'I am dead!' and immediately expired. No one witnessed the discharge of the gun; but suspicion rests upon a young man who came running from the tavern immediately after the occurrence; he has been apprehended. Report says that the murdered man had some time previous offered an indignity to a sister of the suspected individual. There was a strong sensation in the village upon the subject.'"

These are the crimes of border countries and unsettled territories, and will, it is hoped, gradually diminish before the influence of numbers, of law, and of public opinion; but as the cities of the seacoast have all passed through this state of preparation and transition, and have now been under the influence of law and order for many years, it is not just to institute a comparison between them without taking this difference of their circumstances into consideration. As it respects Baltimore, however, it appears from the very first to have been peopled by a race that never had this transition-state to pass through, having been settled by gentlemen originally, and continuing always to have a large infusion of elegant and even courtly manners and usages among its inhabitants. In a retrospect taken by one of the octogenarians of the city, who retains a vivid recollection of his younger days, and carries about in his costume and appearance the relics of "the olden time," there is a striking picture of the society of Baltimore in its halcyon days of fashion which is worth repeating. The writer is speaking of the avenue of Market-street just at the termination of the war of Independence, about sixty years ago; the same avenue that is now called Baltimore-street, and now, as well as then, the Bond-street or Mall of its day. He says:

"This avenue was enlivened with apparitions of grave matrons and stirring damsels, moving erect in stately transit, like the wooden and pasteboard figures of a puppet-show; our present grandmothers, arrayed in gorgeous brocade and taffeta, luxuriantly displayed over hoops, with comely bodices, laced around that ancient piece of armour, the stays, disclosing most perilous waists; and with sleeves that clung to the arms

as far as the elbow, where they took a graceful leave in ruffles that stood off like the feathers of a bantam. And such faces as they bore along with them! so rosy, so spirited and sharp! with the hair all drawn back over a cushion until it lifted the eyebrows, giving an amazingly fierce and suspicious tone to the countenance, and falling in cataracts upon the shoulders. Then they stepped away with such a mincing gait, in shoes of many colours, with formidable points to the toes, and high and tottering heels fancifully cut in wood; their tower-built hats garnished with tall feathers, that waved aristocratically backward at each step, as if they took a pride in the slow paces of the wearers.

"In the train of these goodly groups came the beaux, the gallants who upheld the chivalry of the age; cavaliers of the old school, full of starch and powder: most of them the iron gentlemen of the revolution, with leather faces; old campaigners renowned for long stories, fresh from the camp, with their military erectness and dare-devil swagger; proper, roystering blades, who had just got out of the harness, and begun to affect the manners of civil life. Who but they! jolly fellows, fiery and loud, with stern glances of the eye, and a brisk turn of the head, and a swash-buckler strut of defiance, like gamecocks; all in three-cornered hats, and wigs, and light-coloured coats with narrow capes and marvellous long backs, with the pockets on each hip, and smallclothes that hardly reached the knee, and striped stockings, with great buckles in their shoes, and their long steel chains that hung conceitedly half way to the knee, with seals in the shape of a sounding-board to a pulpit. And they walked with such a stir, striking their canes so hard upon the pavement as to make the little town ring again. I defy all modern coxcombs to produce anything like it. There was such a relish about it, and particularly when one of these weather-beaten gallants accosted a lady in the street, with a bow that required a whole side-pavement to make it in, with the scrape of his foot, and his cane thrust with a flourish under his left arm till it projected behind, along with his cue, like the palisades of a *chevaux de frize*: and nothing could be more piquante than the lady, as she reciprocated the salutation with a courtesy that seemed to carry her into the earth, and her chin bridled to her breast—such a volume of dignity!"

Baltimore-street is still the fashionable promenade between the hours of four and seven, the dinner-hour varying here from two to three o'clock. At this period of the afternoon, when the weather is fine, the ladies of Baltimore may be seen in as great numbers as the ladies of New-York in the Broadway of that city between twelve and two. The street is neither so long nor so broad, nor are the shops so elegantly furnished, nor the ladies so gayly and expensively apparelled, in the fashionable promenade of Baltimore as in the great capital of the Empire State, as New-York is called; but there is much more beauty, and more also of what in England would be called "quiet elegance," unconscious and unobtrusive grace and ease, which is peculiarly winning and agreeable. After dark the streets are nearly deserted, and at no portion of the night or day are the eyes offended, the ear revolted, or the heart saddened by those scenes of profligacy and dissipation among women, which unhappily

characterize nearly all the large towns in England, but from which those of America seem almost entirely free.

As the State of Maryland is, next to Virginia, the greatest tobacco-growing state in the Union, the exports from Baltimore exceeding in quantity those from any other part, as might be expected, the use of this weed is very general among its male inhabitants. This was the only drawback that we perceived to the gentlemanly appearance and polished manners of the more respectable classes; but a great drawback it is. In England none chew tobacco but sailors and hard-working labourers, who use it, as beer and spirits are used, under the delusive notion that it enables men to sustain labour better, to resist the changes of climate, and the cravings of hunger and thirst; all of which they would no doubt sustain better without these stimulants than with them. Chewing tobacco is, however, regarded in England as a vulgar habit, while smoking the same weed, if in the form of cigars, is deemed perfectly genteel. Here, however, smoking is more confined to the labouring classes, and chewing is more frequent than smoking among the gentry, though both are said to have declined greatly within the last twenty years.

Of the two, I confess it has always seemed to me that chewing is the least offensive to others, because the smell of the tobacco does not fill the surrounding atmosphere, and hang about the garments of those who are in the same company, as the fumes of smoking do. The effect of chewing is, I believe, less injurious to the parties thus using tobacco than smoking, which, moreover, is much less compatible with other occupations than chewing, producing the double effect of making men more indisposed to labour, and leading to a great waste of time, and causing them also to be more inclined to drink, so that it more frequently engenders habits of intemperance and dissipation.

Every mode, however, in which tobacco is used, appears to me injurious to the parties using it, and offensive to those around them who do not. The snuff-taker no doubt injures the stomach, obstructs the organs of smell, and destroys the clearness and intonation of the voice, besides presenting very often most disagreeable appearances to the person. The chewer of tobacco also injures his stomach by the unavoidable escape into it of some portion of its acrid poison; and though his voice is not affected by it, yet the rolling quid, passing from side to side, the ejection of the copious fluid, and the replenishing the exhausted portion

of the weed with a new supply, are all most offensive to others. The smoker of tobacco, on the other hand, makes his own person and clothes smell so disagreeably, and so taints the whole atmosphere of the house in which he indulges, that it is disagreeable to approach him or to enter his dwelling; while the injury done to his healthy appetite and digestion, and the bad habits of indolence and drinking contracted by smoking, make this practice, I think, the most injurious to individuals and to society of all the three modes in which tobacco is consumed.

It is melancholy indeed to reflect on the misappropriation of millions of acres of valuable soil, of the misapplication of millions of capital, and the perfect waste of millions of labour, on the cultivation of a weed which does no one any good, but is either useless or mischievous as an article of human consumption in every form; and it would be a great blessing to see all this soil, capital, and labour devoted to the production of wholesome food and raiment for man, or such other articles of growth as would at least have utility and innocence to recommend them.

There seems a growing feeling among the higher classes of the population against the use of tobacco in any shape, and the ladies especially express this feeling without reserve. The interests involved in the culture and traffic are too great to be easily destroyed at once; but there will, no doubt, be a gradual decline in the trade, as public opinion produces a gradual diminution in the use. Now and then attention is indirectly drawn to the subject, in articles published in the newspapers; and the following, which originally appeared in the *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria being a port of Virginia, the *first* of the tobacco-growing states, and was then copied into a Baltimore paper, the *second* of the tobacco-growing states), is worth transcribing, for the allusions it contains on this subject.

"THE GENTLEMAN AT CHURCH

"May be known by the following marks:

"1. Comes in good season, so as neither to interrupt the pastor nor the congregation by a late arrival.

"2. Does not stop upon the steps or in the portico, either to gaze at the ladies, salute friends, or display his colloquial powers.

"3. Opens and shuts the door gently, and walks deliberately and lightly up the aisle or gallery stairs, and gets his seat as quietly, and by making as few people remove as possible.

"4. Takes his place either in the back part of the seat, or steps out into the aisle when any one wishes to pass in, and never thinks of such a thing as making people crowd past him while keeping his place in the seat.

"5. Is always attentive to strangers, and gives up his seat to such, seeking another for himself.

"6. Never thinks of defiling the house of God with tobacco-spittle, or annoying those who sit near him by chewing that nauseous weed in church.

"7. Never, unless in case of illness, gets up or goes out during the time of service. But if necessity compels him to do so, goes so quickly that his very manner is an apology for the act.

"8. Does not engage in conversation before the commencement of service.

"9. Does not whisper, or laugh, or eat fruit in the house of God, or lounge in that holy place.

"10. Does not rush out of the church like a trampling horse the moment the benediction is pronounced, but retires slowly, in a noiseless, quiet manner.

"11. Does all he can, by precept and example, to promote decorum in others, and is ever ready to lend his aid to discountenance all indecorum in the house of God."

In the Northern States, however, the subject of tobacco-chewing has been taken up in a more direct manner than this; and though it would seem to be a most unpoetical theme, it has been made the topic of a serious though not a very elegant poem, if one may judge from the following brief notice of it in a Baltimore paper, the only one I have seen.

"TOBACCO-CHEWING.—The Rev. Charles S. Adams, of Boston, has published a poem on Chewing and Spitting. The following couplet is a specimen :

'If you would know the deeds of him that chews,
Enter the house of God, and see the pews.'"

I do not know how far it would be deemed an interference with personal liberty to prohibit the chewing of tobacco in public worship. But smoking would not be tolerated in any church any more than in concert-rooms or theatres; and at present, in the railroad cars from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and from hence to Washington, there is a printed announcement, prohibiting all passengers from smoking within the cars; a proof that public opinion pronounces smoking to be more offensive to others than chewing, or both would have been alike forbidden.

The cultivation of tobacco, which has nearly worn out the best soils of Virginia and Maryland, from its exhausting power over the earth, is almost wholly carried on by slaves; and as it is believed here that the same men, if free, would not consent to such laborious occupation unless highly paid, and as the operation is thought to be too severe for the whites, there is a great indisposition on the part of the mass of the people to hear anything about abolition. What, however, is as inconsistent as it is remarkable, is this: that the

Democratic portion of the populace—they who ought, if they acted on their professed principles—to be the most ardent friends of freedom and equal rights for the blacks, which they so ~~spontaneously~~ demand for themselves—are most strongly opposed to slave emancipation. Their organs accordingly seize every opportunity to impute the *crime* of advocating negro freedom—for they consider it as great a crime to ask freedom from others as to withhold it from themselves—to the Whigs. The following instance of this occurred in the Baltimore Republican of April 19, 1838, on the eve of the election for a member of Congress, when a Whig and a Democratic candidate were presented to the choice of the electors, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the recent death of the late member, Mr. M'Kim.

“Southern Men and Slaveholders, look at this !

“The following resolutions have passed the Massachusetts Senate *unanimously*. Read them as a specimen of Webster Whiggery. There is not a Democrat in the Massachusetts Senate. Whiggery has the whole of the honour, may it have all the profit !

“Resolves relating to slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and territories of the United States :

“1. Resolved, That Congress has, by the Constitution, power to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia ; and that there is nothing in the terms or circumstances of the acts of cession by Virginia and Maryland, or otherwise, imposing any legal or moral restraint upon its exercise.

“2. Resolved, That Congress ought to take measures for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

“3. Resolved, That the rights of justice, the claims of humanity, and the common good, alike demand the entire suppression of the slave-trade now carried on in the District of Columbia.

“4. Resolved, That Congress has, by the Constitution, power to abolish slavery in the territories of the United States.

“5. Resolved, That Congress has, by the Constitution, power to abolish the traffic in slaves between different states of the Union.

“6. Resolved, That the exercise of this power is demanded by the principles of humanity and justice.

“7. Resolved, That no new state should hereafter be admitted in the Union whose Constitution of government shall permit the existence of domestic slavery.”

During our stay at Baltimore, an announcement was made in the public papers, “by the levy court of St. Mary’s county,” of various estates and tracts of land in this part of the state, on which arrears of taxes, the most of very small amounts, were due ; and notifying that, unless paid within thirty days after the date of the advertisement, the lands would be sold for the payment of such arrears. The names of the estates and tracts of land were as curious as those in Alleghany county in Virginia, advertised at Wash-

ington, of which the following specimens will serve as a proof.

"The Flowers of the Forest," 100 acres, due one *dollar* 81 *cents*; "Tit for Tat," 50 acres, due 1 *d.* 2 *c.*; "Truth and Trust," 85 acres, due 1 *d.* 18 *c.*; "Good Luck," 75 acres, due 2 *d.* 30 *c.*; "Resurrection Manor," 37 acres, due 1 *d.* 32 *c.*; "Forest of Harvey found by Chance," 140 acres, due 2 *d.* 63 *c.*; "America Felix," 15 acres, due 1 *d.* 20 *c.*; "America Felix Secundus," 541 acres, due 40 *d.*; "Bachelor's Comfort," 225 acres, due 4 *d.* 30 *c.*; "Wathen's Disappointment," 167 acres, due 5 *d.* 63 *c.*; "Heart's Delight," 433 acres, due 11 *d.* 6 *c.*; "Poverty Knoll," 118 acres, due 2 *d.* 20 *c.*; "Chance's Conclusion with Amendment," 1032 acres, due 28 *d.* 99 *c.*; "Wit and Folly," 279 acres, due 6 *d.* 40 *c.*; "Peace and Quietness," 258 acres, due 2 *d.* 69 *c.*; "Long looked-for Come-at-last," 50 acres, due 2 *d.* 18 *c.*; "Love's Adventure," 215 acres, due 5 *d.* 81 *c.*.*

These names, which were all conferred by the first purchasers of the estates so designated, had no doubt a reference to the several circumstances as well as moods of mind of the buyers: and their variety is a fair sample of the diversified motives and changing fortunes which bring emigrants from Europe to America, and which lead men from the town to the country in search of subsistence. As these places will most probably, however, retain their original names when towns are built around them—as in the course of years is almost sure to happen—the nomenclature of America, already disfigured with odd and fanciful designations, and rendered confused by endless repetitions, will be still worse than at present. Here, in the immediate neighbourhood of Baltimore, is a Rome, a Joppa, and a Havre de Grace; in Long Island, close to New-York, Babylon and Jericho may be visited by the same railroad; and the cities of Troy, Memphis, Athens, and Palmyra, with Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, have all had their names, at least, transferred from the Old to the New World.

While we were in Baltimore, the State Legislature of Maryland was assembled at the legislative capital, Annapolis, but had closed their labours before we left. It appears from a report of their proceedings during the session of about four months, that they passed 363 laws and 79 resolutions; so that there would seem to be the same taste for excessive legislation here as at home. Among the really good laws

* In this account, *d* means dollars, *c* cents.

which they passed was one for the legal registration of voters previous to an election ; but, though this law is so just in itself, and must be so unobjectionable to all men who desire only an honest exercise of the elective franchise, it has been denounced by the Democratic party here as though it were the greatest infringement of liberty ever heard of.

The truth is, that in this city, as well as at New-York and all along the sea-border, emigrants from Europe, German and Irish, are brought up to vote at the polls for the election of members of Congress and municipal officers within a few days after their landing, though they declare themselves to be citizens, swear to a residence of the requisite number of years, get vouched for by abandoned men of their own party, and not only vote without the least title to such a privilege, but often vote in several wards in succession, the very circumstance of their being entire strangers rendering it impossible for any resident to detect them. A registry-law will no doubt put an end to this, and hence the anger of the party who denounce it ; but as such a law cannot possibly deprive any man who has a right to vote of his power to exercise it, since the suffrage among real and bona-fide citizens is universal, it seems impossible that any truly honest politician should have any real objection to it.

In the Maryland Legislature during the present session, a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt was passed, with large majorities, through the House of Delegates, but it was rejected in the Senate or upper house, where only three members voted in its favour. This was the fate of the first English bill on the same subject ; and it exhibits a painful view of human nature, when the rich, who are not exposed to the infliction of the *punishment* which imprisonment for debt brings on misfortune as well as fraud, oppose every attempt to soften the rigour of a practice which is unjust and injurious to all parties.

A bill to prevent the carrying of concealed weapons was passed by the Legislature of Virginia during our stay here, by a majority of 85 to 17 ; and the same object was pressed upon the attention of the Maryland Legislature, as concealed weapons are worn by some of the people of this as well as of the neighbouring state. The bill for the suppression of duelling in the District of Columbia received also, while we were here, the final assent of both houses of Congress and the president, so that it has become a law ; and this, coupled with the gradual disuse of secret arms, will no doubt have the effect of lessening the number of sanguinary conflicts.

The environs of Baltimore are extremely agreeable, abounding with hill and valley, wood and water. A number of pretty and commodious villas, and several larger seats or mansions, are scattered about the neighbourhood of the city, within a distance of from one to five miles, and the views from the elevated points are extensive and beautiful. We enjoyed, with friends, some most agreeable drives in excursions to the country, and saw new beauties every day.

The weather during our stay in Baltimore was pleasant on the whole, though marked by the usual uncertainty and vicissitude of the American climate. On some days we had the warmth of a summer sun, and found light clothing acceptable; at other times it was piercingly cold, and the northeast wind most disagreeable; rain was not frequent, but fell very copiously once or twice; and, after one of the warmest and finest mornings that could be imagined, there was a sudden overcast of the sky, and a heavy fall of snow before noon. The vegetation amid all this was extremely backward, and up to the 20th of April scarcely a bud was to be seen on any of the larger trees.

On the 20th, the last day of our stay in this city, we were engaged during the whole of the day in receiving and paying parting visits to our friends, who were more numerous than we could have supposed it possible to make in so short a time. It was scarcely more than three weeks since we had arrived at Baltimore from Washington, and we had become acquainted with almost all the principal families of the place. It would be impossible to speak too highly of their kindness, hospitality, and friendly attentions to us. If we had known them for years instead of weeks, they could not have been more cordial; in many of the families of whom we took leave, the evident regret at parting was like that which is felt at the separation of kindred relatives or nearest and dearest friends; and of the sincerity of these manifestations there could be no reasonable ground of doubt.

On the evening of the 20th, at the urgent request of the greater portion of the large auditory that had attended my courses on Egypt and Palestine throughout, as well as of many who had attended my public addresses on temperance in Baltimore, where large numbers were added to those who pledged themselves to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks, I gave a farewell lecture, in the costume of the East, descriptive principally of Oriental life and manners. This was crowded to excess; and for nearly an hour after the close of the lecture, I was detained in shaking

hands with those who came to give me the personal assurances of their good wishes, and urge their solicitations that I would not think of leaving America without returning to visit Baltimore again.

On the morning of the 21st we left Baltimore by the railroad for Philadelphia, where we arrived at four o'clock, and, being met by several friends at the station, were comfortably accommodated in a good boarding-house at 188 Chesnut-street, opposite the Masonic Hall.

CHAPTER XXV.

Origin of the Settlement of Pennsylvania.—Parentage and Education of William Penn.—Origin of the Name of Pennsylvania.—Arrival of the first Emigrants in the Delaware.—Publication of Penn's first "Frame of Government."—Treaty with the Indians for their Lands.—First Design for the City of Philadelphia.—Penn's Return to England.—Affectionate Farewell to his Settlement.—First Institution for the Education of Youth.—Penn deprived of his Government by Royal Warrant.—Friendship of John Locke and Lord Somers.—Restoration of Penn to his Proprietary Government.—Illness and Death of Penn.—Cessation of the Quaker Authority in Pennsylvania.—Declaration of American Independence in Philadelphia.—Progress of Pennsylvania in Wealth and Population.—Description of the State in its Scenery and Resources.—Towns, Manufactures, and Public Improvements.

Of all the cities in the American Union, there is not one, probably, that bears so visibly upon its surface the impress of its founder as that of Philadelphia. The symmetry of its plan, the neatness of its buildings, the air of repose and contentment, and its multiplied institutions of benevolence, are all as prominent features of its Quaker origin and striking proofs of Quaker influence, as the names of Pennsylvania for the State and Philadelphia for the city are indicative of the benign spirit in which these appellations were conceived. It is desirable, therefore, to trace the leading incidents of the history of this settlement, so far as these may illustrate the origin, progress, and present condition of this portion of the Union, one of the most interesting of the States.

It was in the year 1680 that a charter for the settlement of Pennsylvania and Delaware was first granted by Charles the Second to William Penn, so that from this period its history may be most properly dated. The circumstances which preceded and led to this grant are sufficiently curious, however, to deserve mention. The father of William Penn was an admiral in the British Navy, under the protec-

torate of Oliver Cromwell; and in 1664 he made the conquest of Jamaica, and first added that valuable island to the British colonial possessions. He was subsequently unfortunate in an expedition against St. Domingo, for his failure in which he was imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower of London, and never after employed under the Commonwealth. At the restoration of the Stuarts he rose again into favour, and commanded at sea in the Dutch war of 1665 under the Duke of York; but in 1668 he was impeached by the House of Commons for embezzlement of prize-money, though the impeachment was never prosecuted to an issue.

At this time his son, William Penn, was a student at the University of Oxford, and was expected, from his father's known interest at court, to have made a figure in the world in some public walk of life. But at the age of sixteen he became so impressed with the discourses of a Quaker preacher whom he heard at Oxford, that the warmth and openness with which he espoused the doctrines of this sect led to his expulsion from the University. His father, in the true style of an admiral of those days, endeavoured to cure him of his "new-fangled notions," as they were then called, by first giving him a severe flogging, with blows, and then banishing him from his house and presence. This had the natural effect of attaching him the more strongly to the principles for which he was so bitterly persecuted.

The admiral then resorted to another and more insidious method of curing this early "eccentricity," as he considered it, which was, to send him on a course of travels throughout Europe with some of the gayest young men of rank and family in France; the result of which was, that he returned to his approving parent with a complete change of manners and sentiments, as "a man of the world." Soon after, however, he had occasion to visit Ireland, in the year 1666, to inspect an estate; and meeting there with the same Quaker preacher whose discourses had made so powerful an impression on him at Oxford, all his former veneration for the principles of Quakerism was revived, and he made an open, public, and solemn profession of his determination to embrace them, and act upon them through life.

According to the testimony of different writers, the conduct of Penn seems after this to have exhibited a mixture of good and evil which is very remarkable; at one time upholding, with all his ability and influence, the despotic prerogative of the crown; at another appealing to the House

of Commons for a repeal of the penal laws against Dissenters, attaching himself to Algernon Sidney, and assisting his election for Guildford as a friend of the people, against a court candidate who opposed him; soon after this, seeing his friend Sidney perish on the scaffold for his patriotism, and yet keeping up, during all this time, his cordial intimacy with the despotic sovereign and court by whom this outrage was perpetrated; being present at the execution of a most pious and benevolent as well as aged lady, Mrs. Grant, who was burned alive because she gave shelter to a person who had escaped from the rebel army of the Duke of Monmouth, but of whom she knew nothing except that he was a person in distress; and being present also at the execution of Alderman Cornish, who was hung at his own door on an imputation of treason which was never proved, and in which no one but his accusers believed. This was under James the Second, with whom, in the very height of his tyranny, Penn maintained a confidential intimacy and apparent friendship, which it is as difficult to understand as it has been found impossible to explain.

In 1680, when Charles the Second was on the throne, and when Penn, from his share in the direction of the affairs of New-Jersey, with other members of the Society of Friends with whom he was associated, had become well acquainted with the value of the territory west of the Delaware River, he presented a petition to Charles, setting forth his relationship to the deceased admiral, and stating that a debt was due to his father from the crown, which had not been paid in consequence of the shutting up of the exchequer by the Earl of Shaftesbury. For this debt he expressed his willingness to receive a grant of the territories west of the Delaware and north of Maryland, which was then already in the possession of Lord Baltimore; and the grounds on which he justified his application were, a belief that, by his interest with the Quakers, he should be enabled to colonize the territory, and make it productive of a considerable revenue to the British treasury; and that, at the same time, he should be enabled to enlarge the British dominions, and promote the glory of God by the conversion of the native Indians to Christianity. This petition was referred to the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore; and their approbation, after certain restrictions, being accorded, and some technical and legal difficulties being removed, the charter was granted to William Penn, in consideration of the merits of the father and the good purposes of the son; and by it

himself and his heirs were made perpetual proprietors of the extensive, rich, and fertile province now constituting the State of Pennsylvania.

The origin of the name is thus explained. It was a proposition of King Charles that the province should be called Penn, or that this name should form part of any appellation that might be fixed on. This was resisted by Penn, lest it should be imputed to him as vanity. He himself proposed to call it New Wales, but this was for some reason disapproved. Penn next suggested Sylvania, as the province was so beautifully diversified with wood; to which the king insisted on prefixing the name of Penn, in honour of the admiral, whose memory he revered.

The conditions on which "the Proprietary," as Penn was now called, held his vast and valuable grant, was the payment of two bear-skins annually, and a tribute of one fifth of whatever gold and silver might be discovered in the province, which tribute was to be the personal property of the king. The proprietary was empowered by this charter to divide the province into townships, hundreds, and counties; to incorporate boroughs and cities; to make laws with the assent of the freemen; to impose taxes for public purposes; to levy men, to vanquish enemies, to put them to death by the laws of war, and to do all that belonged to the office of captain-general in an army, on condition that the laws made should be in conformity with the laws of England; that the customs due to the king on articles of trade should be fairly paid; and that the allegiance of the province to the crown and Parliament should be maintained.

After the grant of the charter, Penn exerted himself to attract settlers to his new domain. He published accounts of the soil and climate, and offered to those who wished to become residents therein land at the rate of forty shillings for one hundred acres, with a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling only for each lot of that extent. Persons were admonished, before they bought, to balance present inconvenience with future ease and plenty, to obtain the consent of parents and relations, and have especial regard to the will of God. They were assured that no planter would be permitted to injure the native Indians, not even under pretence of avenging injuries received; but that all differences between the two races should be referred to twelve arbitrators, half selected from each race, and their decision made binding. He was wisely aware, however, that no individual will may be safely trusted; and, accordingly, in one of his letters of

this period, 1681, he says, "As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

The first settlers sailed from London and Bristol in three ships. They were headed by Col. Markham, a relative of Penn, as deputy-governor of the province; and certain of their number were appointed to confer with the Indians, to purchase the lands on equitable terms, and to make with them a treaty of peace. By their hands Penn himself addressed a letter to the Indians, in which he stated that, though the King of England had given him the proprietary right over this territory, he wished to purchase it, and enjoy it with the consent of the Indians themselves; for, though many of their nation had hitherto been cruelly treated by Europeans, those he now sent among them wished to treat them with justice, and reside near them in peace.

On their arrival in America the settlers took possession of a forest on the west side of the Delaware, about twelve miles above Newcastle, a settled town of Maryland, and there began to prepare for the reception of the followers by whom they were to be joined.

In 1682 Penn first published his celebrated code, entitled "The Frame of the Government of Pennsylvania," a composition which, like the character of its writer, contained a remarkable mixture of veneration for the despotic maxim of the "divine right of government," and clear perceptions of the true principles of just and liberal policy; the latter, however, far predominating. In it he says, "Any government is free to the people under it where the laws rule, and where the people are a party to these laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." He insists upon the importance of having good men as the only faithful administrators of good laws; and, to supply these, he urges the importance of the virtuous education of youth; and he concludes with these remarkable words: "We have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame of this government, to the great end of all rule: to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for lib-

erty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

The machine of government was to consist of the proprietary or his deputy and the freemen; and the latter were to be divided into two bodies, a provincial council and a general assembly. The council was to consist of seventy-two members, and to be elected by the freemen; twenty-four of the members to retire annually, and their places to be supplied by a new election. The assembly was to consist, in the first year, of all the freemen among the settlers; in the second year, of two hundred representatives chosen by the rest; and after this, to be augmented as the population increased. They were to be elected annually, and the mode of voting for both houses was to be by ballot; but, owing to the opposition of some English freeholders, who protested against this un-English mode of going to the poll "muzzled"—though the same mode of voting by ballot was introduced by the Puritans into New-England, and still existed there and in New-Jersey—Penn was overruled by these objectors, and changed it to the mode of open voting.

Some very singular regulations, forming a sort of supplemental code, were issued soon after the first publication of the "Frame of Government," of which the following are examples. All prisons were to be made workhouses, that criminals confined in them might labour for their subsistence. A thief was to restore twice the value of the property he had stolen; and, if unable to do this from other sources, should work as a bondsman in prison to accumulate the amount. The landed as well as personal estate of debtors was to be answerable for their debts, except where lawful children might be defrauded by this, in which case two thirds were to be reserved for their use. All factors who should defraud foreign correspondents or dealers were to pay complete restitution of the whole sum due, and a surplus of one third more as compensation for the wrong done. No person could leave the province without publishing his intention three weeks before in the market-place. No dramatic entertainments, games of chance, or sports of cruelty were to be permitted; and whatever contributed to promote ferocity of disposition, idleness, licentiousness, or irreligion, was to be punished and discouraged. And all children of the age of twelve years were to be taught some useful art or trade, so that none might be idle; so that, while the poor should work to live, the rich, if they became poor, might not want.

In the same year, 1682, but towards its close, William Penn himself embarked for his new territory, and left England with about a hundred Quakers, who had determined to follow his fortunes in the Western world. On their arrival on the banks of the Delaware, they found everything in a most promising condition. In addition to the English settlers brought out by Colonel Markham, there were 3000 Swedish and Dutch, who had planted themselves in the adjoining territory of Delaware, which was now united to Pennsylvania; and, in addition to those who came out with Penn himself, there was an augmentation of their numbers in the same year, but subsequent to the arrival of Penn, of no less than 2000 persons, mostly Quakers, and almost all men of education, substance, and strong attachment to civil and religious freedom. To these, again, were added Quakers from Germany and Holland in almost equal numbers; so that the proprietary soon saw himself surrounded by a numerous, intelligent, moral, and religious community.

With such materials as these had Penn the happiness and advantage to begin the work of legislation; and, accordingly, he summoned, in December of the year 1682, his first provincial parliament at Chester. The confidence reposed in him by all parties was such that his "Frame of Government" was readily assented to, and an act of settlement passed for its adoption. Shortly after, one of the most interesting events in Pennsylvanian annals occurred, namely, the negotiation of a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of their lands, which was done by commissioners appointed for that purpose; but the ratification of the treaty by Penn was executed by him in person. The spot selected for this purpose was beneath a great elm-tree, that stood where one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, called Kensington, is now built. Under this tree the Indians of the possessing tribe assembled, with their chief at their head; and, being all warriors, they were fully armed. They were here met by William Penn, at the head of a body of unarmed Quakers like himself, his only distinction from his companions being the use of a blue silk sash, and the holding in his hands the parchment roll on which the previously-negotiated treaty had been written out.

After an interchange of congratulations, Penn addressed the Indians through the medium of an interpreter, and the following was the substance of his address: He appealed to the Great Spirit, whom both parties acknowledged as the searcher of hearts, for the sincerity of his desire to live at

peace with all men. They had come unarmed, because it was not their custom to use weapons of any kind. He desired that whatever was done between them should be for the equal advantage of both races. He read the terms of the purchase agreed to by them for their lands, the amount of which has never been ascertained ; but, having obtained their assent to the sum as sufficient, it was then paid, and the various articles of merchandise which the Quakers had brought were then tendered to the Indians as presents or gifts, over and above the purchase-money, which they also accepted. They were farther offered the common use of the land for their own purposes as long as they might need it ; they were assured that they should be considered as of the same flesh and blood with the white race ; and the parchment-roll being presented to the Indians, to be by them preserved for their posterity, they signified their cordial assent to all the conditions it contained, and declared their determination to live with William Penn and his descendants in peace and friendship as long as the sun and moon should endure.

Such was the touching and solemn scene of equity and good faith by which the ratification of this treaty was completed ; and the subsequent faithful adherence to its conditions by the Quakers gave them a degree of sanctity in the estimation of the Indians that has never been enjoyed by any other Europeans. It is said that no instance has ever occurred in which a person known to be a Quaker has received a personal insult or injury from a native Indian ; and when these last were at war with every other class of European settlers, they invariably exempted the Quakers from their hostility ; for to those who neither used, nor even wore weapons of any kind, it was deemed by them a sort of cowardice and sacrilege combined to lift the club or the tomahawk of war.

In 1683 more vessels began to arrive with new settlers, most of them Quakers and other Dissenters, who withdrew from England to avoid the religious persecutions of the day ; and the high character of these classes continued to sustain the moral excellence of the general community. A second session of the legislative assembly was called, in which various modifications of the original Constitution were proposed and adopted ; the council was reduced to eighteen members, and the assembly to thirty-six, and the session closed to the complete satisfaction of all parties.

It was at this period that Penn first selected the site and

designed the plan of the present city of Philadelphia. The position was most happily chosen, between the rivers Delaware on the west and Schuylkill on the east, the distance from stream to stream being about two English miles. The length of space for the city was indefinite; but the first outline made it nearly a square of two miles on each side. The plan devised by Penn was one of the greatest regularity, the streets being made to run from river to river, in straight lines east and west, to be crossed by others at right angles, running exactly north and south, with a large square for the centre, and several other open spaces for squares and gardens in different parts of the town.

It is remarkable that the celebrated Dr. Prideaux, in his well-known work, "The Connexion of the Old and New Testament," gives a plan of ancient Babylon, and says of it, "Much according to this model hath William Penn, the Quaker, laid the ground for his City of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and, were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest city in America, and not much behind any other in the whole world." The learned dean was right in his estimate; for it is now nearly so completed, and already it may be called the most beautiful city in America, and not inferior, except in size, to any in the New World; but this belongs to the topography rather than the history of the city, and will be spoken of in its proper place.

In 1684, when the organization of the new settlement had been completed, and when happiness and contentment seemed to be the lot of all belonging to it, Penn returned to England, for the double purpose of promoting certain claims respecting the territory under Lord Baltimore, and aiding his Quaker brethren at home in their struggles against the measures pursued towards Dissenters by the Established Church. Previous to his embarkation, he appointed Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker, to be his deputy-governor, and Colonel Markham, his relative, to be his secretary, and nominated four planters to act as provincial judges; and in a parting address to his friends and followers, he thus speaks of the city he had founded: "And thou, Philadelphia! the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eyes! The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace!" At this period the

city contained about 300 houses, and the population of the whole province was estimated at about 6000 persons.

In 1687 another occasion arose in which the pacific principles of the Quakers were put to a severe test, and in which they triumphed as effectually as before. A rumour had got abroad of an intended conspiracy among the Indians, for the purpose of massacring the whole of the white population of Pennsylvania. On this occasion, Caleb Pusey, a Quaker, placed himself at the head of a small but intrepid band of five other Quakers, named by the council, and repaired with them, unarmed, to the presence of the Indian chief and his warriors. It was subsequently ascertained that no such conspiracy had been formed; but the conduct of the deputation was not the less a proof of their moral courage and firmness; and the business terminated happily between all parties.

In 1689 the first institution for the education of youth was established in Pennsylvania, under the title of "The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia," at the head of which was placed a celebrated Quaker teacher named George Keith, who afterward became a prominent character in the annals of the state. This person was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, of a strong controversial disposition, which was variously directed to important and unimportant topics. Among the former, however, he was one of the earliest to protest against the unchristian character of negro slavery, in which he was more warmly supported by the German emigrants of the colony than by the English. He afterward abjured Quakerism, embraced the tenets of the Church of England, and was subsequently sent out as a missionary to the Indians by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and was said to be very successful in making converts to his newly-adopted faith.

In 1693 a material change took place in the exercise of the ruling power over Pennsylvania. The revolution of 1688 having led to the banishment of James the Second, the patron of Penn, and the settlement of William the Third on the British throne, a colourable pretence was set up of Penn's being attached to the fallen fortunes of the exiled monarch, and of the laws having been administered in Pennsylvania in the name of the deposed sovereign after the government of William and Mary was acknowledged in other colonial dependencies of the crown; in consequence of which a royal warrant was issued, depriving Penn of his authority in America, and placing all power over Pennsylvania, as well

as New-York, in the hands of Colonel Fletcher, as the governor for the king.

Penn now retired into private life ; but during this retirement he had the good fortune to be befriended by the celebrated philosopher John Locke, who had himself been an exile in Holland under James the Second, and for whom Penn had interceded with that sovereign, so that this reciprocation of services was honourable to both parties. By the influence of Locke, Lord Somers, and other friends of Penn, the royal warrant that deprived him of his proprietary title was revoked, and he was again reinstated in his rights and authority over his province, after a suspension of about a year ; this occurred in 1694, when he invested Colonel Markham, as before, with full authority as his deputy-governor over Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The increase of the population by emigration and other causes had been going on gradually during all this time, so that in 1695 there were about 20,000 inhabitants, exclusive of negro slaves, in the province. The character of the emigrants began, however, to be somewhat different from that of the original settlers ; and there were more men attracted to the country by the hope of gain, than seeking, as formerly, an asylum from religious persecution. The wages of labour were extremely high, and persons arriving in comparative indigence were in a short time made affluent in their circumstances.

In 1696 a third " Frame of Government " was formed, by which the Council was reduced from 18 to 12 members, and the Assembly from 36 to 24. The number of counties into which the province was divided was now six, and each county sent two members to the Council and four to the Assembly.

In 1699 the benevolent Penn embarked a second time to visit his possessions in the West ; and on this occasion he was accompanied by his family, as he professed it to be his intention to spend the remainder of his days in Pennsylvania. His reception was cordial and affectionate ; and among the first measures to which his attention was directed, was one for improving the condition of negro slaves, and correcting the evils that had arisen out of the traffic between the white settlers and the native Indians, though in both he was opposed by the Council and the Assembly, to his great mortification.

In 1701, after five years' residence in Pennsylvania, embittered by many dissensions and disputes, Penn prepared

again to re-embark for England. Previous to this, however, a fourth and last "Frame of Government" was established by him, containing many amendments on the former ones; liberty of conscience was declared to be the inviolable right of all the colonists; and Christians of every denomination were pronounced to be equally eligible to all offices of government. It was just before his departure, also, that he conferred the first charter of incorporation on his favourite city of Philadelphia.

Penn did not long survive this event; for in the following year, 1701, various mortifications and disappointments, some of a political and some of a pecuniary nature, threw him into great embarrassment. He was obliged first to mortgage, and ultimately to offer to sell, to the British government the whole of his proprietary rights for the comparatively insignificant sum of £12,000 sterling; but this was not completed by reason of his illness and death, which occurred in his sixty-sixth year; after which the proprietary title was continued in his descendants, and so remained until near the period of the American Revolution.

It was in 1775 that the dissensions first began between the Quakers, who still maintained a majority in the provincial Assembly, and the governor of the province, respecting matters of taxation and military appropriations; and this ended in the gradual withdrawal of the Quakers from the legislative body, as well as from all offices of political authority, and the devotion of their time and labours to philanthropic and benevolent objects. The question of negro slavery particularly engaged their attention; for, though many efforts had been made to abolish this degrading servitude, it still existed in full vigour here. As early as 1688, the Quakers made a public declaration of their Society as to the unlawfulness of slavery.

In 1718 a work was published against slavery by an inhabitant of Long Island, named Burling, a Quaker. In 1729, a merchant of Philadelphia, named Sandiford, published another work on the same topic, called "The Mystery of Iniquity;" and three other Quakers, Benjamin Lay of Pennsylvania, John Woolman of New-Jersey, and Anthony Benezet, a Frenchman who had emigrated to Pennsylvania, followed up these efforts by writings from their respective pens. This latter philanthropist, devoting himself to the business of education, so implanted in the minds of all his pupils a horror and abhorrence of slavery, that he may be said to have raised up a new generation of abolitionists, and

thus to have contributed powerfully to promote the cessation of the evil, as most of those educated by him refused to hold slaves under any conditions, and gave freedom to those who came to them as slaves by inheritance. This spirit went on increasing till it arrived at its crisis in 1774, when the Quakers of Pennsylvania, as a body, emancipated all their slaves, and excluded from membership all those of their sect who declined to make this sacrifice of profit to principle, of which they were the first to set an example.

In 1776 Philadelphia became the scene of the memorable Declaration of American Independence, which was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, and, after careful examination and revision by the committee to which the draught was submitted, received its solemn sanction by the signatures of the enlightened and virtuous founders of American freedom, in the City Hall of Philadelphia, which still exists, about ninety years after its first foundation. The city was at that time very inconsiderable in extent or population, but it was even then characterized, as it had always been, by general intelligence, a high tone of morals, and a large share of public and private virtue.

At this period the population of Philadelphia was 5460; but, like all the other cities of the American Union, it started from this point on a new career of prosperity, and went on, under the benign influence of its newly-acquired freedom, increasing so rapidly in wealth and population, that it now contains upward of 200,000 inhabitants, and may in every respect be called one of the most agreeable and beautiful cities in the world.

As the progress of the State of Pennsylvania—of which Philadelphia is the metropolis, though not the legislative capital—is closely associated with that of the city, it may be well to glance for a moment at the general topography and resources of this valuable state, and to trace their progressive development from the wild woods of the aboriginal occupants up to the present time.

Pennsylvania is about 307 miles in length from east to west, and 190 miles in breadth from north to south; and the lines of its boundaries are so straight and well defined as to give it the form of an oblong square. It lies between the latitude of 39° and 42° N., and between the longitude of 74° and 81° W., and contains an area of 47,000 square miles or 29,935,200 acres. It is said that no region has yet been discovered, throughout the whole extent of this great Continent, more beautifully diversified in surface than Penn-

sylvania, or one in which a greater variety of mineral and botanical wealth has been concentrated into a smaller space. No portion of the whole state is level to any great extent; the extreme difference of level, however, not exceeding 1200 feet. The whole population of the state in 1830 was 1,048,458; and their proportions in the different sections of the country may be seen by this, that in the eastern divisions, near the cities and the sea, the numbers were 77 to the square mile; in the western division, bordering on Virginia and Ohio, they were 17 to the square mile; and in the central or mountainous parts they were only 10 to the square mile.

The forests of the interior of Pennsylvania are described as magnificent, and the trees as large and as varied in their kind as on any zone of the globe of the same extent. The valleys are remarkably fertile; and grain, vegetables, and fruits of almost every kind are grown in abundance and perfection. Of mineral wealth there is also a large supply; iron and coal, both anthracite and bituminous, abound, and mark out Pennsylvania as destined by Nature to be a large manufacturing as well as agricultural state. Salt-works exist also in several parts of the country; and fine marble, of the most beautiful colour and texture, is found so abundantly in every direction, that the principal public buildings, and several private edifices in Philadelphia, are constructed wholly of that material; while in some parts of the country even the farmhouses are built of this beautiful stone. Public attention is sufficiently awakened to the importance of this wealth, and especially of the iron and coal, the beds of which appear, from recent investigation, to be inexhaustible; there is, therefore, the strongest possible inducement for capitalists to turn their attention to the working of mines of both, and establishing manufactures on the spot, more especially as the state is already intersected with rivers, canals, and railroads, that make the transport of materials and goods from every part of the interior to the sea a work of expedition and economy combined.

Already, indeed, may Pennsylvania be considered a manufacturing state. In 1836 there were seventy-two cotton manufactories, in which were embarked a capital of more than 4,000,000 of dollars, or nearly a million sterling, and they made, annually, about twenty-five millions of yards of cloth. Of iron-works there were at the same time about seventy blast and air furnaces, nearly one hundred forges,

thirty rolling-mills, and two hundred manufactories of nails; nearly one hundred paper-mills, twenty glass-houses, and about fifty ropewalks. The various manufactories embraced upward of two hundred and fifty articles, and their estimated value exceeded seventy millions of dollars, or £14,000,000 sterling.

The legislative capital of Pennsylvania is at Harrisburg, a town of about 5000 inhabitants, at a distance of 100 miles from Philadelphia, and the same from Washington: central-ity of position in the state generally determining the local-ity of the capital, for the convenience of making it equally easy of access to the members of the Legislature from all the different counties. The great manufacturing town of Penn-sylvania is, however, Pittsburg, which is 200 miles west of Philadelphia, in the heart of the iron and coal district, and which, including the suburbs (one of which is called Birmingham), contains a population of 20,000 persons, nearly all of whom are engaged in the manufactories of iron carried on there. The situation of Pittsburg is such as to give it an easy communication with all the surrounding quarters, it being on a plain between the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, at the point of their junction to form the Ohio. By the former of these rivers and its branches it communicates with New-York. By the latter and a good road it communicates with Baltimore; and by the Ohio River it communicates with all the great Western States; while its communication with Philadelphia is by canal and railroad, as well as by ordinary roads. The estimated annual amount of manufactures in Pittsburg alone exceeds 20,000,000 of dollars, and the merchandise passing through that city in various directions within the same space of time is estimated at double that amount of value at least.

There are many interesting towns and settlements of inferior importance in Pennsylvania, among which may be mentioned Lancaster, about 60 miles west of Philadelphia, in the midst of an agricultural and grazing district; Reading, in the county of Berkshire, a town inhabited chiefly by Germans, and occupied with the manufacture of hats; Bethlehem, a Moravian settlement, Lebanon, Bethany, and other spots of Scriptural nomenclature, some of them inhabited by people who speak only German, and to whom the English language is literally an unknown tongue.

Such is the progressive history, and such the present condition, of this large, beautiful, and flourishing state, in which climate, soil, and production are alike favourable to wealth

and enjoyment, and where the impress of sobriety, order, industry, and improvement, originally stamped on the country by its first settlers, still continues visible in the character and condition of their descendants, as in no part of the Union is there to be seen better agriculture, more flourishing farms, more thriving manufactories, more useful public improvements, more benevolent institutions, a more general diffusion of comfort, or a higher tone of morality, than in Pennsylvania: consequences and characteristics of which its Quaker inhabitants may well be proud, as having sprung undoubtedly from the character and policy of their ancestors who first colonized it.

CHAPTER XXV.

Favourable Site or Position chosen for the City.—Original Plan of the Founder, William Penn.—Descriptions of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.—Arrangement and Names of the Streets.—Style of the private Dwellings, Exterior and Interior.—Shops, Hotels, and Boarding-houses.—Public Buildings of Philadelphia.—Old State House or Independence Hall.—The Merchants' Exchange and Postoffice.—The Banks of Philadelphia as Works of Art.—Bank of the United States.—Copy of the Parthenon.—Girard Bank and Philadelphia Bank.—Corinthian.—Mint of the United States.—Ionic Temple at Ilyssus.—University of Philadelphia, Origin and Progress.—Anatomical Museum, and Philosophical Apparatus.—Girard College, Origin and Foundation, Description of the Building by the Architect.—The Water-works at Fair Mount.—Markets of Philadelphia, Supplies.—The Navy-yard.—Line-of-battle Ship Pennsylvania.—Views of the City on approaching it by the River.

THE position chosen for the site of Philadelphia is, like that of all the large maritime cities of America I had yet seen, remarkably beautiful and advantageous. A perfectly level piece of land, lying between the Delaware River, which bounds it on the west, and the Schuylkill River, forming its margin on the east, was the spot fixed on for this purpose by its founder. By this selection, the breadth of the city was necessarily limited to about two miles, that being the distance from stream to stream; but the northern and southern limits were not so bounded by any natural barrier; and in these directions, therefore, the city *might* be made to extend to any length. The original plan contemplated, however, for the city proper, as distinguished from the suburbs, was an oblong square, of about two miles from river to river east and west, and one mile from boundary to boundary north and south, the streets running perfectly parallel to each other from river to river, and being crossed by others

of similar dimensions at right angles, so as to present the most perfect regularity in all its parts. Space was left in this design for several open squares in different quarters of the city, with lawns of grass, gravelled walks, and over-shadowing trees; and nothing seemed wanting in the design to unite beauty, salubrity, and convenience.

The original plan has been generally followed out, with strict regard to the will of the founder, with these exceptions only: that there yet remains a portion to be filled up in the western division of the city near the Schuylkill; and that on the north and south, in the eastern division, along the more frequented banks of the Delaware, the suburbs from Kensington and Spring Gardens on the north, to Southwark and Greenwich on the south, have extended in each direction so as to make the whole length of the continuous range of houses nearly five miles from north to south, while the breadth does not exceed two from east to west.

The Delaware, which washes Philadelphia on the east, is a noble stream, rising in the State of New-York about 300 miles above the point of its junction with the sea, and flowing southward through Pennsylvania, separating it on the west from the State of New-Jersey on the east, and flowing into the great bay of the Delaware below Philadelphia, from whence to the sea it is navigable for ships of 120 guns, and communicates readily with the Atlantic. It is by this river, therefore, that all the maritime commerce of Philadelphia is carried on.

The Schuylkill is a smaller stream, though navigable for schooners, sloops, and steamers of moderate burden; it is beautifully picturesque in many of its windings, where sloping lawns, forest trees, and prettily scattered villas adorn its banks.

The streets are not only symmetrical in their relative position to each other, but they are generally uniform in their dimensions; the number of the streets is about 600, and their breadth is, on the average, from 40 to 80 feet. The two largest of the transverse streets, which form a sort of cross, running through the centre of the city, the one from east to west, called High-street or Market-street, and the other from north to south, called Broad-street, are, the former 100, and the latter 113 feet broad, and they have each a railroad running through them. The carriage-ways of all the streets are paved with stone (excepting only a small portion where an experiment is trying, to pave with octagonal blocks of wood), though not so evenly as in the cities of

England. The side-pavements, which are of a well-proportioned height and breadth, are formed of diagonally-placed bricks, and are more agreeable to walk on than the flag pavements of London.

What gives the greatest beauty, however, to the streets of Philadelphia is this, that along the edge of the side-pavements, at intervals of a few feet apart, run beautiful rows of trees, which, when in full foliage, give a verdure, freshness, coolness, and shade most agreeable to the eye, and most delicious to the feelings of the passenger. Scarcely anything can be imagined more beautiful, in streets at least, than the sight of one of these long avenues, reaching from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, a length of two miles, lined with trees throughout the whole way, and the termination of the vista at each extremity reposing on the opposite banks of the respective streams.

In the streets running north and south, the trees flourish best on both sides, as there each has the advantage of the sun for a portion of the day; but in the streets running east and west, the trees flourish best on the north side, from their having the sun during many hours, while those on the south side have only the beams of the rising and setting sun, and that only when he is north of the equator, so that they are here fewer in number, and do not flourish so well.

The arrangement of the names of the streets is such as makes it perfectly easy for a stranger to find his way over every part of the city with ease. The streets running east and west, from river to river, are generally called by proper names, after some tree of the forest. The streets intersecting them, and running north and south, are called numerically, beginning from each river front, and advancing till they meet in the centre. For instance, the first street westward from the Delaware, and running nearly parallel with it, is called Front-street, the next beyond it westward is called Second-street, then Third-street, and so on till Thirteenth-street, which is near the centre of the city. In the same manner, the first street eastward from the Schuylkill, and running nearly parallel with it, is called Schuylkill Front, the next Schuylkill Second, then Schuylkill Third, and so on till it meets the thirteenth street counting from the Delaware side, and thus fills up the whole breadth of the city.

The numbers of the houses follow in the same order of enumeration, beginning from the river on each side, and going on to the centre of the city, the even numbers being

on the south and the odd numbers on the north side. The custom is, however, to name the positions of certain buildings, shops, or houses, not so much by their numbers as their relative positions with respect to streets. Thus it would be said, "Mr. A. lives in Walnut, between Ninth and Tenth," the word "street" being rarely mentioned; and by this description the stranger knows, within a very few doors, where the residence or building he is in search of may be found; as he has only to enter Walnut-street, and walk onward till he gets between Ninth and Tenth streets, and the locality is found.

The names of the streets, it has been observed, are mostly derived from forest trees, and it is said that each street was called after the particular kind of tree that grew on the spot where the street itself now stands. The sylvan origin of the city is thus strikingly preserved in its nomenclature; and the following, selected from the alphabetical lists of the streets, will show to what extent this has been carried: Acorn, Alder, Almond, Apple, Ash, Aspen, Beech, Blackberry, Cedar, Cherry, Chesnut, Clover, Currant, Cypress, Elm, Filbert, Grape, Juniper, Laurel, Lemon, Locust, Magnolia, Maple, Melon, Mulberry, Oak, Olive, Orange, Peach, Pear, Pine, Plum, Poplar, Prune, Quince, Raspberry, Rose, Sassafras, Spruce, Strawberry, Vine, Walnut, and Willow.

The private dwellings are almost uniformly built of red brick, well executed, and the entrance to all the best houses is by a flight of marble steps, generally edged with an iron balustrade, and sometimes terminated by a small and neat portico of gray or white marble columns. The brasswork of the railings and doors is always in a high state of polish; the doors are usually painted white, and often ornamented with carvings or mouldings in panels; the window-glass is invariably beautifully clean, and the aspect of the whole presents a combination of purity, comfort, and repose.

In the interior decorations and furniture of the houses we visited there was less of ostentatious display than in New-York, but more luxurious ease than in Baltimore; and, above all, an undisturbed serenity peculiar to this city, and quite in harmony with its Quaker origin. There are of course here, as everywhere, many houses of inferior size and quality; but there are fewer of these, in proportion to the whole number in Philadelphia, than in any city we had yet visited. On the other hand, there are some few mansions that would be accounted spacious and beautiful even in London. That of Mr. Newkirk, a wealthy merchant, in Arch-street, built

wholly of white marble, with a noble and chaste Ionic portico in front, is in the best taste for its architecture, and as beautiful as it is chaste.

The shops in Philadelphia are much more elegant than those of New-York or Baltimore. Some of those in Chesnut-street, which corresponds to the Broadway of New-York and Regent-street of London—as uniting the fashionable lounge and shopping promenade—are equal to any on Ludgate Hill, and as well stored within as they are attractive from without.

The hotels are neither so large nor so comfortable as those of New-York or Baltimore. There is nothing like the Astor House for size, nor the Eutaw for convenience; though the Mansion House, the Merchants', and the Washington are all excellent hotels, and superior to any of the older establishments of the same kind in the city.

The boarding-houses are about the same in character and in quality as those in the two other cities named. The same inconveniences attach to them in quite as large a degree. The hour of breakfast is half past seven, and before eight the table is entirely cleared. The dinner is at two, and before half past two the greater number have finished and departed. The sleeping-room of the boarders is their only sitting-room, in which they can be alone by day, as the drawing-room is common to all; and the domestic service is so bad, that nothing is well cooked or well served, even at the regular hours; and if the meals are not taken then, nothing can be had at any other hours of the day.

Of the public buildings of Philadelphia, the first in historical interest and importance is undoubtedly the Old State House, or Independence Hall, as it is now more generally termed. This is a large and oldfashioned brick structure, having been commenced in 1729 and finished in 1734, nearly in the middle of the business-part of the city, its northern front being towards Chesnut-street, and its southern front towards a fine open square, well planted with large trees, and called Independence Square, where public political meetings are most frequently held. The State House presents an extensive façade; and from its centre rises a small open tower, from whence the best view of the interior of the city is to be enjoyed. The lower part of the building is occupied by the city courts and offices connected with the municipal government; and in the upper part is the room in which the first American Congress sat, and in which the original Declaration of Independence by the United States was first

ratified and signed by the leaders of the Revolution. The room is, from this circumstance, called Independence Hall; and with a people so sensitively alive as even the most apathetic of the Americans are to everything connected with this great foundation of their independence and their liberties, it may easily be imagined how warmly they cherish and how deeply they venerate everything connected with this, to them, classical and hallowed apartment.

It appears that, some time since, the ruling authorities of the city made some alterations in this room which disturbed its identity; but the spirit of the people, roused by what they considered a desecration of this cherished relic, had the changes speedily removed, and the room restored as nearly as possible to the state in which it was when the Declaration of Independence there received its signatures; in which condition it is now shown with enthusiasm to all strangers visiting Philadelphia.

It is remarkable that the old bell which occupied the open tower or cupola of this State House, and which was used for the purpose of assembling the people in Colonial times, had cast on it as a motto the following quotation from the Old Testament: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the people thereof." The bell still occupies its original position; and, having fulfilled the injunction inscribed upon its surface, by announcing to the inhabitants of Philadelphia the signature of the Declaration of Independence, it is preserved with as much veneration as the Hall itself; and both will, no doubt, be carefully guarded to the latest posterity. Some spirited lines, addressed to the Old State House by an American poet, Andrew M'Makin, are seen here, preceded by the motto from our own poet, Thomas Campbell,

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye:"

and the following stanzas breathe the spirit and feeling that seem to animate every American bosom when visiting this honoured edifice :

"Cradle of Independence, hail !
Within thy walls first breathed the fire
Which, Heaven-directed, shall prevail,
Till Time's own power itself expire.

"That band of patriot heroes *here*
In conclave pledged their life and fame,
To guard their country's honour dear,
And kindle glory round her name.

"Brave ancient pile ! long mayst thou trace
The sacred spot first blazon'd FREE !
And no rude Goth one stone displace,
Proud Monument of Liberty."

The associations which this venerable pile must always awaken in the breast of the American patriot can hardly fail to be agreeable; and it stands so entirely in the centre of the bustle of the town, that no one can visit Philadelphia without seeing it, or without being pleased with its many interesting objects. In front of it is a broad brick pavement, forming an excellent promenade, and two rows of trees afford an avenue of delightful verdure and shade for the passengers. The square behind was the favourite place of resort and deliberation for Washington, Hancock, Franklin, and the 'great men of the Revolution; and it, and the almost adjoining space of Washington Square, are still among the most open, well-planted, and agreeable public walks of the city.

The Merchants' Exchange is another of the public buildings that does great honour to Philadelphia. It occupies the angle at the junction of Walnut and Third streets, and is said to stand on the exact spot where formerly was a small stream with a beaver's dam, at the edge of an Indian settlement. The structure is a very handsome one, from the design of Mr. Strickland, the city architect. It is built of white marble from the quarries of Pennsylvania, and the semicircular projecting front which it presents towards Dock-



street, with its fine rotunda, colonnade, and tower, gives an air of great architectural beauty to the whole building. In the interior of the rotunda are some fine designs in alto-relievo, by an Italian artist, Monachesi, and the floor is inlaid with mosaic work. A spacious reading-room, furnished with papers from all parts of the world, is constantly filled

with readers; and around, and connected with the building, are the Postoffice, insurance companies, and many other public establishments connected with navigation and commerce, so that it is always a very busy and animated scene.

The banks of Philadelphia may well be numbered among the public edifices; and, taken as a whole, are certainly more beautiful, as works of architecture, than those of any other city I remember, not even excepting London or Paris.

The Bank of the United States, which is in Chestnut-street, immediately opposite to the United States Hotel, is a perfect specimen of the pure Doric temples of the Greeks. It is said, indeed, to be a copy of the Temple of the Parthenon at Athens; but this is hardly correct, as it is inferior in size, and wants also the peripteral colonnade which surrounds that edifice, this having only the portico in front.



The whole edifice is, however, in such good proportions, so chastely free from all spurious decoration, so simple and majestic in its ascending flights of steps, running the whole length of the front, with balustrade or surbasement, and is, moreover, built of such fine large blocks of pure and almost Parian marble, that it may be pronounced one of the best specimens of the Doric, in the purest times of Greek architecture, to be seen anywhere out of Greece itself. Its length is 161 feet, and breadth 87. The portico has eight fluted Doric pillars of $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet diameter. The interior is Ionic, the banking-room being 81 feet long and 48 wide, and it has lightness, space, simplicity, and convenience, united in the highest possible degree.

The Girard Bank, in Third-street, is a noble structure,

with a richly-decorated front and portico of Corinthian fluted columns, and entablatures of sculptured designs.



The Philadelphia Bank, in Chesnut-street, also of the Corinthian order, presents a fine façade of white marble, and an elevated portico. And the United States Mint, in Chesnut-street, farther to the west, is a fine Ionic structure, built by the city architect, Mr. Strickland, from drawings and measurements of a beautiful Ionic temple of the Greeks on the banks of the River Ilyssus, near Athens. This also is built entirely of the pure white marble which abounds in Pennsylvania, and than which the famed quarries of Paros or Pentelicus could hardly furnish a better.

The public edifices connected with education are numerous, but only a few of them are remarkable for their size or architectural beauty. The public and private schools are commodious, and well adapted to their respective purposes, but offer little attraction in their appearance.

The University of Philadelphia is now the principal public institution of this description. It was originally a charity school, and afterward an academy, and as such it was endowed and chartered in 1753. It was erected into a college in 1779, three years after the Declaration of Independence; and in 1789 it received the dignity of a University. Its tuition embraces the four departments of arts, medicine, natural science, and law; it has four professors of arts, five of natural science, one of law, and seven of medicine. In the latter branch alone, upward of 500 students receive instruction every year, and about an equal number in all the

other departments collectively. There is a fine anatomical museum belonging to the University, and its philosophical and chymical apparatus are equal to that of any similar institution in Europe. I had the pleasure to see them all, under the direction of Dr. Hares, the celebrated inventor of the improved blowing pipe, who is professor of chymistry in the institution. The buildings of the University, of which there are two, are situated in North-street. They are five substantial mansions, without much decoration, but in good taste; and being surrounded with ample space, and a fine grassplat in front, between each other, they present a good appearance to the view.

The Girard College, now in the course of erection in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, will be one of the finest edifices of modern times as a work of art alone, and a monument of private munificence to the cause of education, such as few countries in the world possess. The large sum of two millions of dollars was given at his death by Mr. Stephen Girard, the rich banker of Philadelphia, recently deceased, to build this college, for the education of such orphans as were without the means of otherwise obtaining it.

Mr. Girard was a Frenchman of the humblest origin, and came to this city a poor man. By great industry, shrewdness, parsimony, and good fortune—for his success was owing to a combination of all these—he acquired immense wealth, and at his death left seven millions of dollars, two millions of which were given for the erection of the buildings of this institution, and the residue of his estate, after paying some inconsiderable legacies, was appropriated to its endowment; so that it is thought there will be at the least a fund of five millions of dollars, or one million sterling, as a permanent investment; the interest of which, in this country not less than £60,000 sterling per annum, will be at the disposal of the trustees for annual expenditure.

A remarkable condition of this institution, enjoined by the will of Mr. Girard, is this, that "no clergyman, preacher, teacher, or minister of any sect of religion, shall have any share in the trusteeship, management, direction, or tuition of the college; but from all these shall be absolutely and forever excluded." The motive for this condition is alleged to have been his determination to guard against any possible sectarian predominance, from a belief that it would operate, if established, disadvantageously to the just distribution of the privileges of the institution to the various claimants for admission, according to their respective modes of faith.

Mr. Girard was himself, nominally, a Roman Catholic. His directions respecting the building of the college, which were very circumstantial and minute, ordered that it should be a plain substantial structure. But the executors, to whom the expenditure of the money is intrusted, having ascertained that his directions could not be literally and exactly complied with in every particular, have exercised their discretion in departing from the design of the founder in this particular; and it will no doubt form as superb an edifice as the most ardent admirer of the splendid and the beautiful could desire.

The foundation-stone of the building was laid on the 4th of July, 1833 (the 57th anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence), with becoming honours, by the architect, Thomas U. Walter, surrounded by the civic authorities and the building-committee, with an immense concourse of the citizens of Philadelphia, on which occasion a very eloquent and appropriate address was delivered by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the celebrated financier of America, and president of the United States Bank. I insert this address in the Appendix, among the other documents worthy of preservation, as illustrating the state of the country; first, because it furnishes the best abstract of the origin, nature, and design of the institution itself, and next, because it is a fine specimen of the learning, ability, and good taste which characterize its accomplished author, and which is admitted by those most hostile to him in his financial capacity.*

We had the advantage of seeing this noble structure, now rapidly advancing towards completion, twice; once under the guidance of the benevolent philanthropist, Mr. Matthew Carey, of this city, and next, in company with the architect himself, by whom the following brief but accurate description of the building was furnished to me:

The Girard College is situated about one and a half miles northwest of the centre of the city, on a tract of land containing forty-five acres, the whole of which was appropriated by Mr. Girard exclusively to the purposes of the institution.

The main building, which is the subject of this description, is composed in the Corinthian order of Grecian architecture; it covers a space of 184 by 243 feet, and consists of an octastyle peripteral superstructure, resting upon a basement of eight feet in height, composed entirely of steps extending around the whole edifice, by which a pyramidal

* See Appendix No. VII.

appearance is given to the substruction, and a means of approach to the porticoes afforded from every side. The dimensions of the stylobate (or platform on which the columns stand) are 159 feet on the fronts by 217 feet on the flanks; and the cell, or body of the building, measures 111 feet by 169 feet 2 inches. The whole height from the ground to the apex of the roof is 100 feet.

The columns are thirty-four in number; the diameter of the shaft at the top of the base is six feet, and at the bottom of the capital five feet; the height of the capital is eight feet six inches, and its width from the extreme corners of the abacus nine feet; the whole height of the column, including capital and base, is fifty-five feet.

The entablature is sixteen feet three inches high, and the greatest projection of the cornice from the face of the frieze is four feet nine inches; the elevation of the pediment is twenty feet five inches, being one ninth of the span.

The capitals of the columns are proportioned from those of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens; they are divided in height into four courses: the first embraces the water leaf, and consists of a single stone of seventeen inches in thickness; the second course is also composed of a single stone, the height of which is two feet ten inches; the annular row of acanthus leaves occupies the whole of this course; the third division of the capital embraces the volutes and the cauliculi; this course, which is likewise two feet ten inches in height, is composed of two pieces, having the vertical joint between the cauliculi on two opposite faces; the fourth or upper course, being the abacus, is one foot five inches in height.

The ceiling of the portico will be formed by beams resting on the tenia, and extending from the cell of the building to the colonnade opposite to each column; the spaces between the beams will be filled in with rich lacunaria.

The corners of the building are finished with massive antæ, having bases and capitals composed upon the principles of Grecian architecture.

The flanks of the cell are pierced with windows, which are ornamented with the Greek antæ, surmounted with architraves and cornices.

The doors of entrance are in the centre of the north and south fronts; they are each sixteen feet wide in the clear by thirty-two feet high; their outside finish consists of antepagmenta of two feet seven inches wide, the supercilium of which is surmounted with a frieze and cornice; the cor-

nice is supported by rich consoles of six and a half feet in height, and the cymatium is ornamented with sculptured honeysuckles. The exterior of the whole structure will be composed of fine white marble, slightly tinted with blue.

The vestibules, which are approached by means of the doors at each end of the building, are ornamented with marble antæ, columns, and entablature of the Greek Ionic order, which support a vaulted ceiling, consisting of elliptical groin arches, enriched with frets, guilloches, and lacunaria; the columns, which are sixteen in number, will each be composed of a single piece of marble; the proportions of the order are from the temple on the Ilyssus at Athens.

The lobbies in the second story are directly over the vestibules, and occupy the same space. The columns in this story, which are also sixteen in number, will be composed in the simplest form of Corinthian or foliated architecture, proportioned from those of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrethes at Athens; the entablature will be surmounted with groin arches, similar to those in the vestibules, the soffits of which will be enriched with lacunaria.

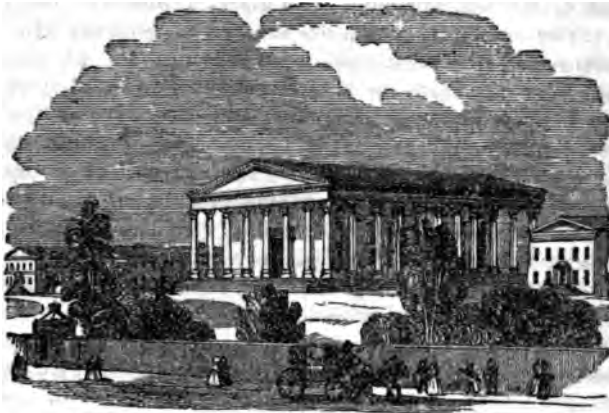
The stairways will all be composed of marble; they will be constructed in the four corners of the building, each occupying a space of twenty-two by twenty-six feet, extending the whole height of the edifice; these openings will each be crowned with a pendentive parabolic dome, surmounted with a skylight of ten feet in diameter; the height of the skylight from the floor will be eighty feet.

The building is three stories in height; each of which is twenty-five feet from floor to floor: there are four rooms of fifty feet square in each story. Those of the first and second stories are vaulted with groin arches, and those of the third story with domes supported on pendentives, which spring from the corners of the rooms at the floor, and assume the form of a circle on the horizontal section at the height of nineteen feet. These rooms are lighted by means of skylights of sixteen feet in diameter. All the domes are terminated below the plane of the roof, and the skylights are designed to project but one foot above, so as not to interfere with the character of the architecture.

The whole building will be warmed by means of furnaces placed in the cellar, and every apartment will be ventilated upon philosophical principles.

For my own part, having examined this building with more than usual scrutiny, I am prepared to say, that in no country have I ever seen, either among the ruins of ancient

or the works of modern days, a more beautiful structure than this, or one in which chasteness of design, richness of decoration, and exquisite skill of workmanship were more happily combined; yet every part of it is of unassisted American execution. When the grounds are completed, and the trees around it full grown, it will be one of the most beautiful spots in the country, and well reward a visit to Philadelphia.



The Water-works at Fair Mount may take rank with the Girard College, if not for architectural taste, yet for its charming situation, its agreeable prospects, and its combination of beauty, simplicity, and utility in the highest degree. We visited this spot early after our arrival in Philadelphia, and were sufficiently pleased with the excursion to repeat it more than once afterward; as a place of summer resort it has few superiors. There is a bridge across the river near this, which furnishes a good specimen of the difference between these structures in England and America. With us, bridges are almost wholly constructed of stone; in the United States they are generally of wood, and are enclosed with sides and roofs, so that they form long arched tunnels over the streams, with windows on each side for light and air. This is said to be necessary to their preservation: as the rain, snow, and sun, each operating powerfully in succession, would soon otherwise rot the wood, and destroy the whole structure.

Fair Mount, the original name of the hill which occupies this locality, rising on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill to a considerable height above the top of the loftiest houses in

Philadelphia, was thought to be an eligible spot on which to construct a reservoir of water, from whence the city might be supplied by pipes at all seasons. The determination being made to effect this, the top of the hill was scarped down to form a level platform ; and this, extended by embankments on either side, was made sufficiently spacious to admit of several large basins or reservoirs being excavated therein, to contain the water required.

The next process was to construct a dam across the Schuylkill River, at this point less than a quarter of a mile broad, and then erect large water-wheels, to be moved by the current of the stream drawn from the dam; these wheels, putting in motion the requisite number of forcing-pumps, propel the water from the river to the reservoirs, a perpendicular height of about fifty feet above the level of the stream. From thence, being at least fifty feet higher than the general level of the houses in Philadelphia, it is readily conveyed to all the houses requiring it, in every part of the city. The power of this simple machinery is sufficient to supply the city with twenty millions of gallons of water per day, if so much were needed ; but the actual consumption of the city is about ten millions of gallons per day in the summer, and five millions of gallons per day in the winter, the wheels never being impeded in their motion by the ice, however thick, and an undercurrent being always available, in the severest winter, to keep up the continuous supply.

The expense of this luxury is, on the average, from three to five dollars yearly only for an entire family. The whole cost of the works, from first to last, including the spacious grounds and shrubberies attached, and the commodious house of entertainment for visitors, with all its auxiliaries, has been about a million of dollars ; but it pays ample interest, and is a most profitable and economical outlay. The scenery of the surrounding region is extremely beautiful ; the prospect from the eminences, to which flights of stairs ascend, is extensive ; and the whole aspect of the place is that of enjoyment and repose.

While the city is thus abundantly and cheaply supplied with water, care has been taken to secure an equally easy and abundant supply of all the other provisions of life. Market-street, or, as it is sometimes called, High-street, is the central one of the parallel streets that run from the Delaware to the Schuylkill east and west, and it is nearly double the breadth of all the other streets of the city, excepting only the transverse central street called Broad-street,

which crosses it at right angles from north to south, and intersects the city into four quarters by a perfect cross. Market-street is 12,500 feet in length from river to river, and about 150 feet in breadth. Along the centre of it runs the covered ways for the public markets, one of which, from the Delaware westward, is a mile in length. The interior is admirably arranged for the purpose, and well sheltered; and in the space on each side is the railway, communicating between Baltimore and New-York through Philadelphia. The markets of this city are accounted the best in the United States for abundance, good quality, and cheapness in the supplies. They are opened at daylight; and so early are the hours of business here among all classes, that before eight o'clock in the morning the markets are almost all cleared.

The Navy-yard at Philadelphia, which is seated on the southern extremity of the city by Southwark and Greenwich, on the west bank of the Delaware, differs in nothing from those of New-York and Washington, being provided with all the necessary conveniences and materials for building and equipping ships of the largest size, but not possessing, as in the British navy-yards, dry docks for repairs. One of the largest ships in the world has recently been built at this navy-yard, and named the *Pennsylvania*. She is pierced for 130 guns of the largest calibre, and is several hundred tons larger than the largest ship-of-war in any European navy. She had sailed for Norfolk before my arrival; but I have been assured by competent and impartial judges, that she was as beautiful in form and model as she was stupendous in size and strength, which I can readily believe, as no candid seaman would deny that, in their ships of war as well as in their merchant vessels, the Americans have evinced a decided superiority in taste to their British progenitors.

The appearance of the navy-yard on the approach to the city by the Delaware is very striking: the immense covered shed under which the *Pennsylvania* was built is still erect, looking like a gigantic magazine, being 270 feet long, 84 wide, and 103 feet high, and towering above all the other buildings, except the steeples of the city; while a sweep of the shore beyond, in a graceful concave curve, exhibits the long line of the city-wharves, with innumerable ships and smaller craft, as far as Kensington, the suburb which terminates the northern view in the distance.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Prisons of Reformation in Philadelphia.—Visit to the Prison of Moyamensing.—State and Condition of this Establishment.—Statistics of Crime and Disease.—Personal inspection of the Convicts at their Labour.—Effects of Solitary Confinement without Labour.—Benefits of Solitary Confinement with Labour.—The Eastern Penitentiary or State Prison.—Statistics of Crime and Disease there.—Proportions of Natives and Foreigners, and white and coloured Races.—Churches of Philadelphia, old and new.—Religious Sects, and their comparative Numbers.—Establishments for Education, public and private.—Report on the State of Education in Pennsylvania.—Philosophical Society and Athenæum.—Historical Relics in the Athenæum.—Character of its Secretary, Mr. John Vaughan.—Characteristic Letter of Benjamin Franklin.—Tomb of Franklin in Philadelphia.—Epitaph.—Philadelphia Library.—Franklin Institute.—Academy of Sciences.—New Museum.—Musical-fund Hall.—Public Concerts.—Public Squares for Promenades.—Newspapers.—Periodicals.—Bookstores.

THE prisons of Philadelphia are remarkable for their structure as edifices, and still more so for their excellence in arrangement, efficiency in discipline, and, above all, in their conduciveness to the reformation of the unhappy victims who become their inmates. There is perhaps nothing in all the institutions of the country in which the Americans manifest a greater superiority to the English than in their treatment of prisoners. It is matter of common observation in England that, owing to the congregated manner in which criminals live in the prisons at home, few ever come out without being made more immoral by contamination than when they went in, and none appear to come out less so. In this country, on the contrary, there are none who come out worse, but almost all are made better by their confinement in solitary cells, substituting habits of industry, order, cleanliness, and reflection for those of idleness, disorder, filth, and recklessness, and placing themselves in a fair way to recommence life anew in an honest and useful career. In a national point of view, perhaps, there is no object of greater importance than this; and I was therefore anxious to examine the prisons of Philadelphia, and investigate their system of discipline in detail.

The first that we visited was the county prison, in the suburb or quarter of Philadelphia called Moyamensing, to the south of the city. We had the advantage of being attended there by the architect who built it, Mr. Walker, and who was thoroughly conversant with all its arrangements. This building is of comparatively recent erection, and is made to contain the prisoners that were formerly confined in several jails within the city; it being the wise policy of

the present race to remove from the interior of the cities in America two descriptions of public works that ought never to have been placed amid congregated dwellings, namely, prisons for the confinement and reformation of criminals, and cemeteries for the burial of the dead ; both of which are now fast removing to the suburbs and surrounding country.

The building is constructed in what is called the castellated style, and is extremely massive, with large gates, battlements, turrets, and tower. It is built of a fine bluish-gray



granite, admirably worked, with deep-set, pointed-arch windows, in oak frames, and long narrow slits in the turrets and tower, giving it the appearance of a baronial castle of the feudal ages ; and, as a work of architecture, it is highly imposing. It was commenced in pursuance of an act of the State Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1831, and was completed in 1836, at a cost of 300,000 dollars, or about 60,000*l*. The sale, however, of the land on which the other prisons stood in the city, at the enhanced value of such property, with the disposal of their materials, and the saving in the co-operative management of three prisons combined in one, more than reimburses the whole outlay, and makes it a matter of actual profit, in a pecuniary sense, to the funds of the state.

The interior is so constructed as that each prisoner, whatever the nature of his offence or the term of his confinement, has a separate cell or room to himself. Long avenues or corridors, leading from a common centre, extending nearly 400 feet in a straight line, and being about 20 feet in breadth, have on each side three rows of these separate

rooms, in three separate stories, all marked and numbered for registry and inspection, to the extent of 204 cells in each corridor; each of the stories is approached by a long iron balcony, and iron bridges cross the corridor at intervals. We entered several of these apartments, and found each to be a vaulted room about twelve feet by ten, and about twelve feet high, with a large grated window for light and air, and apertures in the walls for draught ventilation. The rooms were all remarkable for their extreme cleanliness, and the total absence of any disagreeable smell, though there is a well-concealed closet in each room, but so constructed as to ensure its own purification; while water from the Fair Mount Waterworks, some miles off, is conveyed by pipes and a brass cock into each room. In each was a neat clean bedstead, with excellent bedding, a chair, table, with clean linen, a box for clothes, and a Bible.

Except the solitude, there was nothing that had the air of a prison about it; and tens of thousands of the peasantry and artisans of Britain live in far inferior apartments. The entrance into each cell is by a double door, the outer one being a solid mass of iron, with bolts and bars, and the inner one, separated from it by the thickness of the wall, about two feet, is an open grating-work of iron, through which the prisoner can at any time be seen by the inspector, and a small hatch, through which his food and other necessities are conveyed to him. The temperature of the whole establishment is regulated by flues, so that no fires are necessary in any of the cells or corridors, while the whole is kept at a heat adapted to the health and labour of the individuals.

During the present year, 1838, a committee was appointed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to examine into the condition of the Moyamensing Prison, and report their opinion to the state. The investigation appears to have been conducted with great impartiality and fairness, and the statistical information obtained by these inquiries was eminently useful and instructive. The substance of their report, in the accuracy of which the greatest confidence is placed, may be thus briefly stated:

"The institution is under the control of a board of inspectors, consisting of twelve citizens, who are required to serve without any pecuniary compensation. They are appointed by the courts of the city and county, and are so arranged into classes as that one fourth of the number go out of office yearly. Three of their number, who are delegated monthly, act as visiting inspectors, whose duty it is to go to the prison at least once a week, and oftener if needful, and examine into its state and condition.

"There are also a superintendent and matron, who reside in the institution, and are prohibited from absenting themselves for a single night, unless with the consent of two inspectors, in writing; and the matron must also have the consent of the superintendent. The apartment occupied by the females is under the special charge of the matron. It is made the duty of the keepers to inspect the condition of the prisoners committed to their care at least twice a day, and oftener if practicable. The physician is required to visit the prison once a day, and prescribe for the sick, and once a month to see every convict, and report monthly in writing to the inspectors.

"Agreeably to the act of April, 1835, persons convicted of any crime, the punishment of which would be imprisonment in the jail and penitentiary-house of Philadelphia for a period of time under two years, are required to be sent into this prison, to be kept in separate and solitary confinement at labour.

"The number of persons committed from June 1st, 1836, till December 31st of the same year, was 2576, exclusive of those received from the Arch-street prison. The whole number of commitments during the year 1837 was 4279. The total number of convictions, 386; the number discharged by the magistrates who issued the commitments, 1799; and the total number enlarged by the judges of the courts, attorney-general, inspectors, and other persons, and in due course of law, is 2048; deaths, 4.

"Different kinds of mechanical pursuits are carried on in the prison; such as cordwaining in all its branches, manufacture of checks and plaids, the cabinet business, blacksmithing, &c. The manufactures are sold by an agent or commission merchant, who is directed to obtain the highest price. The proceeds of the articles sold are vested in the general fund, for the purpose of providing the raw material and tools used in manufacturing; and in case there is a surplus, it is applied towards defraying the annual expenditure of the prison. In order to encourage habits of industry, an account is kept with each prisoner at work, and when discharged, if he has accomplished more than was assigned him to do, the inspectors pay the prisoner one half of the value of the overwork. This practice, while it tends to stimulate the unfortunate convict to greater industry, at the same time furnishes him the means of subsistence for a short period after, by pardon or expiration of the sentence, he obtains his liberty. It is certainly best that prisoners should not be set at large perfectly destitute, and thereby exposed to inducements to the commission of crime, which hunger and want of the necessary comforts may occasion.

"It is found that, with but rare exceptions, the prisoners prefer employment, as a means of rendering the solitary confinement more tolerable; and as a consequence, the entire establishment, under the skilful management of its officers, exhibits an interesting scene of almost constant and systematic industry.

"It is true that prisoners, being received under the law into this prison for crimes of the inferior grades, are usually sentenced by the court for periods too short to enable those who have no trade to become very proficient; yet still it is found they can soon be taught so as to be useful. The statistics of the institution prove that a large proportion of those annually committed are either without any trades, or possessing a very imperfect knowledge of those they profess, and many cannot read or write.

"The object of the separate confinement being the reformation and instruction of the prisoners, the efforts of the officers of the institution are greatly aided by the humane exertions of some benevolent associations in the City of Philadelphia. Among these is the 'Philadelphia

Society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons. 'This association, under the name of 'the Philadelphia Society for assisting distressed prisoners,' was originally formed in 1776, and, after a short but useful existence, was dissolved in the year 1777. In the year 1787, some of the surviving members of the society just mentioned, and some other individuals, reorganized the association under the style and title it now bears. It has the enviable fame of being the first to reduce the humane and philosophic theory of preventive and reforming punishments, by the separate confinement and instruction of prisoners, to the unerring test of successful experiment. The acting committee of this society are, under the law, official visitors.

"In the management of the establishment, the injunctions of the law are observed with fidelity, and every visiter can bear testimony to the cleanliness and neatness of the prison, and also to the cleanliness and healthful appearance of the convicts generally. The prisoners, both those tried and sentenced as well as those untried, express themselves entirely satisfied with their treatment. They speak kindly of the officers, and admit that they were well fed and clothed, and as comfortable as they could be in a life of solitude.

"They seem utterly ignorant of passing events without, and, owing to the admirable plan of the cells, can have no communication with each other. The cells being sufficiently roomy, are lighted, ventilated, and heated in such manner as to contribute largely to the health and personal comfort of the inmates. The superior excellence of this mode of punishment is manifested by the fact that the mortality is greatly less than it was in the Arch-street jail. The inspectors, in a report made during the last session of the Legislature to a committee of the House of Representatives, hold the following language, viz.: 'There is no less than twenty-five deaths in five months in the Arch-street prison, and only eight in seven months in the untried apartment in the Philadelphia county prison, or 25 deaths out of 1443 committed to the Arch-street, and only 8 deaths out of 2576 committed to the Philadelphia county prison.' The principle of separate confinement is carried out, without any exception, in the cases of persons who have been tried and sentenced; but the number of vagrants and others who are committed upon complaints, of which many are frivolous, and some turn out to be groundless, so fills the prison as occasionally to create a necessity for placing two in the same cell in the untried apartment. In no instance, however, are the different sexes permitted to see or converse with each other.

"This institution has been in operation since the first of June, 1836, and at first laboured under the disadvantage of having cells at once nearly filled with prisoners from the Arch-street and Walnut-street jails, who had been accustomed to comparatively loose discipline, and to be indulged in mingling in each other's society; yet, whatever difficulties had in the outset to be encountered in the benevolent effort to introduce the penitentiary system of punishment, there now prevails a discipline and economy in the management of the affairs of the establishment admirably calculated to accomplish the ends of the law.

"The expenses of such an establishment, destined for the reception of all persons charged with crime, among so vast a population as that of the city and county of Philadelphia, must necessarily be great: it averages per annum about 23,225 dollars. This, however, merits but little consideration, when contrasted with the great benefits, in a moral point of view, that flow from such a wise expenditure of money. The introduction of solitary confinement, accompanied with labour, and instruction in the principles of morality and in some of the mechanical

arts, it is confidently believed, has had an effect, to a certain extent at least, of not only working reformation, but of deterring others from the perpetration of crime, and of breaking up companies of dissolute men who were associated for the purpose of obtaining livelihoods by stealing and other unlawful means."

From the statistical tables accompanying the report the following facts are selected. Of the numbers committed to this prison in one year, 1837, the total was 4279. The largest numbers were: for drunkenness, 156; stealing, 762; assault and battery, 962. The smallest numbers were: sending a challenge, 1; robbery, 1; manslaughter, 1. Of 218 convicts, that were taken as an average from the whole number for examination into their condition and habits, it was found that 69 could neither read nor write, 58 could read only, and 91 could read and write. Of the same number, 134 were of intemperate habits, 35 moderate in their use of drink, and 49 were abstemious or more moderate: but there were none who abstained altogether from strong drink: 187 were convicted for the first time, 29 for the second time, and two for the third time. Of 205 untried prisoners in the institution, 128 were intemperate, 48 moderate, and 29 abstemious in their use of strong drinks; 110 could neither read nor write, 41 could read, and 54 could read and write. The cases of disease that occurred in the prison in 1837 were 113, of which 91 were cured, nine relieved, and 13 died. The cases of syphilis were 31; of delirium tremens, 30; of fever, 12; of consumption, eight. In all these cases the coloured persons were more numerous than the whites, in the proportion of about three to two, which is the usual proportion of their numbers in the institution generally.

We saw many of the convicts at their labour; some weaving at a small loom in their own cell, others making shoes, and some engaged in other occupations. The prisoners, as they came in for different offences and for different periods, and as they are also of very different dispositions, are not all treated alike. The severest punishment is confinement without labour, in a dark cell, on half a pound of bread per day. A step less severe is to admit light, and the usual supply of food, but to deny the prisoner the pleasure of labouring, by taking away his work and all the materials of it. This is in general found to be severe enough to bring them to a sense of duty, and to make them entreat for the restoration of their labour on almost any terms.

It has been found, indeed, that solitary confinement with-

out labour, if too prolonged, will produce insanity ; but with labour it allows the fullest scope for reflection, and thus produces the best kind of moral reformation ; good resolutions, founded on a conviction of their utility to the interests of the person making them ; besides which, it gives habits of industry to the indolent, preserves such habits to those in whom they were only broken or suspended, and lays up for the labourer, as the produce of his own efforts, after his task for self-maintenance has been performed, a sum that enables him to remove himself from the place of his disgrace to one where he is unknown, and to begin the world anew with a small capital in money and an unsuspected reputation. An instance recently occurred in which a discharged individual, who had been confined for the full term of two years, had 120 dollars paid to him as the produce of his extra labour, or about 25*l.* sterling.

Since the completion of the prison for criminals, a smaller county-prison for debtors has been erected near to it, adjoining the general pile. This is built of a red freestone, not unlike the Syenite granite of Egypt in colour ; and the façade is that of an Egyptian temple, the details being all copied from the great French work on Egypt ; their combination being the architect's own. As an object for the eye, it is interesting ; but it affects the heart and understanding far from agreeably to see that, amid so much intelligence and benevolence as characterize the institutions of this country generally, the people should not yet have arrived at the discovery that imprisonment for debt is as injurious to the creditor as it is to the debtor, and even in England is all but abolished by the firm determination of the public mind.

The Eastern Penitentiary, which is situated in the opposite quarter of Philadelphia, in the northwest suburbs, is the State-prison ; that is, for the whole State of Pennsylvania, while Moyamensing is for the city and county of Philadelphia only. It is consequently on a much larger scale, being indeed one of the largest prisons in the United States, and covers about ten acres of ground. This was opened in 1829, since which, however, several additions have been made to it. The outer wall of enclosure rises up like the walls of a fortified town ; and the gates, towers, and battlements give it the air of a military fortress rather than of a prison. In the interior are eight long avenues or corridors, all radiating from a common centre, called the Observatory, in the courtyard, from whence the superintendent can look

down each and see whatever is passing in front of all the cells, which are constructed generally in the same manner as those of Moyamensing; the principle of solitary confinement, with labour, being the same in each.

The whole number of prisoners confined here since its first opening in 1829 has been 858, of whom, during the nine years that have elapsed, 381 were discharged by the expiration of their sentences, 39 by pardon, and 50 died: of these, 719 were native-born Americans, and 139 were foreigners; 422 could read and write, 232 could read only, and 204 could neither read nor write: 532 were white males, 12 only white females; 290 were coloured males, and 24 only coloured females. The mortality during this period averaged only 3 per cent. on the whole number confined. At the present time, the total number of the inmates is 387, of whom 224 are white males, 5 white females, 144 coloured males, and 14 coloured females.

The state and condition of this establishment, in cleanliness, health, order, and good discipline, is not inferior to that of the county prison already described; and both might serve as admirable models for any country in Europe, as they effect, what few other prisons ever do, the reformation, as well as the punishment, of the criminal, instead of making this last, as the older establishments of Europe have mostly hitherto done, the only end and aim of imprisonment.

The churches of Philadelphia are as numerous in proportion to the population of the city as in New-York, and more numerous than in any city or town in England; they are, moreover, all remarkable for the great simplicity and beauty of their interiors, the admirable arrangements for the comfort of the worshippers, and the happy union of the solemn, the chaste, and the beautiful. The only exception to this is perhaps in the florid interior of the Catholic Church of St. John's, though even this harmonizes well with the gorgeous dresses and pompous ceremonies that characterize the worship of this body of Christians.

The oldest of the religious edifices in Philadelphia is Christ Church, which was first erected in 1695. It was then only one story high, and so low that a tall person could touch the ceiling with his hand. Its belfry was the fork of an old tree near it, on which was hung the bell that summoned the worshippers to service; this was truly a primitive church. In 1708 a service of sacramental vessels, in silver, was presented to it by Queen Anne; in 1710 it was enlarged; in 1727 a new western end was built; in 1731

the eastern one was completed; and in 1754 the steeple, which is still the loftiest in the city, being 196 feet high, was completed. It is curious that the sum raised for the erection of this was by means of a lottery, after which there was another lottery for the benefit of the vestry! This was in the "good old times" of colonial manners: the sum of 36,000 dollars was thus obtained. A peal of eight bells were soon after imported from England, at a cost of £900 sterling; and when they were put up and rung, they were regarded as so great a novelty, that people came from the neighbouring villages in great numbers to listen to their sounds. During the contests of the Revolutionary War they were taken down and buried in the River Delaware, to preserve them from falling into the hands of the British, but were restored to their original place after the cessation of the struggle.

The more modern churches are among the most beautiful places of worship that can be seen, combining ample accommodation, great comfort, simplicity, chaste ornament, and beautiful proportions in a very high degree; their whole number exceeds a hundred; the services in all, whether Episcopalian or others, is characterized by more solemnity and earnestness of devotion than in England. The organs and choirs are uniformly excellent, and the music far above the general standard of church music in England. The clergy of each denomination—for here all ministers of religion are called clergy, and all places of worship churches, the terms "dissenting ministers" and "dissenters' chapels" being unknown—are almost uniformly well-educated and gentlemanly men, and, above all, persons of pure morals and unquestionable integrity, for without these qualifications no amount of attainments or extent of patronage would avail them.

Of the religious sects, the Presbyterians are the most numerous, having in this state 450 churches, 250 clergymen, and about 50,000 communicants. These are about to separate, however, into two bodies, the old and the new school, on some points of difference as to church government as well as of doctrine. The Methodists have more than 50,000 members; the Baptists come next; then the Episcopalians; and lastly the Quakers, now divided into two bodies, the Orthodox, or old Quakers of Penn's school, and the Unitarian, or new body of Hicksites. The Unitarians have only five congregations in the state; but the German Reformed and the Roman Catholic churches are numerous, and both, it is alleged, are upon the increase.

Establishments for education are sufficiently patronised and supported in the city of Philadelphia itself, both in public or common schools, Sunday-schools, and private seminaries, of which the number is considerable. But in the interior of the state, where the descendants of the Dutch and German settlers are not so much alive to the importance of education, the schools are few and slightly attended. On this subject the following is the language of the last report of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of Public Schools: "There are at least 400,000 children in Pennsylvania between the ages of five and fifteen. Of these, during the past year, there were not 150,000 in all the schools of the state. Many counties, townships, and villages have been taken indiscriminately from all parts of the state; and, on examination, the average proportion of children educated in any one year, compared with the entire number of children between the specified ages, appears to be only one out of three. It is probable that this proportion prevails generally throughout Pennsylvania, and justifies the assertion that more than 250,000 children capable of instruction were not within a school during the past year. Many of these children never go to school at all."

Among the higher establishments connected with literature and the promotion of general knowledge, the Philosophical Society, whose rooms are now the Athenæum of Philadelphia, takes a very high rank; it grew out of two societies originally founded by Benjamin Franklin: the one in 1728, under the title of "The Junto," and the other in 1744, under the name of "The American Philosophical Society." These were united in 1769 under the present name. Its objects are sufficiently comprehensive to embrace almost everything calculated to advance the taste for literature, natural philosophy, science, antiquities, and the arts; and it has accordingly periodical meetings of its members, for the reading of original papers and the discussion of literary or scientific subjects, which are well attended. It publishes a regular series of Transactions, like the learned societies of Europe, of which it has fifteen volumes completed. It has a library of 11,000 volumes, mostly works of great value, and such as are difficult to be found elsewhere. It is particularly rich in pamphlets and public documents, manuscript and printed, illustrative of American history. It corresponds with upward of fifty of the learned and scientific societies of Europe, and receives their Transactions regularly in exchange; and it has the best museum of Mexican

and Peruvian antiquities existing anywhere on the Continent of America.

We had the good fortune to visit this institution in company with its venerable and estimable secretary, Mr. John Vaughan, and to meet there the equally venerable and estimable Dr. Duponçeau, the president, one of the greatest philologists and most remarkable men of the day. These gentlemen were each above eighty years of age, and yet both were strong in body and vigorous in mind. They each preserved in a remarkable degree, and in all their original freshness, the peculiarities of their respective nations, England and France, and yet nothing could be more friendly or affectionate than their intercourse.

It was in the society of these venerable relics of the olden time, who were each personally acquainted with most of the great characters of the American Revolution, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and others, that we sat in the chair of Columbus, an antique, upright, black polished wooden chair, covered all over with various devices, and like some of the old chairs of Henry the Seventh's time seen in England; in the chair of Jefferson, with its movable writing-desk affixed, on which the original draught of the Declaration of Independence was penned; in the chair occupied by Franklin in the assembly which adopted that Declaration, and in which he affixed his signature to that magna charta of American liberty. Here also we had the pleasure to read the original draught and amended copy, such as it was made after the revision of a select committee, to whom this duty was intrusted, and to compare both with the printed copy first issued from the American press; and at the same time to be looking upon an original portrait of William Penn, taken from the life while a young man, before he became a Quaker, and habited in the half-court and half-military dress of the days of Charles the Second. All these were combinations and associations so new and interesting, that we prolonged our visit for several hours, and were delighted during the whole of the time.

The character of Mr. Vaughan is public property, at least it has been so made by one of his fellow-citizens, the philanthropic Matthew Carey, who, in an interesting little work called the "Annals of Benevolence," has written Mr. Vaughan's eulogy with the pen of truth, though guided by a friendly hand; and as it is alike honourable to the writer and to the subject of his commendation, the former an

* Irishman and the latter an Englishman, and both octogenarians, I insert it here.

"The possession of great wealth is not necessary to entitle an individual to be enrolled among the honourable class of benefactors of their fellow-men. Many a person, who in the course of a long life has not given five hundred dollars, or even one hundred, for benevolent or charitable purposes—simply from slenderness of means, not from narrowness of heart—has higher claims to the respect, esteem, and gratitude of his fellows than some who have bequeathed to such objects hundreds of thousands, which they clutched during life with an iron grasp, and reluctantly parted with when they could clutch them no longer; unmoved by the noble ambition of being their own executors for at least a portion of their wealth, and of enjoying the luxury of seeing the objects for which it is to be ultimately bequeathed rising and prospering under their eyes, and shedding their benign influence around. To a man possessing the inestimable blessing of *mens sana in corpore sano*, this would be the most exquisite delight this world affords. For such exalted purposes alone would a truly wise man desire the accumulation of wealth beyond what is requisite to procure the comforts of life.

"Among those whose means are incommensurate with their expansive benevolence, there are few more worthy of honourable mention than John Vaughan, Esq., one of our citizens, an Englishman, who has resided among us for fifty-five years. Throughout his whole life a large portion of his time has been employed in active beneficence; and he has probably done as much good with slender means as any man living, and more, far more, than some possessed of countless treasures. To needy strangers, particularly his countrymen, destitute of money and friends, and, though industrious and desirous to work, destitute of employment, his services have been invaluable. For hundreds of persons thus circumstanced he has found advantageous situations, many of whom are now in independent circumstances, the foundation of which was laid by his interference.

"To respectable foreigners he is well known, as, I had almost said, the accredited cicerone of Philadelphia. He either accompanies them, or procures them access to whatever our city possesses worthy of attention. During the six months in which the social circle of the Wistar Club holds its weekly sessions, he is relied on for introducing such strangers of the above description as have no acquaintances among the members, from the latter of whom, in this capacity, he holds *carte blanche*.

"Although his means are far from affluent, his contributions to public objects are in as full proportion to his income as those of any other citizen whatever, and far more than those of many who possess twenty dollars to his one.

"He is now about eighty-two years old, and, owing to a good constitution, and steady habits of uniform temperance in regard to food and drink, he is nearly as active in his beneficent routine of duty as he has been at any time for forty years. He rises early; and few mornings pass over that he is not seen escorting some stranger, lady or gentleman, to the steamboat for Baltimore or New-York.

"When his last sand is run, his mortal remains deposited in the silent grave, and his spirit shall have ascended to the dread tribunal of the Judge of the living and the dead, his demise will be lamented as a serious public loss by the great body of his fellow-citizens, by whom he is held in universal veneration.

"His death will create a chasm in our city, which, it is to be feared,

will not be soon or easily filled up. But let us hope ~~that~~ his mantle, like that of Elias, will fall on some Elisha, who will emulate his virtues, his activity, and his benevolence, and thus earn that meed of praise and gratitude which the public awards to John Vaughan.*

Among the memorials and characteristic anecdotes of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, of which the Athenæum and Mr. Vaughan are full, I met with one which, as a specimen of benevolence, humour, generosity, and delicacy combined, deserves to be made as public as possible, and with this view I give it here. It is a letter from Franklin, addressed to a poor Irish clergyman named Nixon, who was in great distress at Paris, and applied to him for relief, in reply to which Franklin wrote him the following letter :

"Paris, April 22, 1784.

"I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'or. I do not pretend to *give* you such a sum, I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country you cannot fail getting into some business that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must *pay me* by lending this sum *to him*, enjoining him to *discharge the debt* by a like operation, when he shall be able and shall meet with such an opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a *knave* to stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a good deal with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning, and make the most out of a *little*.

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

Notwithstanding the universal veneration expressed, and apparently felt, towards this patriot and philosopher by the people of the United States, the same neglect of his tomb has been made matter of just complaint by the Americans themselves, as has been that of the sepulchres of General Washington at Mount Vernon, and of De Witt Clinton at Albany; and, to show that this is well grounded, I transcribe the following from the Public Ledger of Philadelphia, a paper remarkable for its exemption from party trammels and perfect independence of character. It is this :

"FRANKLIN'S EPITAPH.—In the Life of Dr. Franklin we find the following epitaph, written by himself, and intended by him to be inscribed upon his tombstone :

'The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer
(like the cover of an old book,
its contents torn out,
and stripped of its lettering and gilding),
lies here, food for worms;
yet the work itself shall not be lost,
but will (as he believed) appear once more

* The venerable writer of this eulogy has since descended to the grave; but Mr. Vaughan, much his senior in years, still survives, being now 87.

in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by

THE AUTHOR.

"Has this been done? No! In the northwest corner of the Episcopal burying-ground on Mulberry-street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, is a plain slab of gray marble, laid upon the ground, on which is the following inscription:

Benjamin	}	Franklin,
and		
Deborah		
		1790.

"We would suggest that the remains of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin be removed to Independence Square, and that this slab be placed over them, as at present; that a suitable monument of white Pennsylvania marble be placed close to it, on one side of which shall be inscribed the foregoing epitaph written by himself, and on the other sides a brief sketch of his life, presenting the most important political events with which he was connected. If the middle walk of the square be not a suitable place for this monument, let it be placed in the centre of one of the sections; and for the sake of uniformity, as well as for more important considerations, let a monument to Washington be placed in the centre of the opposite section."

The Philadelphia Library, which was founded by Franklin previously to the Athenæum, contains at present upward of 40,000 volumes, well selected and well arranged. It is sustained by shareholders in its stock, and by the annual subscriptions of more than 2000 subscribers, at four dollars a-year each; and the whole of this sum is laid out annually by the committee in the purchase of additional books. It has a large and commodious building near the State House, and promises to become in time one of the best libraries in the county.

The Franklin Institute and the Academy of National Sciences are two excellent institutions connected with the promotion of useful knowledge: and the Philadelphia Museum, which contains the most perfect union of the various parts of the mammoth that have been yet discovered in America, is rich in collections of various kinds. For its more perfect arrangement and display, a large building is now erecting in the heart of the city, the principal room of which is said to be only six feet less in length than Westminster Hall, though it is much narrower; but it is fitted with galleries and recesses, and well lighted from above, so that it will be one of the largest and finest museums in the Union. At one end of this building is a lecture-theatre, constructed on the old Roman plan of constantly-ascending semicircular seats, which will contain comfortably a thousand auditors.

Of places of public amusement, in our English acceptation of the term, there are not many in Philadelphia. There are three large theatres, one of which is closed, and the other two but occasionally opened; these are not much frequented by the more opulent or intelligent classes, but are sustained by the middle and humbler ranks. Music is more cultivated and better supported. A society exists called the Musical Fund Society, the hall of which will seat comfortably 1200 persons, and it is as well adapted for musical performances as any hall in Europe. Its meetings of members for practising concerts are frequent, and generally well attended. We were present at a concert given here by Madame Caradori Allan, which was very superior to the one given by her at Washington, both in the number and quality of the instrumental accompaniments, and in the character of the vocal selections. The conductor, Mr. Cross, played with great skill and power on the piano; a first-rate violinist, Mr. Keyser, a German, performed exquisitely on his instrument. Mr. Plaff, another German, executed pieces of great difficulty on the corno bassetto. And Madame Caradori herself sang with all her accustomed sweetness and good taste, and with more than her usual power. The audience was not so numerous as might have been expected (about five hundred persons); but the taste of the majority, like that of the assemblage at Washington, was below that of almost any audience of a similar city in England, as the only songs encored by them, among several of great merit and beauty, were the ballads of "Cease your funning," and "I'm over young to marry yet," the last of which seems to be an especial favourite with the multitude.

There are more public squares for promenades, and larger and better ones too in every respect, in Philadelphia than in New-York or Baltimore. They have been longer laid out, and their grass lawns, large trees, and fine gravel-walks render them most agreeable; but they are probably less valued here than they would be in almost any other city, from the circumstance of the streets being such agreeable places for walking, so perfectly level, so smoothly paved on the causeways at least, and so agreeably shaded with trees on each side.

Of these squares Franklin Square is the largest, being 632 feet from east to west, and 600 feet from north to south. A much larger square than this was planned by William Penn for the centre of his city, and which still bears his name; but it has been divided into four smaller squares,

each of a good size. The square of Penn, indeed, has followed the fate of his city, in being contracted within narrower limits than at first intended; for his original plan is said to have been formed on a scale of three miles for each of its sides, or a square of twelve miles for the whole city; whereas it was subsequently abridged to two miles in length from east to west, and one mile in breadth from north to south, which forms the street limits of the present city, all beyond these limits belonging to the suburbs and liberties.

Independence Square, to the south of the State House, is 470 feet by 398; and Washington Square, near it, is 456 feet by 370; while Logan Square and Ruttenhouse Square are hadly inferior in size; and when the trees in each are more fully grown, these will be valuable additions to the means of healthy recreation and exercise for the population.

The newspapers of Philadelphia are as numerous as they are in all the large towns of the United States. There are seven daily morning papers and two daily evening papers; the former are the United States Gazette, the Commercial Herald, the Pennsylvanian, the Inquirer, the Sentinel, the Public Ledger, and the Advertiser; and the latter are the National Gazette and the Philadelphia Gazette. Of all these there is but one, the Public Ledger, which is strictly neutral in politics (this being what is called a penny paper, though selling at one cent, or about a halfpenny per copy, and not more than half the size of the other papers), and one only, the Pennsylvanian, which is Democratic, or in favour of the present administration. All the rest are Whig, or, as we should call them in England, Conservative; that is, anti-Democratic. In point of talent, they are all conducted with more ability and more fairness, as it struck me, than the papers of New-York. There is less of personal vituperation and party abuse, and less of puffing and strained attempts at extravagance for wit. Their current of thought and tone of feeling are graver and more dignified, and their style of expression more courteous and less dogmatical.

In addition to the daily papers there are some few weekly ones, and three, of large circulation, devoted exclusively to religious articles. Of these the Presbyterian takes the first rank in circulation, and after this the Episcopal Recorder and the Philadelphia Observer. They are each conducted with ability and consistency. The editors and proprietors are ministers and members of the respective sects of Christians to which they belong; and these papers answer here the purpose which monthly religious periodicals do in

England, and answer it better, because the frequency of their appearance, once a week, makes them fitting vehicles of religious *news*, which causes them to find their way where books without news would hardly be welcome visitors; while their cheapness, ready transmission by the post, and freshness occasion their religious essays to be read by thousands who would not approach them in any other shape.

Though there are two or three extensive publishers in Philadelphia, it is not so literary a city as New-York, and still less so than Boston. There was a Quarterly Review published here a few years ago, and well conducted, but it could not be sustained, and it is now merged into some other periodical elsewhere, nor has its place been since supplied. Cheap literature is that which is most in request here; and the two classes of publications which find the readiest sale are cheap theological works of early or of modern date, and cheap reprints of English novels and works of imagination. These are often sold in the same shop, where, over the doorway, may be seen the words "Theological Bookstore," and "Catalogues of Religious Books to be had within," while placards in front of the same door announce Byron's "Don Juan," Lady Bury's "Flirtation," and Bulwer's "Ernest Maltravers" as among the popular works of the day.

CHAPTER XXVII

Manufactures, Trade, and Commerce of Philadelphia.—Municipal Government, Mayor, Aldermen.—Select and Common Councils.—Legislation.—Population, gradual increase from 1790.—Proportion of white and coloured Races.—Proportion of Males and Females in each.—Proportion of Deaths to the whole Numbers.—Classes of Society, Aristocracy of Birth and Wealth.—Middle Class of General Society.—Dinner from the Bar to the Bench of Pennsylvania.—General Appearance of the Inhabitants.—Manners of Philadelphia Society.—Wretched Condition of some labouring Classes.—Individual Cases of extreme Distress.—Decline in the Spirit of Benevolence.—Attributable to increasing Wealth.—Suggestion of a self-taxing Society.—Instances of munificent Legacies.—Contrast of the Living and the Dying.

Of the manufactures, trade, and commerce of Philadelphia, more may be said as to its prospects than as to its actual condition. At present there is not nearly so much of either as there might have been, or as there will be a few years hence, when the vast resources of the state come to be more fully developed. The few manufactories now car-

ried on here are confined to carpets, floorcloth, some hardware of a coarse kind, glass, porcelain, and articles of domestic consumption; but little or nothing is made for exportation, if we except a very extensive and excellent manufactory of steam-engines, conducted on a large scale, and supplying both the cities of the seacoast and the rising towns of the Western waters.

The foreign commerce is almost as limited as the home trade, the shipping of Philadelphia not equalling a fourth of those of New-York, and the shores of the Delaware presenting a striking contrast, in the fewness of the vessels upon it, compared with the forests of masts that line the banks of the East River and the Hudson at the latter city.

That which promises so much for the future, however, is the gradual development of the mineral wealth of Pennsylvania. In the interior of this state has been recently discovered beds of coal and iron, sufficiently extensive to afford materials for manufacturing for centuries to come; and these will soon become articles of export to other parts of the country. The communications by railroad and canal every day, extending into the interior, by Harrisburg and Pittsburg, to the Ohio, and thence down the Mississippi, up the Missouri, on by the Arkansas to the Rocky Mountains, and by the Red River to Texas, will facilitate the diffusion of imported as well as domestic manufactured goods, and form a channel for the conveyance of the produce of the countries watered by those rivers to Philadelphia, where the Delaware will form its outlet to Europe, the West Indies, and other parts of the world.

At present, it is true, New-York has got the start of Philadelphia and Baltimore in the internal and foreign trade, by being in advance of both in her enterprising undertakings. But the local position of both these latter cities, aided by internal canals and railroads, is such as to render it more than probable that each may in time attain a position of commercial eminence greatly superior to that which they now enjoy; and every increase of population in the interior must accelerate this period, by the development of the resources of these parts, and by increased means of consumption.

The municipal government of Philadelphia was originally appointed by the proprietary, William Penn, but was gradually opened to the influence of the community in colonial times, till it was settled upon its present basis soon after the Revolution. In 1789 the mayor was elected out of the muni-

cial body only. In 1796 the select and common councils were included among the electors. And in 1826 the restriction of choosing the mayor from among the aldermen was abrogated, so that ever since that period this officer has been chosen out of the body of the citizens generally. As he is paid a salary of 2000 dollars or £400 a year, and has the patronage of appointing nearly all the officers of the corporation except the city treasurer, it is a place sought after by many; but, unfortunately, in this as in almost every public office down to that of a constable, party politics, rather than the capacity and general qualifications of the individual, are made the test of fitness, and the Whigs and Democrats consider it a party victory or party defeat whenever their candidate is elected or beaten.

The recorder is appointed by the governor of the state, and, acting as a judge, he holds his office during good behaviour. There are fifteen aldermen, who are also appointed by the governor; and as these sit as justices of the peace for trials of suits where the amount does not exceed 100 dollars, they also hold their offices during good behaviour; that is, for life, unless convicted of wilful neglect or violation of duty after trial. The Mayor's Court, at which the recorder and aldermen sit, has jurisdiction over all criminal offences committed within the city.

Though the recorder and aldermen are thus permanent in office, the legislative power of the municipal body resides in the select and common councils, who are elected by the people generally, and who, in their capacity as councillors, annually elect the mayor. The Common Council consists of twenty members, who are selected from persons qualified to serve as representatives in the State Assembly. The select council is formed of twelve members, chosen from persons qualified to serve as senators in the State Assembly.

These form, in short, the upper and the lower house of city legislation, the lower house being elected annually, and the upper house for three years, one third going out by rotation every year. They sit in separate chambers, and serve without salary, and each body has a negative on the acts of the other, so that no ordinance or regulation can be made law without the consent of both. In practice, this constitution is found to work extremely well.

The population of Philadelphia, at the last census of 1830, was 139,888, of which the proportions were 80,406 in the city, and 59,482 in the liberties and suburbs. The proportion of increase in the decennial periods at which the

census had been taken, beginning at 1790, were thus in round numbers, 43,000, 68,000, 89,000, 110,000, 140,000. The greater proportionate increase of population within the last eight years, from immigration and other causes, induces the belief here that the next census of 1840 will exhibit a population of 200,000 for the city and suburbs, which will probably be the case. The proportion of coloured people to whites is not large, being in the city, at the last census, 9256 coloured to 71,150 white, and these proportions remain nearly the same. In each race there were a greater number of females than males, the white population exhibiting a return of 37,619 females, and 33,531 males, and the coloured population exhibiting a return of 5231 females, and 4025 males. The number of deaths in 1831 was 4939, of which 2720 were children, and 2219 adults; the total of deaths being, therefore, in round numbers, 5000, and the total of population in round numbers, 140,000; the proportion of deaths was 1 in 28, or about three and a half per cent. in the whole year. The greatest mortality in 1831 was in December, the number being 708, while the average of the other months was about 350; and in 1832 the greatest mortality was in August, the deaths being 1689, the average of the other months being about 450.

The classes into which the population are divided in Philadelphia are very similar to those of New-York and Baltimore. Though there is no titled nobility or hereditary aristocracy, there is a decided aristocracy of family connexion as well as of wealth; and of the two, the first are the most fastidious about the rank and station of their associates. The expressions of respect for those who are descended from the first families, or who belong to some of the oldest families of Pennsylvania, or Maryland, or New-Jersey, or Virginia, are as frequently heard from the lips of Americans, as from those of the most aristocratic circles in our small country towns in England; and the phrases "they are people of yesterday," and "people of no family," convey as much odium to an American ear as to an English one.

The greater number of those select gentry inherit land, or houses, or stock from their parents, and are not engaged in trade. They are occasionally joined by families who have acquired fortunes in business, and retire, when they form a small leisure class, whose chief occupation is visiting and social intercourse when at home, and travelling to the seaside, or to the springs of Virginia or Saratoga, in the

warm season. The style of living observed by this class is what would be deemed elegant in any part of Europe; their houses are large and well furnished; their domestics numerous, though nearly all coloured; their parties gay and brilliant; their manners polished and refined; and their conversation intelligent and agreeable.

The class next in order of consequence or consideration is the aristocracy of wealth, which is more extended in numbers, not so exclusive or scrupulous about the rank or fortune of their associates, and more easily accessible to persons of inferior pretensions to themselves. Their style of living is more profuse and expensive, though not so refined and elegant; their parties are larger and more costly, and their visiting more frequent and more general.

Among these, however, are to be found many philanthropic and benevolent individuals, who devote a large portion of their wealth, as well as their labour and their time, to the promotion of charitable and religious objects. There is no country on earth, perhaps, where so large a portion of the wealthy are generous philanthropists as in America; and in no city of America are there more of this class than in Philadelphia. Mr. Matthew Carey, an Irishman and a Catholic; Mr. William Birch, an Englishman and a Unitarian; and Mr. Matthew Newkirk, an American and a Presbyterian, are splendid examples of this, and show that neither origin, country, nor peculiarity of creed prevents the exercise of the higher virtues of charity and benevolence by the most wealthy individuals who have hearts to feel for the woes of others.

The middle class of society in Philadelphia, removed from either extreme of bare competency (for of abject poverty there is very little) and great wealth, is composed of merchants, traders, professional men, including the clergy, physicians, lawyers, and sojourners from different parts of the country. These form, of course, a very mixed and miscellaneous class, but they are, on the whole, the most intelligent, and most agreeable to strangers. No scrupulous apprehensions about low birth or want of high family connexions, and no dread of associating with a man of small fortune or none at all, ever interrupt the full flow of hilarity and good-humour which is so characteristic of this mixed class, among whom there is a sufficient amount of intelligence on all general subjects, and a sufficient frankness in the expression of their opinions, to render their society both instructive and entertaining.

One of the most agreeable entertainments that I had the pleasure to enjoy in Philadelphia was a public dinner given by the bar to the bench, at which there were about two hundred gentlemen of the legal profession, and forty or fifty others invited as guests. The circumstances which led to the dinner were these: From the first ratification of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the judges of the Supreme and other courts have held their offices during good behaviour; but by the late Convention held in Philadelphia to consider the propriety of revising the Constitution, an amendment was carried for fixing a limited period, I think fifteen years, for the services of a judge, instead of the life tenure, which the term of good behaviour generally includes. This was interpreted by many as implying a disapprobation of the general conduct of the judges, and a want of confidence in their impartiality. To counteract this, the bar of Pennsylvania gave the present entertainment, avowedly as a mark of respect and confidence towards the bench at large. Nearly all the judges (to the number perhaps of twenty) were present. Mr. Binning, a barrister of advanced years and large practice, presided, and his introductory speech was clear, able, and well delivered. The speeches that followed were of a character to sustain the high reputation of the Philadelphia bar, and the whole entertainment was of a dignified and intellectual cast. I was unexpectedly called upon by name to respond to the toast of "The Bench and Bar of England," and it was extremely gratifying to hear, in almost every one of the speeches delivered, the highest admiration expressed of England and her laws, her lawyers and her judges.

The general appearance of the inhabitants of Philadelphia is highly favourable. The universal aspect of competency and comfort which is presented on every side as one walks through the streets, where one meets none but well-dressed persons, of whatever class, is extremely agreeable. The gentlemen have not that ease and polish of manners which seemed to us to characterize the same class at Baltimore, nor did the ladies appear to us so graceful and perfectly well-bred. But the number of pretty and elegantly-dressed women, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, that are to be seen in the principal streets of Philadelphia on a fine day, is as great, perhaps, as in any city of the world; though we did not find in either sex that hearty frankness and cordial generosity which exist so generally at Baltimore, and which are said to be characteristic of the people of the entire South.

The Philadelphians have the reputation of being cold, formal, and difficult of approach; and, in comparison with the same class of society in New-York and Baltimore, we found them so, and heard this defect admitted by themselves as well as reported of them by others. There was one feature, however, which we noticed so often and saw so prominently, that we could not fail to be strongly impressed with it, which was the settled conviction that seemed to be imprinted on the minds, and even the persons, of almost all the native Pennsylvanians we saw, that not only was their city one of the best built, cleanest, and most agreeable on the globe (which would be readily conceded by most), but that its inhabitants were among the handsomest and most intelligent people anywhere to be found; a conviction which must, no doubt, be very pleasurable to those who indulge it, and which was indicated by the look and air of self-satisfaction that sat on almost every countenance we saw among the fashionable groups engaged in shopping, walking, or visiting their neighbours.

Notwithstanding the competency and comfort which reign so generally throughout the city, and the entire absence of those revolting scenes of drunkenness, prostitution, wretchedness, and misery which obtrude themselves on the eye in almost every part of the great towns of England, there is yet a portion of suffering among even the sober and industrious classes of labourers here for want of adequate remuneration. In a valuable tract, entitled "A Plea for the Poor, particularly Females, being an inquiry how far the charges alleged against them, of idleness, improvidence, and dissipation, are founded in truth," and of which the eighth edition is before me, written by the benevolent Matthew Carey, are some statements respecting the condition of this class in Philadelphia, which exhibit a melancholy contrast to the general comfort, and even opulence, of the rest of its inhabitants. These statements are all supported by such abundant authority as to leave no room whatever to doubt their accuracy. I read through the whole of this appeal, with its appendix of proofs, in detail, and I had an opportunity of consulting many individuals who had the best means of knowing the truth or error of the statements made; and the result of the whole was my thorough conviction that the following position is unequivocally established, namely, "that misery and distress may be found in Philadelphia equal in intensity, though not in extent, to anything that is found in London or Paris."

Of individual cases of such distress the catalogue is a long and painful one, and the testimonies of public men, as well as of benevolent women, who interest themselves in works of charity in this city, as to the accuracy of the statements made, are so numerous that it would occupy many pages to print them.

In the course of my conversations with the most zealous friends of the poor, with whom I had many opportunities of conferring, I learned from almost all of them, that just in proportion as the wealth of the city increased did the disposition to benevolence diminish; and that it was far more difficult to obtain 20 or 50,000 dollars for any benevolent purpose now than it was twenty or thirty years ago. They were, in general, surprised at this; but I confess that it did not astonish me, because the result of my experience in all countries has been to convince me that this is the general course of things. Men constantly find the love of wealth increase with the amount of their possessions, and grow less and less disposed to part with it just in proportion as they are more and more abundantly supplied. The consequence is, that the most truly generous people in every country are the poor, who will part with a penny out of the only shilling they have in the world to relieve a distressed fellow-creature, with more readiness than a man of a thousand a year will part with a guinea for the same purpose.

The only just test of true generosity is the proportion of a man's income that he will part with for charitable purposes; and judged by this test, it may be assumed as a rule, to which there are very few exceptions, that the poorer men are, the larger the proportion of their income will they part with to give bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked; while, as men grow richer and richer, the proportion they are willing to part with grows less and less, until the heart is sometimes sealed up entirely by the very excess of the wealth of its owner.

It is much to be desired that some benevolent society should be established on the principle of self-taxation exercised on all its members to the extent of 5 or 10 per cent. per annum, so as to raise a sum which in every city would be sufficient to assist all who were helpless with shelter, food, and raiment, and furnish to those who *could* work labour at remunerating prices, as the means of earning their own subsistence. This would be perfectly practicable if the rich would set the example, for the poor would most readily follow them.

DECLINE OF BENEVOLENCE.

As a proof of the declining disposition to contribute to the support of benevolent objects even in this country—and this decline has been only observed since the nation has become so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth—the following facts are taken from the tract of Mr. Carey before referred to. The annual subscription to the Seamen's Aid Society and the Impartial Humane Society of Baltimore is only one dollar each, and it is remarked, that to the first there are, in the wealthy and commercial city of Boston, but about 350 subscribers, and in the flourishing city of Baltimore only 300 to the second! They ought each to have at least 500 to 750 subscribers, with a subscription at the rate of two or three dollars a year. The annual subscription to the Female Hospitable Society of Philadelphia is two dollars. It had in 1824 500 subscribers, but the number has dwindled down to 108. The Provident Society of Philadelphia had in 1824 1015, but in 1833 only 186! None of these four societies give alms; they exercise their charity in the best possible form, by giving employment to the poor.

If the wealthy could but be induced to do more with their wealth while living, and leave less to be done with it when dead, they would effect much more good by their example, and be relieved, also, from the suspicion that, were it not for the impossibility of taking their wealth with them, they would still have been reluctant to part with it at all. The liberality of the dying is, in all countries, greater than that of the living: but one might have hoped that in America, where no man of great opulence can spend his money beyond a limited extent in personal gratification, as he can in Europe, there would have arisen up a class willing to spend their money in charity while yet able to see and enjoy the fruits of their munificence, instead of leaving it to the death-bed to stimulate them to part with that which they can no longer retain.

Mr. Stephen Girard is a memorable example of this kind of posthumous liberality. While living, his only pleasure seemed to be accumulation; and when he could accumulate no more, but not before, then he gave his six millions of dollars to found the college for educating orphans which bears his name. A number of similar instances of tardy generosity is given in the little work called the "Annals of Benevolence," before referred to. All, perhaps, were not able to give so much while living; but all could, no doubt, have given a part, and felt no inconvenience from it; and the practice of living contributions should be encouraged, as

more wholesome to the giver, and more beneficial, in general, to the object to which the donations are applied. Here are a few cases :

W. B. Read, of Newburyport, who lately died at Marblehead, bequeathed 68,000 dollars for benevolent purposes, besides liberal legacies to heirs and relatives. John Lowell, a citizen of Boston, who lately died near Bombay, has left about 250,000 dollars towards founding an institution in Boston for delivering lectures on scientific subjects. Dr. Joseph Fisher bequeathed 20,000 dollars to Harvard University, for the establishment of a professorship of natural history. John M'Lean, of Cincinnati, made a bequest of 20,000 dollars to establish an historical professorship in the same university. Mrs. Anna Maria Marsh, of Hindsdale, N. H., bequeathed 10,000 dollars to establish an Insane Asylum in Windham county. Mr. Pontalba, late of New-Orleans, bequeathed his whole property, valued at 100,000 francs, towards building a college for the education of 60 young persons, 20 from each of the parishes of Mont L'Eveque, Senlis, and New-Orleans. Mr. Taubman, late of Georgia, ordered by his will the emancipation of 48 slaves, who were to settle in that state provided the Legislature would permit them to remain as freemen ; otherwise, to be sent to Liberia. Permission to remain having been refused, they were to be shipped for that colony ; Mr. T. bequeathed 10,000 dollars for the purpose of settling them there, in the event of their emigration. Mr. Ireland, of New-Orleans, lately deceased, left by his will to the Colonization Society one third of his estate, the whole of which is valued at 30,000 dollars. This makes 20,000 dollars from New-Orleans in one year for this special object. Charles Ridgeley, of Maryland, bequeathed liberty to all his slaves, to the number of about 300, amounting, at an average of 200 dollars each, to 60,000 dollars.

Now there is hardly any one among all these cases in which the donor might not have given half the amount in money during his lifetime, and yet have had an income fully equal to his expenditure. He would have lost only the pleasure of accumulation, and had, in exchange for this, the pleasure of seeing with his own eyes the good his benevolence had accomplished ; and, as it respects the freedom given to the slaves, it would have been clearly better that this should have been wholly done during his life, as in this case nothing would have been lost ; for the hire of the same individuals at adequate wages would have secured the liberator their

labour, which was their only value to him, while to them it would have been of the utmost advantage to have had a home and a kind master on their emancipation, instead of being left, as they now were, to shift for themselves.

It is remarkable to witness the change of opinion on slavery which the approach of a deathbed generally produces. While the holders of slaves are in full health and vigour, and deriving a large pecuniary profit from the labour of their slaves, they believe, or at least assert, that it would be for the injury of the slaves themselves to give them their freedom. But as sickness approaches and death appears at hand, the pecuniary motive grows weaker and weaker, the perception of justice grows clearer and clearer, and the sense of responsibility to another tribunal sinks deeper and deeper; and then it is that the change is wrought which leads so many to do, as an act of justice and benevolence while dying, what they could not summon up virtue enough to do while living, depriving themselves, by this delay, of the full credit of pure philanthropy, and depriving the objects of their benevolence also of more than half the advantage which an earlier gift of their freedom would have ensured to them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Anti-abolition Riot at Philadelphia.—Opening of Pennsylvania Hall.—Attack of the Mob on the Building.—Demolition of the Hall by Fire.—Statements of the public Prints.—Additional Facts from private Sources.—Continued Acts of Riot and Disorder.—Public Meeting of the Firemen of Philadelphia.—Apathy and Tardiness of the public Authorities.—Opinions of the leading Journals.—Proclamations of the Mayor and Governor.—Attempt of the Mob on a Printing-office.—Arrest of one of the Rioters of "respectable Family."—Letter of David Paul Brown, the Barrister.—Wholesome "Thoughts upon Recent Events."

ONE of the most painful scenes we were called upon to witness in Philadelphia, and one that formed a melancholy contrast to the general good order, decorum, and peace of the city, was the destruction, by an incendiary mob, of the large public building called Pennsylvania Hall, erected for the purpose of holding public meetings for religious and benevolent objects, like Exeter Hall in London, and very nearly equal to it in size. The history and details of this transaction are so characteristic of the public feeling on slavery in this and in most other parts of the United States,

whether slave states or free—and they are, for this reason, so likely to be misrepresented by partisans on either side—that I think it will be useful to record the circumstances as they transpired, with as much impartiality as possible, and while the evidence is accessible on the spot.

It appears that for some years past, since the cause of slavery has been so warmly agitated in the North, and emancipation demanded at all hazards, the friends of the slaves have found it almost impossible to obtain any public building, religious or otherwise, in which to hold their meetings for the purpose of discussing the question of abolition, and expressing their opinions freely upon it. To remedy this defect, a number of benevolent persons, chiefly, though not entirely, Quakers, determined on building a large hall, to be called the Pennsylvania Hall, the property of which was to be held in shares as a joint-stock, and the hall was to be let or rented out to religious and benevolent societies to hold their meetings in: abolition of slavery to be as freely discussed in it as any other public question. This hall was completed in the present month of May, and was publicly opened by the proprietors and directors on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of the month.

A body of delegates from the abolition societies of Boston and the New-England States having come on to Philadelphia to assist at this opening, composed chiefly of females, accompanied by Mr. Garrison, Miss Grimké, and other leading advocates of abolition, they occupied the hall for their meetings. This fact alone, of abolition being publicly defended in a city where, before the erection of this hall, no public room could be had for the purpose, excited the Southern people and their connexions in Philadelphia to a high degree; but it is thought that this would not have led to violence, had it not been accompanied by the following auxiliary "aggravations," as the opponents of abolition were pleased to term them.

Miss Grimké, a lady of good family in South Carolina, who was formerly a slaveholder, but who, from conviction of its injustice, left the South, and emancipated her slaves, and then entered the Society of Friends, of which she is now a member, was about to be married, and strangely enough chose Philadelphia to be the place of her union (her home being at Boston), and this exciting time of opening the abolition hall to be the period for its celebration; her husband was a Mr. Weld; and, partaking of his bride's views as an abolitionist, the joint invitations of the bride and

bridegroom were sent out, to invite a wedding party that should consist of an equal number of white and coloured people, who attended the wedding together.

One of the arrangements at the hall was also so to mingle the white and coloured auditors that all the usual separations and distinctions between them were disregarded; and in going to and from the hall, white and coloured persons were seen leading arm-in-arm, a sight which had never before been witnessed, in this city at least, nor perhaps in any other part of America. Add to this, it is said that Mr. Garrison, in one of his speeches at the hall, spoke of General Washington as being "a man-stealer," and "a tyrant over his coloured brethren;" and these additional sparks alighting on an already highly inflammable state of public feeling, soon kindled into an open blaze.

The mob first assembled on Wednesday, and becoming more and more numerous and violent every hour, accomplished their great object, the entire destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, on the following day, Thursday. The narratives of the public journals, taken from those of both parties in politics, may be relied on for the general accuracy of the facts; the opinions, of course, will differ, but I shall give them both, and then add what came to my knowledge through private sources, and what fell under my own observation, to complete the whole. The following is from the *Pennsylvanian*, a Democratic paper, of May 18:

"A very discreditable disturbance was made by a large mob at Pennsylvania Hall, the new building of the Abolition Society, on Wednesday evening; the affair, however, luckily terminated with no results of a more serious character than the breaking of the windows. It was not a very valiant demonstration, either, on the part of those who amused themselves with throwing brickbats and broken bottles into the house, for we understand that the assemblage in the hall was chiefly composed of women; and to gather such an array to yell and throw stones, for the purpose of alarming females, was not exactly a manly employment according to our notions, even if those assailed were ultra and fanatical abolitionists. For the reputation of Philadelphia, we earnestly hope that we may not be called upon to chronicle a repetition of scenes similar to that of Wednesday night."

This was written previous to the occurrence of the fire, which broke out, indeed, just as the morning papers are usually put to press; but on the following morning, May 19, the fuller narrative of the riot and fire was given in the same paper thus:

"The destruction of Pennsylvania Hall by the rioters on Thursday night was complete. The fire has left nothing of this spacious and magnificent building but the bare walls, which stand as a disgraceful

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monument of the triumph of mobism over good order and the laws. The neighbouring houses are somewhat scorched, but suffered no material injury, as the fire companies were permitted to play upon them, and deserve great credit for the effective manner in which their duty was performed.

"The hall itself, which was situated on the west side of Sixth, near Race street, was erected by the Abolition Society, and was not finished until last week. It was very large, built in the most substantial and costly manner, and the grand saloon for the purpose of meetings was, we believe, the most spacious and elegant room of the kind in Philadelphia, being 90 feet in length by about 60 in breadth, with galleries, &c., the whole being capable of allowing from 1800 to 2000 persons to be comfortably seated, and of containing nearly 3000 persons. There were, besides, lecture-rooms and other apartments. The entire cost of the establishment, including, we presume, the purchase of the ground, is estimated at 40,000 dollars. It was first opened to the public on Monday last, and we are informed that meetings were held and addresses delivered in it every day and evening up to the time of the catastrophe.

"The first tumultuous proceeding in reference to the matter took place on Wednesday evening, when a meeting was held, composed chiefly of women, at which Garrison, Mrs. M. Chapman, of Boston, Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld, Lucretia Mott, and Abdy Kelly, delivered addresses. The audience was very numerous, and composed of blacks and whites indiscriminately mingled. A mob assembled on the outside, and continued throwing stones at the windows until a late hour. When the meeting broke up, some of the negroes were assaulted as they came out, and the rest were enabled to escape through the back entrances. Loud intimations were given at this time that a more serious disturbance was in contemplation, and that the destruction of the building was resolved on.

"On Thursday much excitement prevailed throughout the city, and every variety of rumour was in circulation; but the abolitionists held their usual meetings. In the afternoon the crowd began to assemble, rapidly increasing in numbers as night approached, and at dark the assemblage in the neighbourhood was very great. It is stated in the papers that the mayor was on the ground at an early hour, and, after addressing the by-standers, closed the hall and retired, it being determined that no lecture should be given that night.

"Soon after eight o'clock the tumult commenced. Stones were thrown at the windows, and the doors and windows of the stores in the basement story, only one of which was occupied, and that as a repository for abolition tracts, books, and papers, were beaten in. An attack was also made upon the entrances to the hall, which being stout, were battered at with various instruments for a long time before they yielded. Every crash was received with cheers and plaudits from a number of the by-standers, though the active rioters were by no means numerous, nor apparently very determined, for they commenced the work of destruction hesitatingly, and did not go on boldly until the gas-lamp was extinguished which shone upon them, and till they obtained confidence by seeing that no police-officers were on the ground, and no impediment would be offered by those in authority to their lawless proceedings; an impunity as unexpected as it was disgraceful in the heart of a populous city, and at an early hour in the evening. Having the game thus completely in their own hands, books and papers were tossed into the air, and a few persons entered the hall. Hints about fire were now banded about, and in a little while lights were seen gleaming from the windows. Some difficulty seemed to be experienced in kindling the flames. One

man was observed using splinters of the window-blinds for the purpose. Fire, however, was communicated in various quarters, but it progressed slowly, the occasional flashes being greeted by shouts. Finally, however, the flames seized upon the woodwork, and in a very short time the whole edifice was a sheet of fire, illuminating the city far and wide with a brilliance equal to that of noonday. Such a conflagration has not been witnessed in Philadelphia for years, and we trust that many more will elapse before the occurrence of another. The whole population of the city seemed now to throng to the ground, and the rioters, having attained their object, remained quiet.

"Such are the particulars of this high-handed and abominable outrage, which has inflicted a stain of the deepest character upon our city, reducing us to a level, in point of reputation, with the most lawless sections of the Union, and teaching us to be surprised at nothing that passion and madness may see fit hereafter to undertake."

It is known that the mayor was, in his opinions, greatly opposed to the views of the abolitionists, and this may have caused his conduct to be suspected and misrepresented by those entertaining their views; yet, from all I could learn, he appears to have done his own duty as faithfully as his official means would enable him to perform it, but he was unsupported by that portion of the populace who crowded to the spot.

On Friday, the 20th, the day on which this statement appeared in the papers, the excitement in the streets was at its highest: groups of persons of all classes were to be seen conferring together in great earnestness, and all appeared to expect something more terrible than had yet occurred. It was said, among other rumours, that the black population of Philadelphia were armed and ready for a rising; but this was soon found to be utterly without foundation, neither their numbers nor their disposition warranting the slightest hope of any success in their object, even should they be so misled as to resort to this step; nor, after a very vigilant search, were arms found in the dwellings or on the persons of any of them.

In the evening of this day, however, a party of the same lawless incendiaries who had burned down the hall repaired to the school for free coloured children in Thirteenth-street, a considerable distance from the hall, and set it on fire. The alarm-bell being rung to indicate this, the whole population were in motion, not knowing what might happen next; but the firemen promptly hastening to the spot, and on this occasion putting forth their energies without restraint, the fire was soon subdued, and the crowd dispersed.

On the same evening, a party of these anti-abolitionists went to the house of one of the most eminent lawyers of

Philadelphia, who had taken a part in the proceedings of opening the hall, Mr. David Paul Brown, and demanded his appearance before them. The doors being bolted below, the wife of this gentleman appeared at the window and inquired their object, when they reiterated their demand to see her husband. Fortunately for both, he had that day gone into the country, so that she could state this with perfect truth. They were greatly disappointed, and with difficulty prevailed on to retire; but before they went they avowed their intention to have tarred and feathered Mr. Brown if they had got him into their possession, for the part he took in advocating the cause of the abolitionists.

This fact was not made public in any of the journals, from a desire, probably, not to increase the danger to Mr. Brown's life by the mention of the fact at the time the excitement was at its height; but I was assured of its truth by a gentleman who knew the circumstances of the case personally. The following particulars of farther attempts at outrage on Saturday evening are from the National Gazette of Monday, the 21st:

"On Saturday evening a mob gathered in Sassafras Alley, and commenced an assault on the house of a coloured family by breaking in the doors and windows, and scattering the furniture in the street. The family, it is believed, escaped without personal injury.

"The same evening great excitement was produced by the circumstance of an assault made by a coloured on a white man, in the neighbourhood of Lombard and Sixth streets. Colonel Watmough, the sheriff, assisted by a police force, was successful in preventing any serious disturbance."

This pretended assault was afterward ascertained to be the attack of a white man on a black, and the remonstrance and attempt at defence of the latter; so that no single act occurred by which the negroes could be reproached with having taken the slightest steps to provoke the hostility or to resist the measures pursued towards their advocates.

The whole affair was the most unjustifiable assumption, on the part of a small body of whites, of a power to deny to others, equally lawful citizens with themselves, the right of freely and publicly discussing a subject which they deemed important, and on which they desired to proclaim their opinions to the world. And the controversy being conducted by one party appealing to reason, and using the tongue, the pen, and the press, and the other party appealing to force, and using the torch, the axe, and the crowbar, it is not difficult to determine which were the innocent and which the guilty.

The actual operators in this work of destruction were said to be a few shipwrights from the river, who brought with them axes, crowbars, and other instruments for breaking open doors and windows, billets of dry wood and shavings, with tar, turpentine, and other combustible materials; and these were aided and cheered on by the most dissolute of the white population in the crowd, while the firemen and the members of the hose companies, who play the engines and supply the water, undoubtedly assisted in the work of destruction, inasmuch as they refused to use their engines or pour water on the great hall while in flames, and they were, therefore, accessory to its destruction. So completely had the mob been permitted to carry all before them, that even on Sunday, a day more scrupulously respected by all races and colours in America than in any other country on the globe, a large crowd assembled round the African Church in Sixth-street, and, but for the remonstrances of those who were additionally shocked at any attempted violence on the Sabbath, this church might have shared the fate of the hall.

As some symptom either of shame or repentance, or both, a public meeting was held by the firemen in Independence Square, on the evening of Saturday, the 19th, when they passed resolutions declaratory of their determination, in all future cases, to use their best efforts to extinguish all fires, whether created by accident or by the hands of the incendiary; but though this declaration, and the expressions of the public journals, may be taken as a homage to justice, whether willingly or unwillingly paid, it is beyond doubt that in what is called the "best society" of Philadelphia, that is, among the more wealthy classes, the feeling of indignation was directed wholly against the abolitionists, and few scrupled openly to commend the spirit of the populace, to speak of the burning of the hall and the school as a "glorious triumph," while some added a regret that the abolitionists themselves were not buried in the ruins! With persons who entertained such feelings as these, it was of course in vain to reason; they were wholly inaccessible to argument, and so excited, females as well as males, that it was almost dangerous to be heard to express even a regret that the outrage had been committed.

In the mean time, no immediate steps were taken by the public authorities to find out or apprehend the ringleaders; no reward was promptly offered by the city or state authorities for the apprehension of the offenders; no pains were

taken, in short, to vindicate the laws and punish its violators, by which the rulers of the city placed themselves in the same position of tacit accessories as the firemen did, who, with engines in their hands, refused to use them to extinguish the conflagration. This is only to be accounted for by the fact that the opinion of the gentry, or most influential class of citizens in Philadelphia, was in favour of such non-interference; and the mayor, finding their disposition on this subject to run in the same channel with his own, was content to let the matter sleep undisturbed until the excitement was over.

This deference to public prejudice rather than maintaining the dignity of the law will, no doubt, on reflection, be deeply repented of even by those who, for momentary peace, have sacrificed great principles of public duty; and that this has indeed already begun to take place in some minds, may be inferred from the very sensible observations which appeared in the National Gazette on the evening of Monday, the 21st, when the riots were at an end, and when a few days only of time had allowed reason and reflection to reassume their sway. This is its editorial article:

"One night of riot takes away a city's reputation for three hundred and sixty-five of repose and security. Riots in this country, though growing out of local and transient causes, are viewed and employed abroad as the strongest argument against our form of government.

"It is of no avail that we, in our turn, can retort with what we deem entire effect, by saying that the Peninsula of Spain presents more violence, bloodshed, and cruelty in a single campaign than the Union during its whole history; that in despotic countries popular commotion is an ordinary occurrence; that the life of the French monarch is attempted periodically; and that in Great Britain illegal combinations and tumults are constantly occurring. These all are overlooked in hunting up and presenting, with supercilious acrimony, our lapses from a state of absolute immunity from all such outrage. In one sense it is a tacit acknowledgment that personal security and the rights of property ought to be better respected and enforced under a Democratic form of government than under any other, but that balance of the argument goes for nothing against the practical force of the other set forth. The Parisian, secure in going to the opera and eating-house by virtue of a hundred thousand bayonets, will thank Heaven that his lot is not cast in such a barbarous spot as Philadelphia, which (except in a few instances) has been kept in order by the show of a few batons.

"These considerations should be ever held by the sentient portion of the community; and they never should, under any circumstances whatever, suspend, either by opinion, apathy, or indiscreet conduct of any kind, the force of the grand precept, that 'under all circumstances and at every cost, the supremacy of the laws must be maintained.' This precept carries with it the provision that adequate means must be taken to maintain them."

I cordially agree with this writer in all the opinions he

has here uttered ; and, although no language could be too strong to express my entire reprobation of the conduct of the incendiaries, and the apathy and indifference of the public authorities, yet it is impossible not to admit that the very circumstance of a population of 200,000 persons living in perfect security of person and property (except only in cases where this question of slavery is agitated), and this with the full knowledge of the fact that the civil authorities are weak, the police insufficient, and that there is really no military force to call in, is conclusive evidence of a general sufficiency of sustenance, contentment of condition, and an absence of that constant temptation to commit excesses, which springs out of the poverty, or recklessness, or sense of wrong in the labouring masses of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France.

After a period of several days, the public authorities began to move, and an announcement was made by the mayor, offering a reward of 2000 dollars for the discovery of the incendiaries. On the day after this a proclamation was issued by the governor of the state, strongly condemning the conduct of the incendiaries, and offering a farther reward of 500 dollars for their apprehension.

Notwithstanding these public and official denunciations of the rioters, there were not wanting persons who persisted in upholding the conduct of the incendiaries ; and who boasted that, however often the hall should be rebuilt—for, by a recent law, the city and county funds are made answerable for damages done by rioters—it would be burned down again, and each successive time with renewed vigour. One of the most independent of the newspapers, the Public Ledger, having been the first as well as the boldest in its condemnation of the lawless conduct of the mob, the rioters assembled in front of the Ledger Office, and, had it not been for the ample preparations made to repel them by the spirited and resolute editor and proprietors, there was every probability that it would have been speedily demolished. The following article, from the Public Ledger of May 24, refers to this :

" We wish our readers to understand distinctly, that while we shall continue, as we began, to abstain from interference with the subjects of slavery, partisan politics, or sectarian religion, we shall ever contend for the supremacy of the laws, and oppose all attempts to restrain the liberty of speech or the press. Unless the laws reign, no security for person or property can be found ; and unless the great natural and constitutional right of free discussion be maintained, all rational liberty must perish.

" During the recent excitement, we studiously refrained from men-
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tioning that we should not interfere with the subject of slavery. Knowing that we were currently charged with being abolitionists, and perceiving that the mob had selected our office for destruction under that supposition, we were resolved to utter no disclaimer upon the subject while any disorderly spirit prevailed. To deny that we were abolitionists while a mob was around our doors, denouncing vengeance against us because it believed us to be such, would have borne the appearance of deprecating its wrath. We have never yet been awed by the lawless, and trust that we never shall be; and, instead of treating with them, when assembled in force, or attempting to appease their anger, we shall never fail to invoke against them the penalties of the law, and to meet them with forcible resistance."

As every succeeding day strengthened the cause of those who had been so unjustly persecuted, and weakened that of the persecutors, so every day produced some new proof of that growing strength. The first was the arrest of one of the incendiaries, who, as will be seen, was a member of a "highly respectable" family; for the anti-abolition riots are almost always fomented and encouraged by persons of this class, whose pecuniary interests, or those of their connexions, either are, or are believed to be, in danger from giving freedom to the slave, and whose prejudices, therefore, on this subject are the hottest, fiercest, and most ungovernable. The following is the paragraph in which the announcement of this arrest was made in the newspapers:

"We learn that a man, who is represented to be of a highly respectable family, was arrested on Tuesday, and taken before Alderman Binns, charged with having been concerned in the recent destruction of Pennsylvania Hall. Mr. Shotwell appeared as the principal witness, and testified that he was in the hall on the night of the conflagration, and saw the prisoner busily engaged in tearing down the blinds, and inciting others to the destruction of the building. He has known the prisoner for eight or ten years, and is positive as to the individual, who was bound over in the sum of 3000 dollars for his appearance before the alderman on Friday, at 12 o'clock."

The day following this a letter appeared in the leading journals, from the eminent barrister, Mr. David Paul Brown, which excited among his friends considerable apprehension for his personal safety, and which, from the boldness of its tone at such a moment, and the force of its reasoning, was admired even by those who deprecated his conduct. The letter is so characteristic as to be worth transcribing in some of its principal passages:

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"I am a member and an advocate of the Abolition Society, and shall continue so to be in despite of mobs. I am a firm friend of rational liberty, and am not to be awed into its abandonment by licentiousness or vice. I shall not quarrel with those who differ with me upon these subjects: they may *freely* enjoy their opinion, I shall *boldly* maintain mine.

I am unwilling to enter into anything like self-vindication where there is actually no offence, and am above all attempts to propitiate the *turbulent* and *refractory* by renouncing sentiments which I solemnly and *sacredly* entertain. So much for my faith, and the principles by which I am governed :

'If I for my opinions suffer wrong,
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt.'

"It is understood that one of the charges preferred against me (got up, no doubt, by some designing knave, to whom, professionally, I have rendered *service*, either by an *acquittal* or *conviction*) is that of having avowed myself to be the friend of amalgamation. Every one who heard my speech at the dedication of Pennsylvania Hall knows this to be untrue; and to those who did not *hear* it, I proclaim it to be false. I am adverse to amalgamation, and to the *practical* friend of amalgamation.

"The other opinion expressed is one having regard to immediate emancipation, and upon this subject the views entertained by me are thus expressed : 'I confess, with all my devotion to the great cause of human freedom, still, if it were left with me to strike off the chains of slavery instantly and with a single blow, I should hesitate before that blow was struck : hesitate, not for myself, not for the safety or security of the government, not for the probable effects of the measure upon society or upon the slave states (for in none of these relations could it prove dangerous), but for the slaves themselves. They are not, in a mass, morally or intellectually in a condition qualifying them for so sudden and important a change. The flood of light that would pour in upon them would prove too powerful for their long-benighted vision, or, in other words, they might surfeit in the excess of joy.'

"I have had occasion to say formerly, and I repeat it now, that the violence manifested by the adversaries of abolition is to be ascribed to the turbulent spirit of the times, which seeks a vent upon every possible opportunity, and which will, ere long, be found to glut itself upon the very individuals by whom it is apparently fostered and encouraged.

"I have thought proper to make this exposition, not to conciliate my adversaries, but to satisfy my friends, as I desire to retain both. I regret nothing that I have said; I deplore nothing that I have done; my property is under the protection of the law, and, however *imperfect* that protection, there I leave it; of my family and personal sanctity I am the guardian, and will never permit either to be violated with impunity.

"DAVID PAUL BROWN."

The effect produced upon the public mind by this letter was in every way salutary, and showed the value and importance of men being faithful to their opinions at whatever hazard to their fortunes or their lives. Even the anti-abolitionists were compelled to pay homage to the moral courage it evinced, and the timid among the abolitionists took heart at this open defiance of all danger by one whose opinions they approved and whose heroism they admired. People began, accordingly, to speak more freely in reprehension of the conduct of the rioters; the public sympathy began to be moved in favour of the sufferers; and even the press assumed a higher tone, as will be seen by the last article I shall quote, from the Democratic paper, the *Pennsylvanian*.

"Laws are enacted, not only to be obeyed when it is agreeable to do so, for then the end would be attained without them, but for the purpose of controlling our impulses, and for securing the ultimate good of all by occasional sacrifices of individual will. The general result is that which is contemplated by enlightened legislation, and its protection is extended alike to the good and the bad, to the wise and the foolish, and, above all, to the minority as well as to the majority. To say, therefore, that there are cases in a country governed like this in which the law may be suspended, is to break down every barrier upon which the citizen relies for safety, and to return once more to the practice of barbarous ages. A new arbiter of his fate is introduced, and both life and property are made dependant upon the will of those who possess the physical power at the moment. It is therefore far better that multitudes of evils should be tolerated, than that a single blow should be thus given at the very framework of our social fabric. It is destructive of the vital principle of Republicanism as it exists among us; and upon mere selfish considerations, if there were no other, it should be sternly and unflinchingly opposed. If the restraints of law and of the dictates of toleration are thrown off to-day for the purpose of intimidating the ultra-abolitionists and amalgamationists, there is no earthly reason why it may not be proclaimed to-morrow that certain party principles are offensive to public opinion; that the printing offices which publish them must be burned, and that the leaders of party who espouse them must be sacrificed to appease a 'just indignation.'"

From the intercourse I enjoyed with a very extensive circle of society in Philadelphia, I believe this article expresses the sentiments of nine tenths of its inhabitants; and it would be therefore most unjust to consider the riotous and incendiary conduct of a mob formed of, at the most, 500 persons, and of these not more than 100 taking any active part in the proceedings, as characteristic of the general state of society in a city that numbers 200,000 residents. The mobs of London in Lord George Gordon's riots, and of Birmingham, when the Church and King loyalists burned down Dr. Priestley's house, or those of Bristol, who, but a few years since, set fire to that city, and plundered the houses during the conflagration, might as well be taken by any American as a fair sample of English society.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Benevolent Institutions of Philadelphia.—School for the Instruction of the Blind.—Magnificent Bequest of an Englishman.—Description of the Institution and Pupils.—Proficiency in Geography and Music.—Publication of the *Blind Student's Magazine*.—Effects produced by this excellent Work.—Remarkable Improvement of an Idiot.—Specimens of Composition by the Blind.—Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.—Curious Experiments in Animal Magnetism.—Utility of the Discoveries growing out of it.—Production of certain Dreams by magnetic Influence.—Dramatic Effects on the mind of a dumb Boy.—Equally remarkable Influence on young Girls.—Entire Change of Character in the Conduct of one.—Insensibility to Pain during the magnetic Sleep.—Remarkable Instance of nervous Insensibility.—Surgical operation performed without Pain.—Application of Animal Magnetism to Surgery.—New Almshouse of Philadelphia.—Beautiful Situation of the Building.—Extent and Completeness of the Establishment.—Statistics of the Poor and Lunatics.—Cost of the Institution and annual Expense.—Marine Hospital for Seamen.—Plan and Arrangement of the Marine Hospital.—Seamen of England and America.—Injustice done to the former by Taxation.—Superior Benefits enjoyed by the latter.—Comparison with Greenwich Hospital.—Distaste of Sailors for inland Situations.

THE most interesting, and, perhaps, the most characteristic feature of Philadelphia, is its benevolent institutions; and in these, more than in anything else, are to be seen the spirit of its first founder, silently prolonging its influence over the conduct and character of his descendants, by providing asylums suited to the relief of almost every misfortune by which the wretched can be afflicted.

The first of these that we visited was the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, where we had the pleasure to be attended by the amiable superintendent of the establishment, Mr. Friedlander, and to be accompanied by him over every part of it. It is now about five years since this institution was first projected by a few benevolent individuals in Philadelphia, who desired to provide an asylum for those unfortunates who are deprived of sight, and to make it a home of happiness, as well as comfort, by instructing its inmates in arts and occupations from which they could earn their own subsistence, and be useful to others as well as to themselves. For this purpose they sent to Germany to obtain the services of some person qualified to superintend such an institution, and Mr. Friedlander, a young but intelligent and enthusiastic philanthropist, came over to Philadelphia for that purpose.

He began his operations with four pupils only; but the progress made with these was so striking as to awaken a general interest throughout the community in favour of the undertaking, and this once roused, the means of augmenta-

tion flowed in apace. An application was made to the State Legislature for a grant to build a suitable edifice, and the answer was that the state would grant 10,000 dollars for that purpose, provided 20,000 dollars could be raised for the same object by the community. The experiment was tried, and, soon after it was commenced, the sum of 26,000 dollars was raised, and a fund thus at once formed beyond the expectations of the most sanguine.

With this a suitable spot of land was purchased in Arch-street, not far from the Schuylkill River, and a neat and commodious building erected thereon; the area occupied by the house and grounds being 247 feet in front by 220 in depth, including gardens, grassplots, and playgrounds for the pupils; while the interior of the building possesses every requisite accommodation for the instruction, subsistence, and lodging of as many as 200 inmates.

During the five years that have elapsed since its first foundation, the institution has grown steadily in public favour, and received a proportionately increased public aid; till, in the past year, 1837, a most munificent addition was made to its funds by the bequest of one of its most active patrons, William Young Birch, who at his death left the whole of his property, valued at 150,000 dollars, as a perpetual endowment for the support of this institution. Mr. Birch was a native of Manchester, in England, at which place he was born on the 9th of November, 1764. He resided at Birmingham during the time of the riots by which the house of Dr. Priestley was destroyed; and being one of his religious followers as a Unitarian, he took so prominent a part in defending the person and property of his friend and pastor, that he found it prudent to leave England for America. He settled in Philadelphia, and pursued the business of a bookseller, in which, during forty years of industrious and honourable exertion, he amassed a handsome fortune; and while his whole life was characterized by active efforts in favour of philanthropic and charitable objects, his death was honoured by the munificent bequest of all his earnings to the Institution for the Instruction of the Blind.

The number of pupils at present in the institution is fifty, of whom thirty-nine are from Pennsylvania, four from New-Jersey, three from Delaware, two from Maryland, one from Virginia, and one from South Carolina; and of the whole number, thirty are males and twenty females, the youngest being about ten years of age, and the oldest eighteen, each sex being superintended by its respective teachers.

The branches of learning now taught in the institution embrace reading, writing, English grammar, the German language, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, natural philosophy, history, and music. In all these we had an opportunity of witnessing the proficiency to which the blind may attain by the use of the apparatus adapted to their condition, and by the zealous and judicious superintendence of competent teachers. They are taught to read and spell, as well as to calculate figures, by raised types and movable blocks, on which the sense of touch supplies the sense of sight. They learn to write by imitating raised characters prepared for them to copy. Geometry is taught by raised diagrams and figures, and geography by globes and maps, prepared with raised surfaces for land and flat surfaces for sea, with slight depressions for rivers, and gradual elevations for hills and mountains. Music is taught in the same manner by raised bars and notes, which are felt by the pupils, by repeatedly passing the fingers over them, bar after bar, till the whole is deeply imprinted on the memory, and then the passages are practised on the instrument. Natural philosophy, history, and languages are of course taught orally, and committed to memory as acquired.

The mere occupation of learning any of these is a source of such extreme delight to the students while so engaged, that if it ended only here, it would be an invaluable blessing; but the gradual expansion of the mind evidently affects the physical health and moral character beneficially, besides laying up stores of the highest enjoyment for future years. The pleasure they take in music is such as to make it the favourite occupation of nearly all the pupils; and already they have in use among them one organ, six pianos, one harpsichord, three harps, nine violins, two violincellos, one double bass, three flutes, one hautboy, one bassoon, three French horns, one trumpet, one trombone, and one pair of kettle-drums. This enables the pupils to pass many happy hours among themselves in the institution, and also to give concerts occasionally to the public, by which the pleasures of others are promoted; and confident expectation is entertained that, before long, excellent teachers of music will be reared from the blind pupils, and organists furnished for churches and places of worship.

Handicraft occupations are at the same time taught with great care. A new range of buildings has been recently erected, 140 feet in length, comprising two stories, the lower part of which is used as a ropewalk for making twine and

cordage of different kinds, and the upper part of it is divided into workshops, in which different trades are carried on. We saw some of the pupils at work making brushes of various kinds, others making shoes, baskets, mats, mattresses, and various articles of turnery, all of them surprisingly well executed as productions of the blind.

The female pupils are instructed in sewing, and fancy-work of various kinds, and they thread their needles and perform their work with almost as much dexterity as if they could see, appearing also to be as happy as possible at their labours.

A printing-press, with a suitable supply of the types used expressly for printing books for the blind, which indent the paper deeply on one side without ink, so as to leave a raised or embossed character on the other side, has been lately provided for the institution; and with this, a monthly periodical, written and printed by the pupils, is prepared and issued, under the title of "The Students' Magazine." We were presented with the first four numbers of this excellent and interesting work, which is highly creditable to its authors, and cannot fail to be of the greatest benefit to the institution. The objects contemplated by its publication are these: 1. To provide the pupils with new reading, made up of extracts from such works as would be too expensive to print entire. 2. The more rapid advancement of the pupils in composition, from a public exhibition of their talents in this way. 3. To awaken the interest and excite the attention of the public in behalf of this interesting class of their fellow-beings. 4. The presenting to the blind who may be scattered over the rest of the country, and who, for various reasons, may never enter a public institution, a means of communication between themselves and others subject to the same privation of sight, of which there will always be many. A striking proof of its utility in this last respect has already occurred. A copy of the magazine was sent by one of the pupils in the institution to a blind lady in the State of Pennsylvania, who, in her correspondence with the pupil in question, thus refers to it:

"Jan. 18, 1838.—When informed that you had passed through our village, I anxiously awaited your return, laid all my plans for detaining you, and anticipated the pleasant hours we should spend together; nothing could have reconciled me to the disappointment but the knowledge of your being pleasantly situated where you are. I have never had the melancholy pleasure of meeting with any female friend in my own situation, and never with any one deprived of sight from childhood; I think we certainly should have some feelings in common, and find sympathy that we could find nowhere else. Is it not so?"

"I should like to ask you a hundred questions: How you succeed in reading, and what studies you are most interested in! Do you take music lessons? Everything relating to the institution is very interesting to me; and I was really delighted when it was mentioned to me, some weeks since, that there was an expectation of issuing a paper from among you; but I fear the attempt has failed. If you could, without inconvenience, return me a few lines printed (for it would add much to the pleasure of receiving them if I should be able to read them myself), you will greatly oblige me."

"Feb. 1st, P.S.—This letter was written as dated, but I hesitated to send it. Until within three days the 'Student's Magazine' was handed to me. I have not learned how it came to the village; it was lent me to read; I should think it could come in the mail without injury, and as I wish to subscribe for it, I send the enclosed note to Mr. Friedlander; and you, who have many studies to interest you, can never imagine how anxiously I shall await its coming, nor the delight with which I welcome it. When I received this one, I felt a childish selfishness, and wished that no one should see it until I had learned its contents; and they had to wait a while, as I was not much accustomed to the capital letters; but I shall have another long letter if I do not haste to bid you farewell."

Among the pupils with whom we conversed was one remarkable youth, of whom the following account is given in the printed report of the institution:

"JOHN BURRIS was found in the suburbs of the city, in circumstances of great want and wretchedness, almost a Caspar Hauser, depending for a scanty subsistence upon the feeble exertions of an aged relative. He was brought to the notice of the president of our institution, who admitted him. When first admitted he could not stand upright, nor walk without assistance. His utterance was incoherent and unintelligible, and he appeared to understand no questions save such as related to dates; but in reply to these, he could almost instantly name the day of the week, of any day of the year, and state the changes of the moon with great precision. Beyond this his mind seemed to wander in darkness. 'There is no end of figures! is there?' was his constant exclamation and answer to almost every question addressed to him. His case seeming hopeless, an order was passed for his dismissal; but, at the request of Mr. Vaughan, he was retained until the return of Mr. Friedlander. In the mean while, he learned the use of his limbs, and could walk alone, eat without assistance, and utter himself more coherently. At this present time he attends to reading, grammar, arithmetic, and geography, in all which, as Mr. Friedlander remarks, 'he is indisputably improving.'"

We found this youth in the ropewalk, assisting another pupil in the making of twine; and in our conversation with him we witnessed the extraordinary faculty which he possessed of calculating numbers, and naming particular days and periods from given data, however remote, and whether past or present. Of astronomy he had as accurate a knowledge as most boys of his age not subject to any infirmity; he was, in short, an instance of a brute wrought into a human being by care, kindness, and education.

Among the specimens of the original compositions of
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some of the pupils of the institution, two short sentences and a letter will be sufficient to show that thoughts as well as words are at their command.

One of the pupils, William Churchman, writes, "There is this difference between happiness and wisdom: he who thinks himself the happiest man really is so; but he that thinks himself the wisest is generally the greatest fool."

Another pupil writes, "Truth is the basis of every virtue. The Scriptures teach us the best way of living, the noblest way of suffering, and the most comfortable way of dying."

The following is the letter of another of the pupils referred to:

"Mr. S—,

"Feb. 15, 1838.

"I think time has got new wings—at least she flies remarkably swift, for the day on which I am accustomed to write has arrived, and found me in a very dull mood. I have nothing particularly concerning ourselves to say. The winter, so far, has been very mild, though cold enough for me, and nothing but the dinner-bell can induce me to leave my best friend, the *stove*.

"The Germans are doing wonders; they now make wooden violin-players; but never mind, our forests can dance to anything they play, besides sustain any character you choose.

"This is very troublesome work; I think I shall get an automaton amanuensis, which will write to you while I attend to my own business.

"Some say you think hard of me for writing in this style; in this you may use your pleasure. I write for you to read, and if you read more than I write, you need not charge it to me.

"E. WHEELAN."

Such are the results already produced by this excellent institution during the first five years of its existence; and, but for its aid, it is more than probable that the majority of the fifty pupils now made useful and happy under its roof, would have been miserable to themselves and a burden to others. Its ample means and constantly-increasing popularity cannot fail to enlarge the sphere of its utility; and with so excellent a director as Mr. Friedlander has proved himself to be, there is no limit to the amount of happiness it may produce.

The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb is a kindred institution, which provides comfortably for the unfortunate class of beings who are deprived of speech and hearing, and instructs them as usefully and as agreeably as the blind are taught at their exclusive establishment. The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb is situated in Broad-street, in a fine open and airy space. The building is neat and commodious, and all its internal arrangements are well adapted to the wants of the pupils. It was first established in 1821,

with a grant from the state of 8000 dollars as a building fund, and a farther annual grant of 160 dollars for each indigent deaf and dumb child that it might receive, subsist, and educate. The scale of the establishment is not so large as that at New-York, but the mode of instruction is the same, and the accommodations for the pupils equally good.

During our visit to this institution we witnessed some curious experiments in animal magnetism tried on some of the pupils, one a lad of about sixteen years of age, and two young girls of ten and twelve years each. The boy was put into a magnetic sleep by being made to recline in a chair, and by the operator placing his thumbs against the thumbs of the youth, pressing them gently, and looking him steadfastly in the face. When the boy was asleep, several of the party were asked to pinch his flesh as hard as they thought proper, to see whether he would awake; but, though some pressed their nails so as to imbed them in his flesh, he never moved a muscle. A pin was then thrust through his flesh, making a complete hole in it; but to this he was as insensible as to all the rest.

Certain motions were then made by the operator over his head and face, without touching either, to produce in him a dream of horrors, when he soon began to tremble in every limb, and to utter indistinct sounds of terror. A slate was then put before him, and a slate-pencil put in his hand, when he wrote, in an agitated manner, a broken sentence, saying he was attacked by wild Indians who were going to kill him. This led the operator to make various motions with his hands over different parts of his body, without touching them; all our eyes were directed to detect any collusion; our convictions were uniform that the boy was profoundly asleep, and could not see anything that was doing by his natural sight.

The magnetic sympathy, or whatever else it may be termed, between the motions of the operator and the sensations of the sleeper, was, however, evident in every case. When the operator moved his hand around the sleeper's foot, and another put the slate before him and placed the pencil in his hand, he wrote, tremblingly, the words, "A monstrous grisly bear is gnawing off my foot. Oh! take him away, take him away!" the pencil dropping from his hand twice during the act of writing. When the operator passed his hand around his head in a circle, and the slate was again placed before him, he was even more agitated than before, and wrote, "The Indians are taking my scalp; how shall I suffer it! oh! death."

The action of stabbing was made over the boy's heart, the hand, however, not being suffered to touch his person; and he struggled violently and made resistance, and gave signs by his countenance of excruciating pain, till at last he sunk down into a state of apparent torpor. Each of the spectators tried in turn to awaken him by the ordinary methods of pulling and pinching, but without the least effect. He seemed in a sleep of death. At length the operator tried the magnetic mode of awakening him, by waving the hands upward near the face, and in about five minutes the boy awoke from his slumbers.

When he was quite recovered he was asked by the teacher, in signs, whether he had been dreaming, and he answered No; whether he recollected any writing or other operation, and he answered No; and when the slate was presented to him, on which the last sentence he had written still remained, his whole look bespoke the utmost astonishment. In the party who witnessed this exhibition there were three physicians, one eminent chymist, three or four legal gentlemen, and the majority of the whole were prejudiced against the system of animal magnetism; yet all confessed their surprise at what they saw, and their conviction that there was no collusion between the parties.

The experiments tried on the girls were of a different nature. The eldest of them was placed in a magnetic sleep as she stood up, and with a very slight effort on the part of another gentleman than the first operator; when she stood sleeping thus, the same experiments were tried as had been before used with the boy, to ascertain whether she were insensible to pain. She was pulled, pinched, scratched, and tortured in such a way as, if her sleep had been of the ordinary kind, could not fail to have awakened her; but all this made no more impression on her than on a statue of marble.

This girl was neither deaf nor dumb, and was not, therefore, one of the pupils, but belonged to some of the attendants on the establishment. She was then asked a variety of questions, to all of which she answered rationally; she was shown a number of things, that is, they were held before her; and though her eyes were perfectly closed, and her sleep the most profound, yet she described the names, properties, forms, and colours of the objects shown as accurately as if she had been awake. A bandage was then put across her eyes, and so widely spread and tightly bound as to render it impossible she should see, even if awake. In this state other objects were held before her, and her descrip-

tions of them in answer to questions asked were as accurate as before.

The objects were then placed above her head and behind her back, and interchanged with other objects, and her perception of them through the magnetic medium, or whatever other faculty it may be, was just as clear and accurate as ever; at least her descriptions were as uniformly correct. She was again pinched, and pulled, and tortured with pins, to see if she were awake, but she was as insensible to pain as if she had been dead. All this astonished us exceedingly; but, though we could not comprehend the cause of what we saw, there was no resisting the evidence of the facts.

The last experiment was on the youngest girl of the party, aged about ten. This little creature was one of the most timid beings that could be imagined. It was difficult even to get her to hold up her head so as to look the person addressing her in the face, or to get any reply to a question beyond a yes or no; though, like the former, she was not a mute, but belonged to the family of one of the attendants. She was almost instantaneously put into a magnetic sleep, as she was described to be of peculiar susceptibility to the magnetic influence. The most remarkable effect witnessed in her case was a complete change of character. From being one of the most timid and hesitating, she became one of the boldest and most boisterous little creatures imaginable. She answered all questions put to her sharply, and often retorted wittily on the questioner. She then became herself the leading person of the party, and arranged all the gentlemen, one by one, on seats round the room, and instructed them in a juvenile game she wished us to play, and laughed and indulged her merriment exactly as if she were with persons of her own age, in the most genuine playfulness.

She was most severely pinched and tortured with pins to see if she felt pain, but she remained as insensible to it as all the others, and no effort of any of the party to awaken her in the ordinary method succeeded. As soon, however, as the operator who had first put her to sleep in the magnetic mode came to try his hand at awakening her, which he did without touching her person, but merely by waving the hands upward gently before her face, she awoke; and, looking round with a vacant stare, was so abashed that she hung down her little head, and scarcely a word could be got from her afterward, except to assure us that, like the rest, she had no recollection whatever of anything that had passed in her sleep.

When the children were all removed from the room, and we began to interchange observations on the subject, it was clear that we were all equally astonished at what we had seen, and all entirely unable to offer even any rational conjecture as to the cause of it; not one, however, among the whole party expressed the least suspicion of any collusion, which, indeed, seemed to me to be impossible.

These few facts appeared to be proved beyond all doubt:

1. That the magnetic sleep is entirely different from the ordinary sleep.
2. That persons put to sleep by the magnetic process can only be awakened by the same process.
3. That there is a complete suspension of the susceptibility of pain during this singular state, though all the other senses remain in full vigour.
4. That there is no recollection, after awakening, of what transpired in the sleep, as there is in the case of ordinary dreams.

Dr. Mitchell, an eminent physician of the party, expressed his belief that the single discovery that the nerves of the touch are different from the nerves of pain, and that the latter may be deadened or suspended while the former remain in full force and action, would probably lead to most beneficial results. He mentioned a case of a lady of his acquaintance who had a decayed tooth, that affected her with intense agony, but which she had not the courage to have extracted. He told her that, if she would permit herself to be put into a magnetic sleep, it might be taken out without pain. She disbelieved this, and refused to try. Some days after he proposed to put her into this sleep; but she refused, unless he would pledge his honour that he would not attempt to meddle with her tooth. He did so; she was content, and was placed in this condition without any remarkable occurrence.

A week or two after this he again placed her in a magnetic sleep, but without any pledge or engagement being exacted. He then took the opportunity to extract the tooth. The lady was conscious of it, and signified her assent. His first effort was unsuccessful, but the lady felt no pain: he tried again; the tooth broke short, and still no pain was felt; but he had, by a severe process, to extract the broken stump from the gum, which, had the lady been awake, would, he thought, have been excruciating. She bore it all, however, without shrinking, and declared that she felt no pain, and was glad the tooth was out. All this conversation took place during the magnetic sleep. She was afterward awakened by the magnetic process; and, when perfectly recovered, was surprised and delighted to find her torment-

ing tooth gone, but declared that she had no recollection whatever of anything that had passed in connexion with it, or of anything, indeed, having occurred to her in her sleep.

It is true that there are very different degrees of susceptibility in different individuals to this magnetic influence, young persons being more susceptible than old, and females than males; but if, wherever any such susceptibility exists, persons about to be submitted to painful operations can be first placed in a state of insensibility to pain, and then have the operation performed while in that condition, the amount of suffering which it would avert might justly rank it among the greatest and most beneficial discoveries of later times.

One of the most beautifully situated and best arranged of all the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia is the series of buildings called the New Almshouse, for the reception of



the destitute poor. Its position is on a rising ground on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill River, of which it commands several beautiful views, while immediately before it the stream is continually diversified by the passage of small vessels and boats sailing up and down the river from Philadelphia. In short, if the position had been chosen for a splendid mansion and park, no selection could have been more appropriate; and at a distance, the whole establishment has this appearance rather than of a charitable asylum.

The pile of buildings comprises four ranges, which are so placed as to form a perfect parallelogram, with an open space in the centre of the square, and the area covered by the whole is about ten acres. In addition to this there are nearly two hundred acres of ground surrounding the insti-

tution, a portion of which is laid out in lawn and walks along the river front, another portion is devoted to gardens for supplying vegetables and fruit, and the rest is left in meadow or pasture land for the cattle of the establishment.

The principal front of the pile faces towards the east, looking down on the Schuylkill River, and across it towards the City of Philadelphia, from which it is separated by this stream. The front is composed of a centre and two wings; the centre is ninety feet in length and three stories in height, and presents a fine portico of eight pillars, surmounted by a pediment reposing on a granite basement, the ascent to which is by a flight of twenty steps, so that the whole edifice possesses a commanding elevation. In this division are the rooms of the superintendent, physician, steward, and guardians, their offices, with dining-room, kitchen, and two fire-proof rooms. On the ground-floor is the dining-room for the male inmates of the institution, capable of accommodating 500 persons, and an extensive kitchen, in which all the culinary operations are performed by steam.

The north and south wings of this front are appropriated to the use of the male paupers. They are three stories high, with five wards on a floor, containing 112 well-ventilated dormitories, each for one bed only. Each ward is about 40 feet square, and in the centre of the whole is an open space of about 24 feet, the use of which is common to the inmates of all the wards. The number of wards and dormitories is the same on each floor, and connected with each there are spacious corridors 10 feet in width.

The western front is occupied as the Almshouse for the women, who are kept apart from the men; and in its general arrangement it resembles the former. At the north-western corner of the square is a building occupied by the aged and blind among the females, and here also is the obstetric ward and the nursery; while in another portion of the edifice, in the upper story of the river front, are apartments for the more aged and infirm of the male paupers, who are taken every care of.

At the northeast corner of the square is the asylum for the children, in which there are upward of 150 of both sexes. In addition to the subsistence afforded to these, care is taken to furnish them with healthy recreation and proper instruction. For this purpose a large schoolroom is prepared, and teachers are employed who train them in good habits and good morals, as well as cultivate their understandings; and many of them being orphans, they are

subsequently placed out by the institution into situations in which they are enabled to earn their own subsistence.

The north building is appropriated to manufacturing purposes, and is called "The House of Employment." In this the inmates are employed in the manufacture of woollen and cotton cloths, grinding flour, and performing such other works of handicraft as they are acquainted with or can be taught. A steam-engine of 12 horse power propels machinery for various purposes, and the whole forms a scene of healthy activity and industry.

The Hospital occupies another range of the buildings, the sexes being separated here as elsewhere; and a separate portion being set aside for the insane, of whom there are upward of a hundred. An excellent Dispensary, and an extensive medical library, as well as a lecture-room capable of accommodating 800 persons, form parts of this establishment; and adjoining to the hospital is the principal garden, which affords agreeable walks for the invalids and convalescents.

In the centre of the square formed by the buildings is a spacious wash-house, with an elevated steeple and an illuminated dial-clock. There is also a store, to which all the articles manufactured at the institution are brought in to deposit previous to their being issued from thence to the respective wards for which they may be required.

The whole cost of the erection of this building exceeded a million of dollars, and its annual expense is about 150,000 dollars. The building fund and annual cost are both raised by a municipal tax on the city and liberties of Philadelphia, which amounted to about one per cent. on the assessment of real property for the former, and about half per cent. on the rentals of dwellings for the latter. The number of inmates is about 2000 in winter and 1500 in summer, including about 200 lunatics and 150 children. In all, the males predominate over the females in the proportion of about 9 to 6. The average cost of maintenance is about a dollar for each person per week.

We were taken over the establishment by the superintendent, and were permitted to examine every part of it; and although our visit was wholly unexpected and without notice, it filled us with admiration to see the cleanliness, order, and perfect condition of every department. The kitchen, with its steam apparatus and utensils, was the most perfect that could be imagined; the floors were everywhere clean enough to be used as tables; the tin and pewter ves-

sels were polished like mirrors; the bed and table linen exquisitely clean; the walls white as snow; the ventilation perfect; and, in short, taking house, grounds, site, prospect, offices, and interior arrangement into consideration, it may with confidence be asserted that a nobler almshouse than this is not to be found in the whole world.

The Marine Hospital is another of the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia well worthy of a visit by the stranger. It is not far from the Almshouse just described, but is seated on the east side of the Schuylkill, while the former is on the west. It has a finely-elevated position, being 50 feet above high-water mark, which, in the general level of the surrounding tract, is sufficient to ensure it a commanding prospect and fine air.

In England there being but one metropolis, and the great Naval Asylum of Greenwich Hospital being planted there, everything belonging to it is on a scale of corresponding magnitude. But in America, where every separate state has its own metropolis, institutions of this description exist in every great seaport, and, consequently, from being more numerous, they are each on a smaller scale.



The Marine Hospital at Philadelphia, or the United States' Naval Asylum, as it is more generally called, is nevertheless a building of considerable size and ample accommodation. It stands on a fine open piece of ground, surrounded with lawn, and presents a front to the east of 386 feet in length, which includes a centre building and two wings. The centre building is 142 feet in length by 175 in depth. It has a fine Ionic portico of eight marble columns, surmounted with

a pediment; and the ascent to the portico being by a flight of marble steps, the whole has an imposing aspect. The plan of the building was designed by the city architect, Mr., Strickland, and the details are said to be from an Ionic temple on the Ilyssus, near Athens.

The two wings have a basement of granite, above which are three stories, all of fine white marble, like the portico and steps; along the front of these wings run three verandahs, one to each story, which are supported by 88 iron pillars resting on granite piers, with an iron railing or breastwork strikingly resembling the quarter-deck nettings in a ship-of-war, but whether the resemblance was accidental or intentional I could not learn.

In the basement of the centre building is a dining-room 113 feet long, and the general kitchen of the establishment, with a furnace, from whence flues proceed for heating the whole building. From this story the communication to all the upper ones is by geometrical staircases of marble. In the first floor of this central building are, on the front, eight parlours for offices, and in the rear a chapel 56 feet square, lighted from the dome. On either side of these are the Dispensary, surgeons' and apothecaries' departments, and baths. In the third story are the sleeping-rooms of the officers, and a separate department for the insane.

In the wings are the general dormitories, of which there are 180 in number, these capable of accommodating 400 persons; and, being all vaulted, they are spacious and airy, as well as substantial and secure.

The whole edifice is built of fine white Pennsylvania marble, and cost 250,000 dollars in its erection, the funds for which were furnished by the General Government. The custom of receiving from all the seamen of the Union the contribution of twenty cents per month for the support of such institutions, exists here, as it does in England, where sixpence per month hospital-money has been received from mercantile seamen for years past for a similar purpose. There is this essential difference, however, that the merchant seamen of England, who pay their sixpence per month to the support of Greenwich Hospital, are not eligible to the enjoyment of its advantages when they grow old and are worn out, as that establishment receives only the seamen of the royal navy; whereas in America, as all contribute, so all are eligible to enjoy the benefits for which they pay. Accordingly, the wornout seamen of the American merchant-ship can enter this asylum as freely as the veteran of

the ship-of-war; and as, in a national point of view, the seamen who conduct the commerce of a country are as much entitled to support and protection in their old age as the seamen who fight its battles, it is but justice that both should be put on the same footing, especially when both contribute towards the same fund.

From the rear, or western front of this asylum, the view is extensive and beautiful, embracing the winding of the Schuylkill, the Waterworks of Fair Mount, the Almshouse on the opposite bank of the river, the State Penitentiary, and Girard College, while the moving scenery of the small-craft and boats perpetually passing up and down the stream add greatly to the interest of the scene.

Notwithstanding this, the institution is not so much resorted to by sailors as those of Norfolk, Staten Island, and Boston; because on these, the vicinity of the ocean, and the constant passing to and fro of large ships, is a source of pleasure to them which these smaller river-craft never can afford. No doubt one of the great charms of Greenwich Hospital to the British mariner is the constant succession of ships of every size and form that pass every hour of the day up and down the Thames before their eyes, giving scope for nautical criticism and maritime jokes as to the respective styles of handling ships under weigh; but the same class of beings who are perfectly happy on the ever-varying banks of the Thames at Greenwich, would die of ennui if removed farther up the same stream, though surrounded by all the softer beauties of Twickenham or Richmond Hill.

CHAPTER XXX.

History and Description of the Pennsylvania Hospital.—Statistics of its Patients and Cures.—Financial Resources of the Establishment.—Treatment and Condition of the Insane.

ONE of the noblest and most extensively useful of all the benevolent institutions is the Pennsylvania Hospital, situated in the very heart of Philadelphia. To this I had the opportunity of making a long and interesting visit, devoting an entire day to the purpose, and being accompanied by Mr. Nicholas Biddle and Dr. Bell, from whom and from the resident director, answers to every inquiry were readily obtained.

High as my admiration had already been of the perfection to which the arrangement and management of such institutions as these is carried in America, it was raised still higher by a personal inspection of every part of this admirable hospital; and as its history, as well as the statistics of its present condition, is calculated to excite the emulation of benevolent minds in other countries, a brief sketch of both is here condensed from authentic sources.

The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded by a number of the benevolent citizens of Philadelphia, and incorporated in the year 1751 by an act of the Provincial Legislature, as "The contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital;" every contributor of ten pounds or upward being a member of the corporation, with a vote in its elections, and eligible to be appointed to the management of its concerns.

The design of the Hospital is general, its charter providing for the reception of insane persons, and those afflicted with all other maladies not infectious. A lying-in department, authorized by a subsequent act of Assembly, for the accommodation of poor married women of respectable character, has been founded on a donation from the first troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, of money received by them for military services in the war of the Revolution. The number of women annually received into this department is now upward of seventy.

The charter of this institution provides that no part of its income shall be appropriated to any other purpose than to the support of the sick and diseased poor, and providing the necessary buildings for their accommodation; and that those whose diseases render them proper objects of the charity, shall be received from any part of Pennsylvania, without partiality or preference.

The contributors meet annually, on the first Monday in the month of May, to elect from their body twelve managers and a treasurer to serve during the ensuing year. The law regulating their duty and trust provides that they shall receive no emolument whatever for the performance of their official duties.

The managers elect annually three physicians to have charge of the medical department, three surgeons to the charge of the surgical department, and two physicians for the lying-in department, all of whom must be doctors in medicine and members of this corporation.

Two young gentlemen, graduates of medicine, reside in the hospital, and take charge alternately of the surgical and

the medical and obstetrical departments, under the direction of the visiting physicians and surgeons. One of the residents is elected annually, to serve two years. An apothecary is employed to prepare and dispense the medicines prescribed by the physicians.

The physicians and surgeons of this hospital have uniformly rendered their important aid gratuitously. The students of medicine who attend the practice of the hospital physicians pay a fee of ten dollars each for the privilege: these fees, which in European hospitals are a perquisite of their medical staff, the professional gentlemen attached to the Pennsylvania Hospital have generously devoted to the foundation and endowment of a medical library, which now consists of about 6000 volumes, comprising a large proportion of the most valuable ancient and modern works on the science of medicine, with many rare treatises on botany, and other branches of natural history. Students have the privilege of using this splendid collection while attending the hospital practice; and a right to its use during life is granted for the sum of twenty-five dollars.

After the accommodation of as many poor patients as the state of the funds will justify, the managers have authority to receive pay patients; any profit derived from this source being devoted to increase the fund for the maintenance of the poor. The rates usually charged are from three to six dollars per week, according to the circumstances of the patients.

The number of the patients to be received on the charity of the institution is fixed from time to time by the board of managers; it is now nominally 100; but, as no serious cases of accidental injury are ever turned away from the hospital-gate, the number of poor patients in the house is frequently 120.

About one third of the patients on the poor-list are insane; it has been found necessary thus to limit their number, on account of the great length of time such patients have remained, to prevent their occupation of the house to the exclusion of the necessitous sick and wounded.

A new arrangement has, however, been introduced, which, already productive of much good, promises to render this interesting department of the institution of far greater public utility than before.

Experience has demonstrated that mental maladies are almost unsusceptible of cure except in their earlier stages; everything appears to depend on the prompt removal of the

patient from scenes and persons associated with the mental hallucination, and an early subjection to a proper course of medical and moral treatment. It being, therefore, of great importance to open the door of admission as widely as possible to recent cases, the managers of the Hospital have agreed that, in future, except under particular circumstances, insane persons shall be received on the charity but for limited periods, sufficient security being taken that they shall be removed by their friends when the disease becomes fixed, and the restoration of reason is no longer to be expected.

The square on which the Hospital stands measures nearly four acres. About seven eighths of this square were purchased by the managers in 1754, for the sum of £500 Pennsylvania currency. The remaining portion, consisting of 396 feet in length by 60 in depth, was presented to the Hospital in the year 1762, by Thomas and Richard, sons of William Penn.

The open square, lying in parallel lines to the east, together with several lots to the south and west of the Hospital, containing in all about ten acres, have been purchased at various times, in order to secure an ample space and free circulation of air around the buildings.

The Hospital, surrounded on the borders of the square by majestic forest-trees, chiefly the occidental plane, the largest growth of the North American forest, planted in the year 1756, exhibits a south front of venerable aspect and considerable proportions, extending east and west 281 feet. It consists of a centre building, united by long wards of three stories in height to two wings extending north and south. The wings are surmounted by cupolas.

The centre building measures 64 feet in front by 61 in depth, and, with the balustrade surrounding its cupola, is 72 feet in height. The long ward to the east of the centre is 81 feet in length by 27 feet in breadth, and the east wing measures 27 feet east and west by 111 feet north and south. The western ward measures 81 feet by 33, and the west wing 28 feet by 111.

The foundation-stone of this edifice was laid on the 28th of May, 1755. It bears the following inscription:

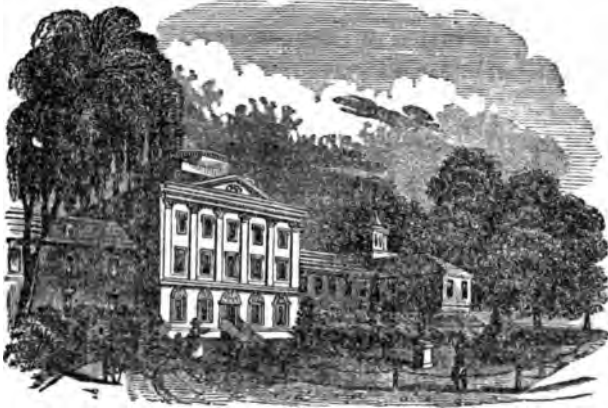
"In the year of CHRIST
MDCCLV

George the Second happily Reigning
(For he sought the happiness of his people),
* PHILADELPHIA Flourishing

(For its inhabitants were public-spirited),
 This Building,
 By the Bounty of the Government,
 And of many private persons,
 Was piously founded,
 For the Relief of the Sick and Miserable.
 May the God of Mercies
 Bless the Undertaking."

In one of the wings of the building is exhibited the painting by Benjamin West, of Christ healing the Sick in the Temple. The exhibition of this superb piece, a present from that distinguished artist, produces a revenue to the Hospital of about 400 dollars per annum, and the records show that from its first opening more than 100,000 visitors have been admitted to see it. West, it is well known, was of a Quaker family; and the exhibition of this production of his pencil in the Quaker city of Philadelphia is agreeable to those who are proud of his fame as an artist of sufficient merit, though a Republican, to become the favourite painter of an English monarch, George the Third.

A fine statue of William Penn, of lead, bronzed (presented by his grandson, John Penn, Esq., of Stoke Poges, England), is placed upon a pedestal of white marble, in a conspicuous situation on the lawn before the south front of the Hospital. A chair, once the property of that great man, is preserved in the house; and a scion from the elm-tree under which was held the celebrated treaty with the Indians in 1682, has attained considerable size in the square opposite the western front of the building.



The greenhouses, containing a handsome collection of exotic plants, together with the ornamental lawns in front

and rear of the house, are under the care of a regular gardener. The attention paid to neatness, and even ornament, in the exterior and interior of the house, gives to the whole an air of elegance seldom equalled in establishments of this nature. This is justified, as well by donations to a considerable amount having been received for this purpose, as by the influence it is calculated to exert on the mind and health of the inmates of the institution.

A carriage and pair of horses are kept for the use of the patients, money for their purchase and support having been bequeathed by Dr. Samuel Cooper, formerly a resident physician in the Hospital. Another horse is kept for the marketing and other necessary uses of the establishment, and twelve cows for a supply of milk to the patients; these derive the principal part of their support from the adjacent lots, the property of the institution.

The provisions furnished to the inmates of the Hospital are of the best quality; the common diet is plain but nutritious, and, in necessary cases, delicacies and wines are freely administered on their prescription by the physicians; it being a recognised maxim, that, while nothing may be administered merely to pamper the appetite, nothing shall be spared which can contribute to the recovery of health.

The total number of patients admitted into the Hospital from its opening, February 11, 1752, to the 28th of April, 1838, was 35,646, of whom 18,979 were poor, and 16,667 pay patients.

In addition to these, a large number of out patients have been attended by the Hospital physicians, and supplied with medicines gratuitously, of whom 13,040 have been restored to health.

In the past year there have been 187 cases of insanity, and 22 of delirium tremens; of the former of which 38, and of the latter 18, have been cured; 27 have been removed by their friends, 1 has eloped, 17 have died, and 101 remain in the Hospital at present.

The last thirty years have witnessed much improvement in the situation and treatment of the unfortunate subjects of insanity throughout the civilized world, and the circumstances of the inmates of this asylum have certainly shared in the general amelioration. Their treatment here has been always characterized by humanity. At no period has cruelty towards them been tolerated. The attendant who is known to strike or otherwise ill-treat a patient is at once discharged.

The medical treatment of this class of patients varies, of course, according to the symptoms of the malady and its connexion with other derangements of the system.

The confined situation of the buildings, together with their common appropriation to the purposes of a general hospital, unfortunately prevents the adoption of an efficient system of classification and employment, essential constituents of what is commonly termed moral treatment. Employment is believed to be beneficial in all cases except of acute delirium; where cure is possible, it conduces to it; and where this is not even hoped for, labour ensures sound repose and a general tranquillity, which is rare in the unemployed. This being the belief, founded on experience, of those who administer the affairs of this institution, it is acted upon as far as circumstances will permit. The greater part of the females are employed in knitting, sewing, spinning, and similar avocations. It has been found more difficult to furnish occupation for the men; a number of them are, however, employed, some in weaving tape or fringe, preparing carpet-yarn, and making mattresses, and others in supplying the house with fuel, keeping in order the yards, areas, &c. In short, every opportunity is taken to promote employment, and every disposition on the part of a patient to occupy himself innocently is encouraged; to this end, chess, draughts, and some other amusements have been introduced, and newspapers and books are furnished to those who can enjoy them. Two musical instruments, a grand harmonicon and a pianoforte, have contributed many pleasant hours to the female patients; and the soothing melody of the flute is not unfrequently heard in the apartments of the men.

The diet afforded in this asylum is more generous than that of many similar institutions, judging from the bills of fare and other statements occasionally published. Spirituous liquors, wines, and porter are only administered when prescribed by the medical attendant, who has power to order these, as well as any other article of diet, at his discretion.

No difference is made in the diet or treatment of patients merely on account of their wealth. An attempt is made to class them, in some measure, according to the society in which they have been accustomed to move, when the mind is susceptible of such distinctions, but no difference exists between the treatment of those who pay for their board and those who are supported on the charity of the institution, nor is it thought necessary to inform their attendants to which class they belong.

Out of 120 patients, more than 90 usually eat at table in companies, their attendants sitting at the same tables, helping them to their food, and partaking of the same fare. The diet of these patients is not portioned; each is allowed to satisfy his appetite. Those who do not eat at table are the very dirty, the violent, and those placed by the physician upon a prescribed diet.

In the last year, 1837, up to the 28th of April, 1838, the total number of patients admitted into the Hospital was 1037, of which 784 were males and 253 were females; and of the same number, 382 were pay patients and 655 were poor. These, added to the number that remained in the Hospital at the close of the preceding year, made 487 pay patients and 759 poor; of which 392 of the former and 657 of the latter were discharged, chiefly cured, and 95 pay and 102 poor patients remained in the institution.

Of the 1037 patients thus received in the past year, 572 were natives of the United States, and 411 were natives of Great Britain, 56 from England, eight from Scotland, three from Wales, and no less than 344 from Ireland, so large is the proportion which the emigrant labourers from that unhappy country furnish to the charitable as well, unfortunately, as to the criminal institutions of the United States. In our conversation with the insane, of which we saw the greatest number, we found them all more sociable, and under more easy control, than we had anticipated. They appeared almost uniformly happy. One lady had danced with General Lafayette at a ball at Boston, and this was the great charm of her life. Another had, unfortunately, rejected the addresses of a suitor whom she really loved, but was afraid it would be thought immodest to accept him at once; and this was the poison of her existence. One of the happiest was a French captain in the army, who considered himself a field-marshal, and who talked with a degree of vivacity and volubility such as I had never heard before. The new asylum building for the lunatics at Brockley, some miles out of town, will be a great comfort to them, and a great relief also to the Hospital.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Seaman's Friend Society.—The Magdalen Society.—Contrast of Europe and America.—Indigent Widow's and Single Women's Society.—The Philadelphia Orphan Society.—Hospital for the Blind and Lame.—Union Benevolent Association.—Society for Promoting Christianity in China.—Proposed new Order of Missionaries.—Testimony of Ellis's Polynesian Researches.—Letter of the Missionaries of Sandwich Islands.—Labours of Mr. Gutzlaff in China.—Reference to my Proposed Voyage round the Globe.—Theory of the new Order of Missionaries.—Healing the Sick and Preaching the Gospel.—Success hitherto attending this Union.—Foundation of an Ophthalmic Hospital in China.—Testimony of the Chinese who had been Cured.—Formation of a general Dispensary in China.—Suggestion of a Medical Missionary Society.—Certain Benefits of such an Institution.

BESIDES the larger and more prominently useful of the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia already described, there are many smaller ones, all conceived in the same philanthropic spirit, and all productive of great good in their several spheres; a short account of which is due to the character of the community by which they are supported.

One of these is the "Seaman's Friend Society," which was formed in the year 1829, with a view to rescue, if possible, the hundreds of thoughtless mariners from the temptations by which they are surrounded, and before which so many of them daily fall. It has been well observed by the founder of this truly useful and praiseworthy institution, that the greater number of seamen's lives are passed in the narrow, rude, contaminating society of the isolated vessel; and their visits ashore, few and far between, are only distinguished as the opportunities for squandering their hard-earned wages in scenes of guilt and wretchedness. Privations and hardships, inclement skies, wintry storms, battle, murder, sudden death, and all the perilous incidents of their occupation, are fast sweeping them to eternity. If helplessness and need may then touch the sympathies of the heart, and impose a measure of duty according to the power to relieve, none of our fellow-men would seem to press more urgent claims upon prompt and efficient aid than those who "go down to the sea in ships." They are not only exposed to the arts of the unprincipled, and to every evil influence from the licentious, but the general system of sailor boarding-houses is a mere lure to excess, deriving its chief gain from pandering to their vices. Under the power of such temptation they are easily subdued, their aversion to moral enjoyments is deepened, and capacity for reflection and in-

struction destroyed; and, after a short period of feverish excitement and bewildering sensualities, plundered of every dollar and in debt, they are shipped off only to procure new means to ensure a repetition of the same arts of ruin at the next port they reach.

The only remedy for this evil was, of course, to provide other boarding-houses than those formerly frequented by them, where the seamen might have all the comforts, and much more of the economy, but none of the vices and temptations of their old haunts. Such an establishment was accordingly formed in Front-street, near the Delaware, in the quarter where ships and seamen most abound, and placed under the direction of a discreet and excellent manager, Captain Abels, where every attention was paid to their real wants, but where no intoxicating drinks (the cause of all a sailor's extravagances and miseries) were permitted to be used or seen.

The superintendent of the establishment affords also every facility to the study of navigation; and it has been pleasing to remark that, as seamen became weaned from coarse gratifications, they have applied themselves studiously to understand the science of their own calling. There is a reading-room, furnished with journals, civil, literary, and religious, maps and charts, and a small library of useful books; besides a registry, stating the names of vessels sailing, ports of destination, names of seamen shipped, also the names of all applicants for shipping employment; and a religious meeting is held one evening of every week, conducted by the stated preacher of the Mariner's Church. This meeting is well attended, and is highly interesting.

The superintendent states that, since the house has been under his care, there have been 234 boarders, averaging ten per week, of whom two thirds have been seamen; 195 have been shipped in vessels for the most part under temperance regimen; four have studied navigation; six from common sailors have become officers; five have respectably settled themselves in domestic life; three have joined the Church, and several had been seriously impressed, showing the happy influences of their new circumstances.

These are fruits that may well satisfy the expectations of those who were the first to plant the tree that has yielded them, and make glad the hearts of those who are enabled to repose under its shade.

The Magdalen Society of Philadelphia is another benevolent institution deserving of all praise. There is nothing,

perhaps, that strikes the English traveller who visits America more than the contrast which the streets of its principal cities present, with those of similar towns in England, in the absence of unfortunate and depraved females. In London, it is impossible to pass on foot through any great thoroughfare, even by day, without being gazed at and accosted in the most unequivocal manner by numbers who, from their style of dress, walk, air, and manner, as well as by gestures, and even words, leave no doubt on the mind of the passenger as to their habits and character. In Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large towns, not to speak of seaports, such as Plymouth, Portsmouth, Bristol, and others, they abound; and after sunset, the throng that appears abroad in the streets is innumerable. In the cities of New-York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia (the only large places I have yet visited), I saw nothing during the day, in any of their great thoroughfares, to offend the eye or the ear in this particular; and at night, the number who, from being unattended by gentlemen, may be supposed to be women of unchaste character, is not a twentieth part of that with which the thoroughfares of our English towns are crowded; and even these behave with a decorum and propriety that is unaccompanied by any overt act of approach towards the male passengers, who are not commonly accosted or annoyed by them in any way.

Notwithstanding this superiority, however, of the great American cities over the British, there are no doubt some such women of loose character, a large proportion of whom, it is believed, come originally from Europe, and but few, comparatively, are native Americans. In Philadelphia, though containing a population of 200,000 persons, there are fewer, it is supposed, than in many English towns of 10,000 inhabitants; but, few as they are, an institution exists, chiefly under the management of Quaker ladies, for reclaiming such as can be persuaded to quit a vicious and adopt a virtuous course of life.

Since the commencement of the society's labours, 466 females have been provided for, and invited to a reformed life; and besides the sixteen females now under their care, 170 have either been restored to their friends, or otherwise enabled to return to honest occupations in life; many of whom can now be named as respectable wives and affectionate and industrious mothers, or in various other modes adorning their professions of reform by exemplary lives.

The females received into this asylum are instructed in

labour, and great attention is paid also to impress them with accurate notions of their moral and religious duties, and with habits of sober life; though almost every report of the society attributes the first breach of their chastity in most instances, and the perpetuation of their vicious course in almost all, to the profuse use of spirituous liquors, so universal is the agency of this poison in producing crime and wretchedness in every form.

Another excellent institution is the "Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Society of Philadelphia," managed and supported almost wholly by ladies. It has now been established twenty-one years, and during that time has afforded support and aid of the most important kind to the two classes of persons named in its title: the last report for 1837 contains the following paragraph:

"The managers have the satisfaction of informing the patrons of the institution that the present condition of the family is quiet and comfortable. By the unwearying assiduity and kindness of our excellent matron, the inmates, aged and infirm as they are, retain a peaceful serenity, more even than is usual in the advanced stage of life to which they have generally arrived. The household comprises fifty-six members, all of whom, it is believed, are now united in harmony and contentment among themselves, and in gratitude to their benefactors."

The "Philadelphia Orphan Society" is another of the institutions managed wholly by ladies. In this, destitute orphans are provided with food, raiment, and instruction in some useful art or trade, accompanied with a plain education; by which they are qualified to obtain an honest livelihood by their own labours; and every year, inmates thus trained are placed out in advantageous situations. The income and expenditure of these two institutions are about 6000 dollars each annually, and this sum is raised entirely by voluntary contributions.

The "Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools" is under the direction of gentlemen. Its object is to furnish education gratuitously to the children of those who cannot even afford the small weekly sum necessary to find admittance into the common schools of the state. The number educated in this manner is not great, not more, perhaps, than 500 in all, education being so cheap at the common schools as to bring it within the reach of almost every one. But even the few that are excluded for want of means to pay the small weekly amount required are by this institution rescued from ignorance and vice, and its contribution to the general good is therefore valuable and acceptable.

Besides an Ophthalmic Hospital near the Institution for the Blind, and several new buildings connected with benevolent objects rising up in the same quarter of the city, there is one that deserves especial mention, namely, the "Wills' Hospital for the Indigent Blind and Lame." This institution was founded by the splendid bequest of a citizen of Philadelphia named James Wills, who gave 108,000 dollars, since increased by interest to 122,000, for the purpose of building and endowing it: and after expending 57,000 dollars in the purchase of the ground, and erecting and furnishing the building, there remain 65,000 dollars invested for its income.

One of the most interesting, because most extensively useful, of all these excellent institutions, is, perhaps, "The Union Benevolent Association," which has taken up a sort of missionary labour among the poor and destitute, who could not be otherwise reached except through the agency of personal visits in their own abodes. Such labours as these are eminently beneficial, where the influence of larger and less active institutions would never be felt at all; and, therefore, in the hope of exciting emulation and imitation in other towns, I think it desirable to transcribe the few following passages from its last report:

"The ultimate object of the association is to elevate and better the condition of the poor, by inculcating the principles of an efficient morality, and calling forth, or cherishing in their minds, a spirit of independence and self-estimation, which will produce habits of thoughtfulness and reliance on their own resources.

"This transformation of character we propose to effect by the simple agency of plain instruction and cheering counsel, conveyed through the abodes of the destitute by the familiar visitation of those more elevated in life, who, rendering themselves acquainted with their habits of domestic economy, may, at the same time that they point out the causes of existing depression, strive to teach the means whereby the greatest number of comforts may be obtained at the least possible cost.

"As auxiliaries in promoting so desirable an end, our design embraces the encouragement of new modes of industrious occupation, the collecting and communicating to the labourer a knowledge of situations where he may procure work, and the wages which his exertions will command; affording him, through the medium of tracts, facilities for obtaining information on practical subjects; instructing his wife in the most advantageous employment of her needle, the most frugal manner for providing for her family, and impressing upon her the value of thrift and economy in conducting all her household affairs; urging upon those who may require it the necessity of giving their children suitable education, and undertaking to place them in schools where they may obtain it, or to find situations for those who can be spared from home; and inducing all to lay by, as a resource for the future, such portions of their weekly or monthly income as they can spare, instead of spending it in dissipation or personal gratification."

The effects produced by the labours of this institution

may be judged of from the following statement, extracted from the same source :

" By the reports of the board of managers of the ladies' branch, it appears there have been 2669 families regularly visited, of whom 1068 have been relieved ; 89 adults have been furnished with regular employment, and 28 placed at school ; 84 children have been put into families, at trades, or sent to sea, and 698 placed at school ; 8 persons have been induced to deposite in the Savings' Fund Bank, 408 in the Fuel Saving Society, and several to place in the hands of visitors small sums, to be applied in the payment of rent. In several instances families or individuals have been relieved from the inconvenience of debts pressing upon them, and from which they saw no means of freeing themselves, and that without giving or advancing any money, but simply by prevailing upon them to make a small weekly deposite, saved by economy from their usual earnings.

" In some cases of peculiar hardship it has been found requisite to afford pecuniary aid, in order to prevent the accumulation of distress sinking the unfortunate victim into despondency. When judiciously applied, it not only administers immediate relief, but stimulates to unwearied exertions.

" In some instances the visitors have found it useful to redeem articles pawned, but to require the payment of the money advanced ; of course, without interest. In other cases, small sums of money have been loaned to enable poor widows to open shops for the sale of tapes, pins, and needles, &c., or to prevent their being obliged to close such shops already established. The money advanced is returned in small sums, paid weekly or monthly."

The organization and machinery by which the association effects its objects is by a division of the city and its suburbs into wards and districts, thus availing themselves of all the advantages of local experience and division of labour ; and this is the language in which the directors speak of this arrangement :

" By assigning to each visiter a small section, within which the attention and labour is limited, the beneficial influence of locality is soon felt, both by those to whom the section is allotted, and those who reside within it. The former, by becoming familiar with the extent and character of the field in which the labour is to be performed, are more likely to prosecute with vigour such improvement as it manifestly requires, especially as they perceive that every day's toil accelerates its accomplishment, while the cordial intercourse which is gradually established imperceptibly creates a feeling of affectionate interest in the concerns of all with whom they are thus personally associated. On the part of the latter (the visited), it is found that repeated, kindly-offered instruction and assistance speedily counteract any distant or unsocial feeling, and soon open a free communication of circumstances and wants, which would have remained unknown but for these benevolent attentions frequently proffered.

" Example soon lends its aid in inspiring confidence. One family informs its neighbour of disinterested services rendered or benefits conferred, and these are led to seek counsel and instruction from the same source, until the influence of the advisers is found to pervade the whole location."

Of the powerful agency of the demon "strong drink" in producing the wretchedness which this benevolent association seeks to relieve, the following is the testimony given :

"In reverting to the causes of impoverishment as discoverable by the visitors, it is found that *intemperance*, either as a remote or immediate agent, is the most general, the most overwhelming in its effects, and the most difficult to eradicate. Idleness, and the hope of support from public charity, lower the moral condition of those who indulge them, and create habits of dependance every way injurious ; but we may encounter these with much greater prospect of success crowning our efforts to revive the long-dormant spirit of independence and feeling of moral obligation, than where we have to contend with a vice which, while it destroys the power for making exertion, at the same time deadens every feeling of shame, and renders its victim equally insensible to his own and his family's welfare. We are happy to note, in the several reports, many instances narrated in which the elevating principle that influences the operations of the society has been evinced by a reformation in both morals and manners ; where the pauper has been reclaimed from habits of indolence, improvidence, and vice, and an opportunity afforded him to become a respectable and useful member of society."

Another very interesting institution, partly religious and partly benevolent, at the anniversary of which I assisted while in Philadelphia, is the "Society for promoting the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge in China." The mode in which this is effected, and that which gives it a benevolent as well as religious character, is this : that it first establishes hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, or furnishes funds to such as are already established ; and then, having won the gratitude of individuals by conferring on them the greatest of all temporal benefits, restoration to health, its agents find them more ready to listen to their discourses on spiritual things, and thus approach their understandings through their hearts, a procedure which has been eminently successful.

On the subject of uniting the labour of healing the sick with the propagation of the Gospel, a highly interesting little volume was sent to me by its author, which I read with unusual satisfaction, partly because the same general idea which forms the basis of his excellent work had occurred to myself many years ago, and was expressed in the volume of my "Travels in Mesopotamia," written in the year 1816 ; and still more, because of the complete manner in which the author has established his main position, and illustrated it by evidences of the most convincing nature. The work is entitled "Thoughts on the importance of raising up a New Order of Missionaries," and the motto, from the Evangelist St. Luke, is this : "And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick."

Among the authorities which the author cites in proof of the necessity of some auxiliary aid to Christian missions, through the diffusion of general and useful knowledge, there is one from a distinguished member of the missionary body, Mr. Ellis, who, in his *Polynesian Researches*, has the following remarkable passage: "If, in addition to the means already in existence, there were also an institution for the promotion of agriculture, mechanic arts, and social order, and the general civilization of rude and barbarous tribes, such a society would exert a powerful and beneficial influence, and furnish an important agency in conjunction with those engaged."*

Messrs. Thurston and Bishop, of the Sandwich Islands Mission, say, in a letter on the same subject, "We still cherish the hope of doing something, ere long, by way of instructing this people in the art of making cloth. A few wheels, and other apparatus for carding, spinning, and weaving, would be sufficient for trying the experiment, were there any person ready and able to instruct them:" and they add, "We most earnestly invite the friends of civilization to consider this subject." And Mr. Gutzlaff, the celebrated Chinese missionary, says of the people among whom he has been labouring, "It is very desirable to let the people feel the edge of our scientific superiority; I have, therefore, become the editor of a monthly Chinese periodical, and wish to publish several works on science separately."

The author shows that the best first step in this pioneer service for Christianity would be that of healing the sick, and the rest might appropriately follow. He justifies this course by the example of Jesus, and by his command to the apostles and disciples: "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand; heal the sick, cleanse the lepers." And again, "Into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you; and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you."

The excellence of the theory, if one may so call it, must strike every one; but coming supported, as it does, by Scriptural example and authority, it is irresistible. There is no doubt that, while a mere missionary preacher might be many months in a heathen land before he would be able to draw around him a congregation at all, and many years before he would be able to possess much influence over his followers—the prejudices of the people, their deep igno-

* Vol. ii., p. 220.

rance and fearful superstitions, the hostility of the priests, and the jealousy of the governments, all forming almost insurmountable obstacles—a missionary surgeon or physician who, before he opened his lips on the subject of religion, could give sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, strength to the weak, and life, health, and vigour to those whom he might rescue from the brink of the grave, would form by this means such connexions with his patients, and open so ready an avenue to their hearts, that his subsequent communications to them, on the subject of spiritual things, would be heard with grateful attention. And if to his healing of diseases were still farther added the establishment of schools and workshops, in which the elements of knowledge could be taught in connexion with agriculture, weaving, building, and what may be called the domestic arts, accompanied by presents of new seeds, new plants, new animals, with tools, models, and implements of unquestionable utility, the effect produced in the community receiving them would be of the most beneficial kind.

This is so perfectly in accordance with my own views, frequently and publicly expressed, and once embodied into a plan for a “Voyage round the Globe,” for the purpose of uniting these objects of philanthropy with the more usual ends of discovery and commerce, that I may be permitted to refer the reader to the Appendix for the prospectus of the voyage alluded to, with an account of the obstacles that prevented its being carried into execution.*

Such would be the conclusion to which any unprejudiced mind would come, upon the mere statement of the theory alone; but, happily, the practice—for, to a certain limited extent, to practice it has been reduced—bears out the soundness of the theory, and leaves no doubt of its universal applicability. Mr. Gutzlaff’s Journal of his Mission among the Chinese is full of examples, so full that it would be impossible to give a tenth of them in any moderate space: let one or two suffice. He says, “At Yangling I am well known; and the sick people range themselves along the streets as soon as the news of my arrival is given. Every one has his tale, his kind word and salutation.” “While standing under a tree, I commenced my medical operations. Many an individual was profuse in his gratitude; and some offered presents, which I refused to accept.” “In visiting village by village, hamlet by hamlet, I met with the most affectionate reception. There was not a hovel where we

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

were not invited to stay over breakfast and partake of their homely fare." "At Teen-tsin, my skill as a physician was soon put in requisition, and, while passing the junk on my way to the shore, I was hailed by a number of voices as the *seen-sang*, 'teacher' or 'doctor,' and, on looking around me, I saw many smiling faces, and numerous hands stretched out to invite me to sit down. These people proved to be some of my old friends, who a long time before had received medicines and books, for which they still seemed very grateful." Again, "My patients had now become so numerous as to engross my whole attention; from very early in the morning till late at night, I was constantly beset by them, and often severely tried. Yet I had frequent opportunities of making known to them the doctrines of the Gospel, and of pointing out the way of eternal life."

These are the testimonies of Mr. Gutzlaff, and they might have been multiplied twenty-fold, but they are enough to show how great was the advantage which he possessed as a religious teacher, from being a healer of diseases also; and no man who has travelled much in Asia or Africa can fail to recall to his recollection a hundred instances at least, in which, if he possessed any knowledge of the healing art, he was enabled to win the confidence and excite the gratitude of the most bigoted, simply because he relieved their sufferings, and thus subdued their prejudices and enmities, and substituted in their place veneration and esteem.

Acting on this principle, a gentleman belonging to the East India Company's medical establishment in China, and whose name will be honoured while he lives and revered when he is dead, Mr. T. R. Colledge, formed at Canton an ophthalmic hospital, which is now in full vigour. But the account of its origin and progress is so encouraging, in the example it affords of what even one benevolent individual may accomplish, it is so honourable to that individual, and will be so gratifying to all the friends of humanity throughout the globe, that I cannot resist the desire of transcribing it in his own words. It is as follows:

"Having, during the last three years, received from Mr. Vachell, chaplain to the British factory in China, the amount of offerings at the communion-table, it seems incumbent on me to state the origin and nature of the institution to which this money has been applied, and the claim it has on the good-will and assistance of all persons anxious to alleviate the pressure of bodily infirmity, to which we are all liable, more especially in a country possessing few, if any, of those charitable institutions which grace so much our own civilized and Christian land.

"In the year 1827, on joining the East India Company's establish-

ment, I determined to devote a large portion of my time, and such medical skill as education and much attention to the duties of my profession had made my own, to the cure of so many poor Chinese sufferers of Macao as came in my way. My intention was to receive patients labouring under every species of sickness, but principally those affected with diseases of the eyes, diseases most distressing to the labouring classes, among whom they are very prevalent, and from which the utter incapacity of native practitioners denies to them all hope of relief.

"During that year my own funds supplied the necessary outlay. Throughout I have received little or no professional assistance. In 1828, many friends, who had witnessed the success of my exertions in the preceding year, and who had become aware of the expenses I had incurred, came forward to aid in the support of a more regular infirmary which I proposed to establish, and put me in possession of means to provide for the maintenance of such patients as I found it necessary to keep for some time under my care; but who, depending for their livelihood on daily labour, could not otherwise have reaped the benefits held out to them.

"Thus the hospital grew upon my hands. Confidence was established among a people who had been accustomed to consider foreigners as barbarians, incapable of virtuous, almost of human feelings; and the number of my inmates was regulated only by the limits of my accommodations. Two small houses have been rented at Macao, capable of receiving about forty patients: there are many more of the nature of out-patients; such only being housed as, coming from a distance, have no friends with whom they can reside.

"The best proof which can be offered of the entire confidence of the people, and of the benefits which have been conferred upon them, is this, that since the commencement of this undertaking on a small scale in 1827, about *four thousand* indigent Chinese have been relieved from various maladies; many have been restored to sight; still more, saved from impending blindness, have resumed their usual occupations, and have supported, instead of remaining burdens on, their families.

"The more opulent and respectable classes of Chinese have, in the last three years, added their names to the list of subscribers, and have, by giving the hospital the sanction of their support, much enlarged the circle of its usefulness. The East India Company has written of it in terms of approbation, and, when applied to, liberally supplied it with medicines.

"Independently of the practical benefits conferred on suffering humanity, it is most desirable that the enlightened nation to which I belong should be known in this country as possessing other characteristics than those attached to us solely as merchants and adventurers. As charitably anxious to relieve the distresses of our fellow-creatures, we may be remembered when the record of our other connexions with China has passed away."

Such is the simple, modest, and impressive narrative of the English gentleman, Mr. Colledge, whose pen furnished the above, and whose deeds are an honour to himself, his country, and his race. His reward must have been ample, in the serene satisfaction of his own benevolent and self-improving mind and heart. But, in addition to this, the letters of gratitude addressed to him by the suffering Chinese whom he had cured, and which, though numerous, are full

of interest and originality, must have been more precious to him than silver or gold. A few short extracts from these remarkable documents will be read with pleasure.

Three Chinese, named Leu Aké, Leu Ahavu, and Kan Amang, from the district of Sinhwuy, say, "We were suffering from total blindness, and could not distinguish day from night, when unexpectedly we heard of the benevolence and charity of the skilful English doctor, whose benefits pervade the world, who liberally dispenses medicines, and supplies board, lodging, and everything complete. We came on purpose to be near his healing art, and, happily, in a few months our sight has been restored to us as perfect as at first. We are deeply impressed with gratitude for the doctor's liberal favours; we are now returning home, and prostrate make our acknowledgments. We do not know when we shall be able to offer a recompense. We can only express our hopes that the doctor may enjoy happiness, wealth, and honours."

A Chinese, named Isang Alé, says, "I in youth had an affliction of my eyes, and both were short of sight; fortunately it occurred that you, sir, reached this land, where you have disclosed the able devices of your mind and used your skilful hand. You spared no labour nor trouble, made no account of the expense of the medicines, both kept me in your lodging-house and gave me rice and tea. Truly this is what neither in ancient nor modern times has ever been."

Another Chinese, Kwo Tingchang, of the district of Kewshan, after reciting his blindness and his perfect cure, says, "I, Kwo Tingchang, with a thankful heart return to my village; when can I make a poor return for your goodness? My whole family is grateful for your favours, while with leaping and joy I present these expressions thereof. In all the villages your fame will be spread."

This is sufficient to show the good done, and the sense of gratitude inspired by it; and, where these have been effected, the soil may be said to be well prepared for Christian labours. It seems, indeed, a fulfilment of the Scriptural picture, "The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; the lame shall leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing."

In imitation of the benevolent work already described, some American missionaries, aided by the medical gentlemen of Canton, established a general dispensary for the gratuitous supply of medicine to the Chinese poor; and, under the direction of a Dr. Parker, to whom the funds collected

by the society in Philadelphia are remitted, this has also effected a vast amount of good. But, besides the suffering which it has relieved, it has led to the conception of a more enlarged undertaking, the proposition of which has but just reached this country from China, and has been well received. It is entitled "Suggestions for the Formation of a Medical Missionary Society, offered to the consideration of all Christian nations, more especially to the kindred nations of England and the United States of America." My hope and belief is, that this society will be soon formed, and the appearance of the volume I have mentioned is therefore most opportune, as being well calculated to forward its accomplishment.

For myself, I shall always remember with pleasure the share I was permitted to enjoy in advocating the utility of such labours as these at the public meeting of the society in Philadelphia, from a sincere conviction that they are calculated to effect much certain and unequivocal good in relieving a large amount of human suffering, and that they will pave the way to even higher and more important benefits, in the introduction of moral and religious truth to replace the ignorance and superstition in which China and the surrounding countries are now so deeply immersed. The operations of the society, however, should not be confined to any one quarter of the globe, but be spread over every part of it; for, if there be anything universally acceptable, it is relief from pain, and the substitution of health for sickness; and, therefore, the missionaries of this body might be fitly sent forth into all the countries of the earth, for everywhere they would be the most appropriate heralds of those "glad tidings of great joy which proclaimed on earth peace and good-will towards men."

Their benevolent labours would be a constant illustration of the parable of the good Samaritan—a daily commentary on the example of Jesus and his disciples—and a becoming imitation of their great model of perfection, who "went about doing good;" while they might repeat in every ear his golden precept, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets;" and they might then point to their own lives as a proof that what they taught to others they practised themselves.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Visit to the Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia.—Statistics of Crime among its Inmates.—Chief Sources of Crime, Ignorance and Intemperance.—English Origin of the Pennsylvania System.—Prisons of Gloucester, Glasgow, and Philadelphia.—English, Prussian, Belgian, and French Testimony.—Report of Mr. Crawford on the Penitentiary System.—Objections answered by American Authorities.—Report to the State Legislature of Pennsylvania.—Corrupt Picture of Society ten Years ago.—Contrast of present Tranquillity and Order.—Superior Morality of the City of Philadelphia.—Public Discussion of the Subject in Massachusetts.—Opinions of the Legislature of Ohio.—Questions of Religious Instruction in Prisons.—Defects of this at Auburn and Sing Sing.—Superiority of this at the Philadelphia Prison.—Advantages of voluntary over coerced Reform.—Opinion of Mr. Surgeon, an English Writer.—Question of comparative Expense in the Systems.—Disadvantages of Prisoners' Intercourse at Auburn.—Advantages of Prisoners' Seclusion at Philadelphia.—Concluding Testimonies of De Tocqueville and Crawford.

OUR last visit to any of the public institutions of Philadelphia was to the Eastern Penitentiary, where we were accompanied by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, and met by Mr. Wood, the warden, and Mr. Bradford and Mr. Bacon, two members of the board of inspectors. Our former visit had been made with Mr. Matthew Carey; and a general description of the building and the discipline of the establishment has been given in a former page. But on this second visit we had an opportunity of bestowing a more deliberate examination, of visiting several of the prisoners in their cells, of conversing freely with them alone, and of having all our inquiries frankly answered by the inspectors and warden, who took the deepest interest in showing us all we desired to see, and explaining to us all we wished to understand; and we spared no pains to make the most of these advantages, as there is, perhaps, no subject on which it is more important to the interests of humanity to have correct views extensively circulated, than in that of ascertaining what are the chief causes of crime, and what are the best modes for its prevention and cure.

The distinct manner in which, in this and in almost all other prisons, the commission of crime can be traced to two predominant causes, ignorance and intemperance, is a circumstance of the highest value in directing the attention of legislators and philanthropists to the proper remedies for the evil, education and sobriety.

Of those that remained in the penitentiary in 1837, the following was the condition on the two points named :

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EDUCATION.		HABITS.	
Can read and write . . .	342	Drank, and got drunk . . .	503
Can read only . . .	182	Drank, but did not get drunk .	26
Cannot read or write . . .	173	Sober	150
		Uncertain	10
Total	697	Total	697

The opinions of the warden himself, whose age, experience, intelligence, and official situation give the highest weight to his testimony, are thus powerfully expressed on this subject :

"Important as it is to possess a good penal code and prison discipline, it is even more essential that our youth be so trained and educated as to fit them for useful members of society. If this subject were properly attended to, I believe the number of criminals in this highly-favoured country would be very small indeed. A close personal observation of all the prisoners who have been admitted into this Penitentiary (675), convinces me that, with few exceptions, they were an ignorant and much-neglected part of the community—thrust into society without school-learning; without moral training, or scarcely any idea of religion; without habits of industry, or trades to qualify them to gain an honest livelihood—can it be wondered that, sooner or later, they become offenders against the laws, and the unhappy inmates of a prison! No class is so entirely neglected as our coloured population, and we accordingly find a large comparative number of this class among the convicted."

The distinguishing feature of the discipline observed in the Penitentiary of Philadelphia is, that each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, and furnished with labour to perform alone, out of the sight and hearing of any of his criminal companions. This is called the Separate System, in contradistinction to the plan observed at Auburn and Sing Sing in the State of New-York, where the mode pursued is called the Silent System, from the circumstance of the prisoners working in company with each other, but being strictly forbidden, under severe penalties, to utter a single word. At the first introduction of this Separate System into America, a strong prejudice existed against its adoption, and even now the opposition is far from being withdrawn, though it is lessening in its force every year. It is thought by many to be of American origin, but this is an error, though it has certainly been brought to greater perfection in Philadelphia than elsewhere. It is of English birth, as is shown by the Second Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District in England, addressed to Lord John Russell as secretary of state for the Home Department, under date of April, 1837, in which they say,

"The system originated in England in the year 1790, and was first enforced in the county-jail at Gloucester. For some time previous, that

distinguished magistrate, Sir George Paul, had been associated with Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Howard in devising a plan for a National Penitentiary; and the Separate System, as introduced at Gloucester, was adopted, as embodying the views which these eminent men entertained of the most efficient system for the management of prisoners. The building was provided with separate cells. Prisoners were confined individually apart, day and night, from the hour of their admission to that of their discharge. Those committed for short periods were not provided with employment, while convicts sentenced for longer terms were furnished with labour. Moral and religious instruction was administered in the cell as well as in the chapel. The discipline was enforced at Gloucester for a period of 17 years, and surpassed the most sanguine hopes of its enlightened founder. During this period few, if any, convicts were subjected to a second punishment. As population, however, advanced, the numbers committed so greatly increased beyond the means of separate accommodation, that the discipline was necessarily broken in upon, and at length superseded. The beneficial effects of the system were exhibited, however, up to the period of its being abandoned, by the number of recommitments proceeding almost exclusively from that class who were confined in association.

"But although, from the circumstances stated, separation could no longer be carried into effect at Gloucester, the labours of Sir George Paul proved the practicability and excellence of the discipline; and in the year 1834, when the magistrates of Glasgow reconstructed the Bridewell of that city, they determined to adopt the Separate System. Since that period the plan has been in full operation at this prison. The prisoners have sustained no injury in regard to their health; and the best effects have resulted, in deterring offenders sentenced for lengthened terms. It has, in fact, been found, that the longer the detention, the more beneficial has been the discipline; and if we had no other evidence than that furnished by the experience of the Glasgow Bridewell for a period of thirteen years, we should be justified in pronouncing the plan of separation to be safe and efficacious.

"It was not likely that the advantages of the system, so strikingly exhibited at Glasgow, should be overlooked by the friends to the improvement of prison discipline in the United States. In the State of Pennsylvania, where the subject has been long regarded with deep interest, several enlightened and benevolent characters warmly advocated the superiority of separation. In Pennsylvania the punishment of death is rare, and transportation is unknown. Penitentiary imprisonment for life is the secondary punishment; and, in the case of the more heinous offences, it is rigorously enforced. The introduction of the Separate System was, therefore, the more strongly opposed; and loud were the complaints of its cruelty and predictions of its danger. The most searching inquiries were accordingly instituted with reference to its character and effects. The result of these investigations was the adoption of the system.

"The Eastern Penitentiary, erected in Philadelphia on the principle of individual separation, was opened in 1829 for the reception of prisoners. The admirable construction and management of this Penitentiary are too well known to justify us in entering into any detailed description of its government; nor shall we advert farther to its discipline, except to state that it affords irrefragable proofs that individual separation can be enforced for lengthened periods with perfect safety to the mind and health.

"There are prisoners who have now been in this Penitentiary for years, during the whole of which period they have been confined alone

in their cell, day and night, and cut off from all intercourse with the world and with their fellow-prisoners; the solitude being mitigated solely by employment, and the visits of the prison-officers and others authorized to inspect the Penitentiary. And what is the result! It appears that of twenty-six prisoners who have been in confinement for three years and upward, all are apparently improved, rather than otherwise, in mind, and decidedly better in bodily health than when they entered the prison; while, in the opinion of those most competent to judge on such a subject, the deterring influence of the discipline has had a powerful effect in preventing crime."

The opinion of the warden of the Philadelphia Penitentiary, Mr. Wood, is in exact accordance with that of the English inspectors quoted above, as to the effects of the discipline in deterring from the commission of crime, and this, of course, is one of its most important ends; for in the last report of the warden, after the financial statement connected with the prison, he says:

"The pecuniary affairs of the Penitentiary never exhibited so favourable a result, notwithstanding the very high price of all kinds of provision, as appears from the settlement of our accounts to the 31st of December last, a statement of which the clerk has prepared for transmission to the proper authorities to be audited and settled.

"Satisfactory as our financial condition appears, we have, I conceive, much higher reason to rejoice at the happy influence produced on the minds and habits of many who have been inmates of this institution, as evinced by their good conduct and industrious habits since their discharge. Some of them we have known and watched for several years; and, although a few have returned, yet the greater part have shown a decided disposition to improve the salutary lesson given here. The result has been, thus far, such as not only to compensate the sacrifices incurred for the purpose of carrying the system into complete operation, but to encourage us to persevere in the good work; which affords, as I confidently believe, the most efficient means which human intelligence has yet devised, or human efforts can probably accomplish, of protecting the novice in crime from contamination by the more hardened and depraved, and of reforming, at the same time, a large proportion of both these classes of offenders."

Besides the testimony furnished by the English inspectors of prisons to the excellence of this system, intelligent foreigners of the highest character add their suffrages also in its favour. In 1834, the Prussian government, ever foremost, to its honour be it said, in legislative measures for promoting education and abating crime, sent out a distinguished jurist and excellent man, Dr. Julius, to make investigations into the prison-discipline of the United States; and, after bestowing the most careful attention on the subject in all its details, and visiting the several establishments in which the different plans of the Silent System and the Separate System prevailed, though he came out strongly in favour of the former, he ended in being convinced of the superiority

of the latter, as he thus expresses himself in a letter addressed to the inspectors of English prisons before named :

"Such are the arguments by which I am led to adopt with you the plan of separate confinement by day and night, in preference to the Silent System with night-cells, wherever a new prison is erected for convicts or for prisoners before trial, a class who ought to be more carefully preserved from contamination than even convicts. These arguments are the result of my observations in America, and of my subsequent researches; and, although I went to the New World with a strong bias for the Silent System, yet, after having seen both plans, I must say that I fully concur in the sentiments expressed in the following letter from my friend, the Rev. Charles R. Demmé, the respected minister of the German Church at Philadelphia. This gentleman, in adverting to the first establishment of the Eastern Penitentiary, observes :

"I then thought that the necessarily attendant evils of this system would be an impaired constitution, brutal insensibility and lethargy, or incessant anxiety, gradually settling down to gloomy dejection and melancholy; and that, if the prisoner should be aroused from that state, resentment, malignity, and feelings of revenge on society would be evinced by a repetition of the offence, or the commission of other crimes of still greater moral turpitude. I watched, therefore, with deep solicitude, the progress of the building, and willingly would I have assisted in taking down every stone, and considered such a task a work of benevolence. When the system had been in operation for about six months, I was requested to speak to one of the prisoners, a German, who asserted his innocence of the crime for which he was sentenced. I went, but with reluctance. Since that time I have been to the prison repeatedly, and, as every opportunity was afforded me of doing so, I conversed with many of the prisoners. I have, consequently, become better acquainted with the principles of the institution and the effects which it has produced: these communications have changed my sentiments, and I have since learned to regard the Penitentiary as an institution suggested by the most enlightened and active benevolence, and calculated to produce the happiest results on the moral character and condition of society."

The Belgian government, also taking an interest in this question, sent its inspector-general of prisons, Monsieur Ducpétiaux, to England and Scotland, where, after examining the Bridewell of Glasgow, he became so convinced of the superiority of the Separate System to every other that had yet been tried, that he induced the Belgian government to adopt it in the principal prisons of that country.

The two distinguished French travellers, Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, whose opinions on any subject connected with legislation and jurisprudence are entitled to the highest weight, also made the subject of prison discipline one of careful examination, and they speak of the Separate System pursued at Pennsylvania in the following terms :

"In Philadelphia, the moral situation in which the convicts are placed is eminently calculated to facilitate their reformation. We have more than once remarked the serious turn which the ideas of the prisoners in the Penitentiary take. We have seen convicts there whose levity had

led them to crime, and whose minds had, in that solitude, contracted habits of meditation and of reasoning altogether extraordinary. The system of this prison appeared to us especially powerful over individuals endowed with some elevation of mind; this we can assert, that this absolute solitude produces the liveliest impression on all prisoners generally, their hearts are found ready to open themselves, and the facility of being moved renders them also fitter for reformation; they are particularly accessible to religious sentiments, and the remembrance of their family has an uncommon power over their minds; one who enjoys the intercourse of society is perhaps incapable of feeling the whole value of a religious idea thrown into the lonesome cell of a convict.

"Nothing distracts in Philadelphia the mind of the convicts from their meditations; and as they are always isolated, the presence of a person who comes to converse with them is the greatest benefit, and one which they appreciate in its whole extent; how great must be the influence of wise advice and pious exhortation on their minds. The books which are at their disposal are, in some measure, companions who never leave them. The Bible, and some tracts containing edifying anecdotes, form their library. If they do not work, they read; and several of them seem to find in it a great consolation.

"These are the means employed in Philadelphia to enlighten and reform the convict. Can there be a combination more powerful for reformation than that of a prison which hands over the prisoner to all the trials of solitude, leads him through reflection to reasoning, through religion to hope; makes him industrious by the burden of idleness, and which, while it inflicts the torments of solitude, makes him find a charm in the converse of pious men, whom otherwise he would have seen with indifference and heard without pleasure."

The testimony in favour of the Penitentiary System of Philadelphia might be considered, therefore, to be completed, embracing as it does the approbation of so many distinguished men from such different countries, and coming, too, many of them, to the examination of the subject with strong prejudices against it. There remains yet to be added, however, that of an English gentleman, Mr. William Crawford, sent out to America by the English government for the express purpose of visiting the prisons of this country; and who, in his report to Lord Duncannon, then secretary of state for the Home Department, speaks thus of the Penitentiary of Philadelphia:

"Having had unrestrained privilege to visit the cells at all times, I have had many opportunities of conversing in private with a considerable number of the prisoners. Aware of the strong feeling which exists of the danger resulting from long periods of solitary confinement thus strictly enforced, my inquiries were carefully directed to the effects which it had produced on the health, mind, and character of the convict. I have uniformly found that the deterring influence is extremely great, and such as I believe belongs to no other system of jail management; for although, in large bodies associated together, silence may, by strict discipline, be in a great measure maintained, prisoners thus debarred from speaking have inevitably recourse to other modes of communication. I do not wish it to be inferred that moral corruption can result from intercourse so limited; yet, when men are day after day

thrown into the society of each other, the irksomeness of imprisonment becomes impaired, and its terrors materially diminished. The Eastern Penitentiary imparts no such relief.

"Of the convicts with whom I conversed, many had been previously confined in the New-York and other prisons, where corporeal punishments were frequent; but these persons have declared that that discipline was less corrective than the restraints of continual solitude. When prisoners are associated, it is extremely difficult to cut off all intercourse from without. The arrival of new and the discharge of other convicts form constant channels of communication. In the Eastern Penitentiary the separation from the world is certain and complete. So strict is this seclusion, that I found, on conversing with the prisoners, that they were not aware of the existence of the cholera, which had, but a few months before, prevailed in Philadelphia. The exclusion of all knowledge of their friends is severely felt; but, although every allusion to their situation was accompanied by a strong sense of the punishment to which they were subjected, I could perceive no angry or vindictive feelings; I was indeed particularly struck by the mild and subdued spirit which seemed to pervade the temper of the convicts, and which is essentially promoted by reflection, solitude, and the absence of corporeal punishment.

"The only offences in the Eastern Penitentiary which the prisoner can commit are idleness, and wilful damage to the materials on which he is at work; on such occasions he is punished by the loss of employment, the diminution of his food, or close confinement in a darkened cell. The necessity for correction is extremely rare; there is not a whip, nor are there any firearms within the walls of the prison.

"Solitary imprisonment is not only an exemplary punishment, but a powerful agent in the reformation of morals; it inevitably tends to arrest the progress of corruption. In the silence of the cell, contamination cannot be received or imparted. A sense of degradation cannot be excited by exposure, nor reformation checked by false shame. Day after day, with no companion but his thoughts, the convict is compelled to listen to the reproofs of conscience; he is led to dwell upon past errors, and to cherish whatever better feelings he may at any time have imbibed. These circumstances are in the highest degree calculated to ameliorate the affections and reclaim the heart. The mind becomes opened to the best impressions, and prepared for the reception of those truths and consolations which Christianity can alone impart."

It is impossible to conceive a coincidence of opinion so striking as that manifested by so many different minds and under such varied circumstances, without the strongest assurance of their soundness and truth; and I may add, that the almost universal feeling and sentiment of the intelligent population of Philadelphia coincided entirely with that of those distinguished foreigners.

It is from other states, where the silent system prevails, that the opposition to the separate system of Pennsylvania is chiefly made. Some of these are thus powerfully answered in a report of a body of commissioners appointed by the Legislature to inquire into the condition of the Eastern Penitentiary and the House of Refuge at Philadelphia, who say,

"The notion has prevailed to some extent in the community, that the

continual, uninterrupted restraints of the solitary cell, practised in the Eastern Penitentiary, must necessarily undermine and eventually destroy the health and physical vigour of the convict. Your committee have felt it their duty to inquire into the truth or falsity of this allegation. On this question, the committee have not relied on abstract reasonings and doubtful speculation, but have employed more convincing tests—the results of experiment and the application of ascertained facts.

"In the prisons at Columbus, Ohio; at Wethersfield, Connecticut; at Charleston, Massachusetts; at Singing and at Auburn, New-York; and at several other prisons and penitentiaries, solitary confinement in cells is alternated with labour in the open air during a large portion of each day. A comparison of the bills of mortality of the Eastern Penitentiary with these several institutions, will show conclusively that the unbroken solitude of the Pennsylvania discipline does not injuriously affect the health of the convicts. At the Eastern Penitentiary the deaths are two and five tenths per cent.; at the Singing prison, four per cent.; at Auburn, two per cent.; and so on: settling the question beyond a possibility of doubt, that as great a measure of health is preserved in the Pennsylvania prisons as in other similar institutions in the United States or elsewhere.

"Another objection sometimes urged against the Pennsylvania system of discipline, and, in the apprehension of your committee, equally groundless with that last considered, is the supposed tendency of uninterrupted solitary seclusion to derange the mental energies, to 'dethrone reason, and make wreck of the immortal mind.' In this case, too, the committee had recourse to indisputable facts, and the verity of record evidence. A comparison of the registers of the several penitentiaries in the United States will demonstrate the position that the Pennsylvania prison exhibits as few, if not fewer, cases of mental derangement as any similar institution. Indeed, no instance of insanity has as yet occurred in the Eastern Penitentiary which has not been traced to causes wholly independent of, and either anterior or posterior to, the confinement. Whatever might be the disturbing and stultifying effects of strict seclusion without labour, without books, without moral instruction, and without daily intercourse with the keepers, certain it is that, with all these circumstances to relieve the distressing ennui and the supposed maniacal effects of absolute isolation, the inmates of our prisons are in no danger of aberration or alienation of mind from the cause supposed.

But even admitting that in some instances the health of the individuals was injured, and in a few cases insanity produced—of which, however, there is no reasonable ground of apprehension—the gain to society in general happiness would still be great, from the diminution of crime to which this system of punishment has led. To what extent this has been effected may be judged from the many pictures of society drawn in various publications before its introduction. One of these is cited in the Report of the Eastern Penitentiary for 1837, addressed by the Board of Inspectors to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in which they say:

"Accustomed to look at the great results of the law, the inspectors hold themselves excused if, in attempting to satisfy the public mind as

to the wisdom of the measure, they should take a more comprehensive view of the subject than may seem to be required by the letter of the act of their appointment. Being called upon to attend to the operation of a system which was urged upon the state, and to test a theory by its practical results, the duty was entered upon with much anxiety and some little distrust; and the board have hitherto delayed a positive assertion in its favour, until it is forced from them by evidence which appears to be incontestable.

"In pursuance of these views, we take leave to call your attention to the existing state of things about the time of the first operation of the law which abrogated the punishment of death for all crimes except murder in the first degree, and substituted hard labour, and the ignominy of exposure in the public streets in shackles, with shaven heads and jail uniform.

"An intelligent writer, in giving an account of the criminal department of that day, says: 'The disorders in society, the robberies, burglaries, breaches of prison, alarms in town and country, the drunkenness, profanity, and indecencies of the prisoners in the streets, must be in the memory of most. With these disorders the number of the criminals increased to such a degree as to alarm the community with fears that it would be impossible to find a place either large enough or strong enough to hold them.' It is a legend of our fathers that the apprehension of midnight depredators was a constant and engrossing subject of anxiety, and we all remember the precautions taken for personal security, which at this day are only the resort of the peculiarly timid, or those whose imaginations conjure up dangers which do not exist, or, if they do, it is only in rare and isolated instances, which, for their very novelty, excite our special wonder. It is within the memory of any man who has attained thirty years of age, that the depredations upon the public until within the last ten years were frequent, and marked with enormity in the grade of crime to such a degree as to call the attention of all classes of citizens to the subject, and make it an ordinary and diurnal topic of conversation. It was no novelty to hear of combinations of rogues for the purpose of house-breaking, counterfeiting, and robbery in the public streets."

Nothing can certainly furnish a more powerful or more pleasing contrast to this picture of society little more than ten years ago, than the actual state of things as existing at present. It may be asserted with confidence that, taken altogether, Philadelphia is the most quiet, orderly, and moral city on the globe; and, notwithstanding the late disgraceful conduct of a few of its inhabitants in burning down the Pennsylvania Hall, the stranger may pass through every part of the city and its suburbs, at any hour of the day or night, without risk of injury to his person or property; he may travel anywhere in the neighbourhood of the city with as much safety as within its streets; he may leave his doors and windows open almost with impunity at night; and whenever or wherever he may direct his footsteps, he will find little or nothing to offend the eye or the ear in his path.

That much of this is the result of other influences there can be no doubt; but that much of it is also fairly attributable

to the effect of the penitentiary system in reforming previous criminals, and deterring those not yet committed from entering on a career of crime, I have no doubt whatever ; and I feel convinced that, the longer this system shall continue in operation, and the more generally it shall be adopted, the more beneficial its influence will be on the world at large.

It is agreeable to observe that the subject is exciting more and more attention in the Northern and Eastern States, and has already become the subject of an animated public discussion. One of the best publications I have seen of this class is a work recently published at Boston, under the title of " Letters on the Comparative Merits of the Pennsylvania and New-York Systems of Prison Discipline. By a Massachusetts Man." These were written chiefly in reply to an article or articles in a journal called " The Christian Examiner," in which it was alleged that the Separate System was unfavourable to the communication of adequate religious instruction to the prisoners ; was unnecessarily expensive and unprofitable in a pecuniary sense, and was not calculated to make the prisoners reformed characters, in all which respects it was contended that the Pennsylvania system was greatly inferior to that practised at Auburn and Sing Sing.

In these last a chaplain preaches to the whole number of prisoners collected together, within sight of each other, in one large assembly, to which they are marched in gangs, under keepers, who compel their attendance under the fear of the lash, so that they go to their worship as they do to their work, with a sort of surly submission to their fate, like a bullock drawn up to the ring of a slaughter-house. The truth is, that prisoners ordinarily submit to hear a sermon on Sunday with just the same feeling as they follow each other in a lock-step to their cells, or comply with any other part of the discipline which they are sentenced to suffer. Hence the writer says very truly :

" Whatever pretensions may be made, and however deep and general may be the momentary excitement which it is easy to produce in such ignorant and unoccupied minds, there will be found few, if any, permanent radical changes of character. The directors of the new Ohio penitentiary at Columbus, in urging upon the Legislature the appointment of a permanent chaplain, speak of his labours out of the desk as fully equal in importance to those in it. By visiting the prisoner in the solitude of his cell ; making himself acquainted with the structure of his mind, his train of thought, his peculiar propensities, and the degree of moral culture he has hitherto received, he *would do more* towards the reformation of the prisoner than by his sermons on the Sabbath. In

this way he would sometimes find a secret avenue to the heart, through which wholesome counsel and instruction could be conveyed to a prisoner, upon whom a sermon addressed to the multitude would take no effect.”*

Now this is precisely what is effected and secured by the Pennsylvania system. The chaplain visits during the week the cells of the prisoners, and converses with them alone, when there is no eye near to watch the emotions of the countenance, and no ear to witness the confessions of contrition; so that the prisoner is never deterred from the fullest expression of the one or the other by the fear or the shame which a large assembly might inspire, and the fullest scope is thus given to his confidence in his friendly visitor.

On the Sabbath the labours of the chaplain are thus judiciously directed. He places himself at the top of one of the long avenues or corridors running from the centre (of which there are seven), and, with his face and voice directed downward along its length, he can address himself so as to be heard distinctly by every prisoner along its whole extent, both in the corridor below and in the gallery above; these still remaining, each in his separate cell, without any eye but that of the Deity to witness their demeanour. “It is thus,” says the Massachusetts writer, in opposition to the *Christian Examiner*,

“The simple truths of our holy religion fall on the prisoner’s ear in the solitude of his cell. This is the nearest approach that is practicable, perhaps, to that most successful and effectual of all the modes that have ever been tried—*private, personal, oral instruction*.”

“In the great assembly, the tear of penitence and the sigh of a broken heart are suppressed by the reproachful frown or the contemptuous sneer of others. But the prisoner in his solitude feels no such restraint. His thoughts are undistracted by the presence of others. He will gain nothing by the demure look or the forced tear of the hypocrite, and the moment the voice of instruction dies upon his ear, *he is alone with God*, and everything invites to the posture and the language of the returning prodigal.

“For ourselves we can testify, from the experience of many years in this particular department of religious instruction, that the system of discipline adopted in the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia is decidedly more favourable, *on the whole*, to the religious education of the prisoners, than that of any prison on the Auburn plan north of the Potomac.”

I was glad to see the opinion of my intelligent and benevolent friend, Mr. James Simpson, of Edinburgh, quoted in this controversy, in support of the view taken by the Massachusetts writer, that, instead of forcing reform on the criminals by coerced public worship or by any similar

* *Journal of the Legislature of Ohio, 1834-5, p. 74.*

means, it was safest and most effectual to lead them to reform themselves. The passage is this :

"A late English writer (Simpson) observes, that 'it is a deplorable error to think of *forcing reform* ; that you can, in the active sense, reform the convict. *He must reform himself*. It is our part to take care that we do not hinder him by our punishments ; but that, on the contrary, we leave him to *will* to amend, by quieting his mind and calling into activity his moral feelings ; gradually bringing back his self-respect, by according to him a portion of our approbation as he deserves it, and stimulating his industry by realizing to him its fruits in a marked melioration of his condition and improvement of his prospects ; with the ultimate reward of restoration to society, furnished with the means of livelihood and a re-established character, and not without the patronage and countenance of the friends and well-wishers of a genuine return to virtue.'

The question of religious instruction and self-reformation being thus disposed of, the writer next adverts to the point of expense, on which the objectors to the Pennsylvania system lay great stress. By them this system is charged "with leaving out of view the profits of labour, and looking exclusively to the reform of the prisoner ;" a very singular charge to be brought against a system of prison discipline by a Christian Examiner. As his opponent truly says, "If the plan ought to be to make rogues profitable to the state, then many improvements might be made even on the Auburn system ; though the avowed object of that system is to make money out of the rascals in the first place, and, if their reform should come in as a part of the result, it is not to be rejected because unsought." The testimony as to the accuracy of this statement I prefer to give in the writer's own words. He says :

"The warden of the Singing prison, and one of the original founders of the Auburn system, both declared to us last May, in each other's presence, that *they did not consider the reform of a prisoner as a probable event*. Their purpose is to make him submit to the utmost rigidity of their system while there, making the most of his labour, and, when his term is out, let him go, and they will do as well as they can to supply his place until his next commitment.

"We confess we are surprised at the boldness and effrontery with which this principle is avowed, as the correct basis of a penitentiary system, and that, too, by wise and benevolent men. It was but last year that one or more commissioners from the State of Maine examined both these systems with considerable care, and with a view to adopt, for their own commonwealth, that which, on the whole, seemed to be best suited to their wants. They reported in favour of the Auburn system, and they frankly confess that they were induced to do so, not from a conviction that it was the best system, but 'chiefly because it is popular, and best calculated to disburden the state of expense in the support of convicts !'

"Indeed, the 'Christian Examiner' himself exults in the persuasion that, whichever of the two systems may be the best for the prisoner and

the community, the '*pecuniary advantages of the Auburn plan will have great attractions for the legislatures of America*' and that, whether it is perfect or not, it is on this account (if on no other) much more likely to be adopted than the Pennsylvania system. In other words, according to the Examiner, the great question with American legislatures is, not what system of penitentiary discipline is most worthy to be adopted by an enlightened, philanthropic, Christian nation, but what will return us the greatest amount in dollars and cents!

"It is the glory of Pennsylvania that she has given such incontrovertible evidence that she acts on no such sordid principle in the selection of her mode of penitentiary discipline. It is believed, however, that the advantages of her system, even in this point, are inconsiderably, if at all, behind those of the money-making system which she has seen fit to decline."

In the system that is pursued at Auburn and Sing Sing, it is well known that the prisoners, though they are forbidden to speak to each other, do converse in whispers and in signs, and exchange communications also in writing or marks on various materials passing through their hands. They therefore contract intimacies, if not friendships; their persons become familiar to each other, and their sympathies are constantly drawn into the same channel. The intention or theory of the Auburn plan is to enforce complete and perpetual silence among persons who work in company with each other; but how different is the practice may be gathered from the following extract:

"The opportunities for intercourse which occur on the Auburn plan, in its most improved modifications, are perfectly obvious. Every march to and from their cells and their work affords such opportunities in abundance. We have often seen their processions, in which half the men might be engaged in low conversation for rods without being heard by any man in authority. Upon the workbench, at the forge or anvil, and, indeed, in almost every part of the establishment, except in the immediate presence and inspection of an officer, facilities of communication abound.

"That such is the fact I have been assured," says a visiter, 'by those who have been inmates of the Auburn Penitentiary.' And even in an official report of the commissioners of that penitentiary to the Legislature of New-York, in which they speak of the 'admirable discipline' of the institution, they say in the same breath, 'We have seen within a few weeks past notes written on pieces of ~~leather~~ tending to excite insurrection. So far as they can safely venture, ~~they~~ (the prisoners) will be found talking, laughing, whistling, altercation, and quarrelling with each other and with the officers. They will idle away the time in gazing at spectators, and waste and destroy the stock ~~they~~ work upon.' This, be it remembered, is their own account of affairs. And well is it remarked by the British commissioner already cited, that this 'intercourse, however slight and occasional, materially contributes to destroy that feeling of loneliness which is the greatest of all moral punishments, and which absolute and unremitted seclusion cannot fail to inspire.'"

One of the certain consequences of this state of things is

that, on being released from their confinement, the prisoners recognise each other when they meet in the world ; their sympathies as fellow-prisoners are awakened ; new plans of more successful crime, as they vainly hope, are projected ; and every step only plunges them deeper, till they find their way back again to their previous confinement.

On the other hand, the Pennsylvania system of complete seclusion in separate cells avoids all this evil ; for, though two individuals should have been inmates of neighbouring cells for ever so long a period, there is no chance of their knowing or recognising each other ; and of how great an advantage it must be to a man truly resolved on reformation, and desirous of beginning the world anew, not to be known as a previously-convicted criminal wherever he went, must be obvious to the most unreflecting. In confirmation of this view I will venture to cite two short passages only from two equally high authorities ; the first from M. De Tocqueville, the French writer, and the second from Mr. Crawford, the English commissioner ; and with these I think the evidence will be complete.

"Let the prisoner," says Monsieur De Tocqueville, "see no one but his keeper or a minister of the Gospel, and let him reflect in his cell upon his past course, and his future prospects ; but, that his reflections may not be too intense, give him employment ; and he will come out not only a better man, but with the advantage of not having been seen, known, and marked as a convict. It is found by experience that nothing has a stronger tendency to soften the hard, stubborn, vicious character than absolute seclusion ; and that is precisely the point to be obtained with the convict."

"In judging of the comparative merits of the two systems," says Mr. Crawford, "it will be seen that the discipline of Auburn is of a physical, that of Philadelphia of a moral character. The whip inflicts immediate pain, but solitude inspires permanent terror. The former degrades while it humiliates ; the latter subdues, but it does not debase. At Auburn the convict is uniformly treated with harshness, at Philadelphia with civility ; the one contributes to harden, the other to soften the affections. Auburn stimulates vindictive feeling, Philadelphia induces habitual submission. The Auburn prisoner, when liberated, conscious that he is known to past associates, and that the public eye has gazed upon him, seeks an accuser in every man he meets. The Philadelphia convict quits his cell secure from recognition and exempt from reproach."

In the careful personal inspection which I was permitted to make of every part of the Penitentiary, in the free and unconstrained intercourse and conversation which I was allowed to indulge with the prisoners in their separate cells, and in the long and interesting conversation which I had the privilege to enjoy with the inspectors and warden of the prison, all the statements I have given in the preceding pa-

ges were abundantly confirmed, and all the favourable opinions completely justified. On the whole, therefore, we left the Philadelphia Penitentiary with a conviction that it exhibits one of the most successful experiments that the world has yet seen for adequately punishing, and, at the same time, reforming and improving, the criminals committed to its care.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Environs of Philadelphia, and Excursions.—Wilmington by the River Delaware.—History of the State of Delaware.—Population.—White and Coloured Races.—Agricultural and Pastoral Wealth.—School-fund of the State and Schools.—Principal Towns of the State.—Great Canal from the Delaware to the Chesapeake.—Cemetery at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia.—Inclined Plane of the Great Western Railroad.—Village of Manayunk on the Schuylkill.

THE environs of Philadelphia afford many agreeable excursions to the traveller, provided the weather admit of his enjoying them. During our stay here we possessed that advantage, though the climate embraced every conceivable variety. In our first passing through Philadelphia on our way from New-York to Washington, the ice on the Delaware was sixteen inches thick, and the cold was intense. On our return in April it was still cold. During the greater part of May it rained heavily, but there were intervals of fine weather between. In June, the climate appeared more settled, but the heat was excessive; at least, such was its effect on the feelings, though the thermometer never indicated a greater heat than 90° in the shade. In the sun, however, it was often 110°. The suddenness of the changes from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, were very trying, and sufficiently accounted to us for the complaints made by strangers as to the variableness of the climate. Still it was favourable to occasional excursions, and of this I readily availed myself.

The voyage from Philadelphia to Wilmington down the Delaware, by steam vessels, and back from thence by the same route, is extremely agreeable. Everywhere the banks of the river give proof of extreme fertility; and its ample breadth, fringed on either side by numerous little villages, hamlets, and homesteads, is peculiarly pleasing.

Wilmington itself is seated on a smaller stream, called the Christiana, which winds down by a serpentine line into the

Delaware, but is navigable up to the town, the point of entrance to the smaller stream being indicated by a lighthouse. The town lies on an elevated ridge of land between the streams of the Christiana and the Brandywine, and commands, from its elevated position, a fine view of the surrounding country.* It is the capital of the little State of Delaware, the smallest in the Union excepting only Rhode Island.

The first settlers here were Swedes and Danes, under the auspices of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, about 1627. In 1655 they fell under the authority of the Dutch, and were by them united to their settlement of New-Amsterdam, under the title of the New Netherlands. In 1664 the whole was conquered by the British, and granted by Charles the Second to his brother James, duke of York, who in 1682 conveyed the Delaware settlements to William Penn. In 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in Philadelphia, a convention of representatives, chosen for the purpose, formed a constitution, and it became a free and independent state, under the name of Delaware, a name originally derived from that of Lord De la Warr, one of the early settlers of Virginia, whose name is thus borne by the state, the river, and the bay. The whole length of the state from north to south is only 90 miles, and its breadth from east to west only 25.

It is divided into three counties, Kent, Newcastle, and Sussex, and contained, by the census of 1830, a population of 76,739 souls, of which there were 57,601 whites, 15,855 free coloured persons, and 3292 slaves. The principal productions of the state are grain and cattle, for which its generally level and highly fertile territory is well adapted.

The state has a school-fund of 170,000 dollars, out of which it maintains a public school in every district of four miles square, though no district is allowed to have any share of the fund that will not raise by self-taxation a sum equal to that which it requires from the state. In addition to these, there are excellent academies at the principal towns of Wilmington, Newcastle, Newark, Dover, Smyrna, Mulford, Lewistown, and Georgetown.

Small as this state is, it has manifested a great degree of enterprise. Besides the great railroad connecting Philadelphia and Baltimore, which runs chiefly through the State of Delaware, they have a canal called the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, which connects the two great bays of that name. It is fourteen miles in length, sixty feet in breadth,

and ten in depth, with a rise of eight feet only above the tide to its summit-level. Its ample dimensions adapt it to the passage of the largest schooners; and it is said to present the greatest excavation hitherto attempted in this country, the drains constructed for the passage of the waste water being nearly equal in magnitude to the largest canal in New-York. At its entrance into the Delaware Bay is a spacious harbour 20 feet deep at low water; it is capable of containing 200 vessels of a large class, and affording them shelter against the dangers of the bay at all seasons of the year. The work cost about a million and a half of dollars, towards which a grant of 300,000 dollars was made by Congress, on the ground of its being a grand national work.

Wilmington contains a population of about 8000 persons, who are mostly engaged in agriculture or trade. I had the good fortune to find settled here an officer in the United States' navy, Captain Gallagher, whom I had known thirty years ago at Norfolk, in Virginia, when he was sailing-master of Commodore Decatur's frigate, the *United States*, and I was myself an officer on board an English ship then lying in Hampton Roads. He was snugly brought up at a comfortable farm which he called "The Anchorage;" and in his personal appearance, manners, and taste, he constantly reminded me of Lord Althorp (now Earl Spencer), in the delight with which he conversed of cattle, stock, and farming and grazing operations. I passed some very agreeable hours in the pleasant mansion of my early friend; and our mutual reminiscences were full of interest, for he had seen a great deal of active service, and had been in several sharp actions in the American navy with the British, sometimes among the victors and sometimes among the vanquished. I delivered a course of lectures on Palestine in Wilmington, which were well attended; and, as usual, this made me acquainted with some of the most agreeable families there.

Of places in the more immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, the cemetery at Laurel Hill holds a conspicuous place. The conviction is spreading far and wide, that the dead ought no longer to be buried in the midst of populous cities, but that portions of ground should be set apart for that purpose, remote from the habitations of the living. The beautiful cemetery of Père la Chaise at Paris, if not among the earliest, is at least one of the finest examples of how much beauty, taste, and convenience may be united in such establishments. The larger towns of England are fast following that example; and in America they are treading in the

same path. At Boston, Mount Auburn is said to be one of the most beautiful cemeteries in the country ; at Baltimore an exceedingly picturesque spot has been recently purchased for this purpose ; and at Philadelphia, Laurel Hill has been for two years enclosed.

It is situated on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill, at a distance of four miles from Philadelphia, in a northwestern direction beyond the Fair Mount Waterworks. The space enclosed is about twenty acres, of which the surface is sufficiently varied to admit of picturesque grouping in the tombs and trees, the greatest elevation being about 100 feet above high-water mark. The entrance is through a gateway, in the centre of a long Doric colonnade of 216 feet front, and in a pure and chaste style.

On each side the gateway are lodges for the gravedigger and gardener. Within is a handsome cottage-residence for the superintendent, a Gothic chapel for the funeral service of the dead, a house for the accommodation of persons attending the funerals, and stabling for forty carriages, with a greenhouse, intended to be used as a shelter for the delicate plants of summer placed about the grounds, but requiring to be kept under cover during the winter. Several old trees existed on the ground before it was enclosed ; and to these have since been added upward of 1000 ornamental trees and shrubs, which will every year be increased.

The ground slopes down on the west towards the banks of the Schuylkill, the stream of which flows by it to the south ; and as within the enclosed area are craggy rock and sloping lawn, with a finely undulated surface, nothing is wanted but time, and tasteful disposition of the grounds and monuments, to make it one of the most beautiful places near the city.

The Inclined Plane is another of the objects in the neighbourhood worth visiting. It is situated on the western bank of the Schuylkill, at a distance of about three miles from the city in a northwest direction, and forms part of the Great Western railroad leading from Philadelphia to Columbia. On passing the bridge across the Schuylkill, which is 900 feet in length, covered with a roof, and enclosed on both sides, so as to furnish a complete shelter from sun and rain, the Inclined Plane rises from the western bank of the river in an angle of elevation which may be inferred from the length of the plane, which is 2700 feet, and the perpendicular height of its termination, which is 180 feet. At the summit of the Plane are stationary engines, by which the trains of cars are

drawn up, and the greatest safety is secured. The view of the upper portion of the Schuylkill from hence is beautifully picturesque: and the whole of the surrounding country, clothed in the exuberant foliage of the month of June, exhibits the highest degree of luxuriant fertility.

The village of Manayunk, at a distance of seven miles up the Schuylkill, is another beautiful spot for an excursion; the whole of the way up the river, from Fair Mount to the village, being characterized by the softest and most exquisite rural scenery, and the village itself being an interesting portion of the picture.

Up the Delaware to the towns of Burlington, Bristol, and Bordentown, the seat of Joseph Bonaparte, is another interesting trip; and, indeed, in every direction around Philadelphia, the lover of the picturesque and the beautiful will find abundant sources of pleasure.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Traits of National Manners in America.—Pugilistic Contest in the Congress.—Opinions of the Press on this Affair.—Acquittal of the Speaker of Arkansas.—Justification of Murder.—Mockery of the Law.—Robbers and Cutthroats at New-Orleans.—Horrible Act of Lynch Law at St. Louis.—Outrages attributable to Slavery.—Address of Judge Fox to the Grand Jury.—Attempted Abolition Riot at Boston.—Scandalous Scenes at Weddings.—Quack Medicines and Necromancy.—Indications of Mourning in Families.—Tranquillity of the Streets of Philadelphia.—Musical Sounds of the Chimney-sweeps.—Grand Evening Party without Wine.—Lectures delivered in Philadelphia.—Public Meetings for Benevolent Objects.—Experiments of Dr. Mitchell on Carbonic Acid Gas.—Freezing of Mercury.—Cold at 102° below Zero.—Production and Properties of Carbonic Acid Snow.—Practical Application of Dr. Mitchell's Experiments.—Substitution of Carbonic Acid Gas for Steam.—Comparison of Cost and Benefits.—Plan to be tested by the Franklin Institute.—Object and Character of that Association.—Improvements already effected by its Labours.—Progressive Advance of American Manufactures.—Last Visit to the State House of Philadelphia.—Oppressive Heat of the Atmosphere.—Fine View of the City and Suburbs from the Steeple.

On the subject of national manners, some public occurrences came to our knowledge in Philadelphia which are sufficiently remarkable to deserve a special record, and the more so as they happened in very different quarters of the Union: from New-Orleans and Arkansas in the extreme south, to Boston in the north; and from St. Louis in the extreme west, to Philadelphia in the east, and Washington, the seat of government, in the centre. To begin at headquarters, the following is a faithfully abridged report from the proceedings of Congress on the 1st of June, 1838:

"INDIAN HOSTILITY APPROPRIATION BILL.

"Mr. Turney resumed the floor, and finished his speech in support of the bill.

"Mr. Bell rose, and, having complained of the attack of his colleague as unprovoked and unexpected, disclaimed any particular ill-will to him, on the ground that he was acting only as a conduit for the concocted and long-cherished malice of others, who had never thought proper to meet him personally. His colleague was acting as an instrument, as a tool, as the tool of tools.

"Here Mr. Turney (who sat immediately before Mr. Bell) rose, and, looking him in the face, said, 'It is false, it is false!'

"Mr. Bell thereupon struck at Mr. Turney in the face, and blows were for a short time exchanged between them.

"Mr. Turney repeated his assertion that it was false, and the attack was renewed.

"Great confusion ensued. Members rushed from their seats, and cries were heard for the 'Speaker' and the 'Sergeant-at-arms!'

"Mr. Duncan said that such things must be the consequence of the abuse which was going on. One or two other members, while crowding to the spot, had some rather sharp verbal encounters.

"The speaker hastily took the chair, called on the sergeant-at-arms to preserve order, and read a British precedent (see Jefferson's Manual, p. 132), where the speaker of the House of Commons had in like manner interposed to quell a disturbance which had arisen while the House was in committee of the whole.

"Mr. Bouldin moved that the House adjourn. The motion was negatived without a count.

"Mr. Pennybacker said that it was a farce that the House should have rules, and refuse to enforce them. He then moved the following resolution :

"The Hon. H. L. Turney and the Hon. John Bell having violated the privileges of this House by assaulting each other in the House while sitting, it is therefore

"Resolved, that the said H. L. Turney and John Bell do apologize to the House for violating its privileges and offending its dignity."

"Mr. Bell then rose, and said he had been ready at any moment to acknowledge that he had violated the order of the House. He, however, appealed to the older members of the House to say whether it had been his habit to use unparliamentary language in that House. He regretted extremely that he had violated the decorum and offended against the dignity of the House.

"Mr. Turney followed, but in a tone so low that but little of what he said could be heard. He was understood to say that he had no intention to insult the House or to violate its rules.

"The resolution was then laid on the table, and the House went back into committee of the whole.

These were the *facts* of the case, about which there seemed no dispute. The *opinions* entertained of the conduct of the members partook as of the spirit of party ; but in the greatest number of instances in which the editors of the public journals expressed an opinion on the subject (for some were silent), that opinion was condemnatory of both the offending parties. The following example may suffice. The Pennsylvania Herald says,

"Every man must regret and condemn the affray which took place in the House of Representatives on Friday between Mr. Bell and Mr. Turney. The Halls of Congress should not be made a gladiatorial arena, and the members of Congress should be taught to curb their passions and their tongues within the limits of parliamentary decorum. Too much latitude has been given to debate on the floor of Congress—the necessary consequence of this is personal violence—for one is not less becoming the place than the other."

The other papers of Philadelphia equally condemned the conduct of both members; and the general sentiment of the press, Northern and Southern, seemed to run in this current, while the New-York Gazette thought nothing short of the expulsion of both should satisfy the public. It says:

"The offence of Messrs. Bell and Turney is the grossest and most disgraceful that has yet occurred in our legislative annals, and should have been punished with a promptitude proportioned to its enormity. Both members should have been instantly expelled, and, if they are not expelled, we may just as well abolish our form of government first as last. If the national Legislature cannot even prevent its members from actual bruising matches on the floor of the House while it is in actual session, there is little hope of going on with civil government any longer. We care not for the character of Mr. Bell, we care not for his politics—for both we have the highest respect. We care not for the provocation—and we know it to have been the most gross and the most wanton—we care for none of these considerations. The outrage should be punished by expulsion, and any lighter retribution will disgrace the whole House as deeply as these two members have disgraced themselves."

Neither of these members, however, will lose their seats in Congress from the conduct here described, nor much of the consideration, if any, of their respective political parties; because in this, as in the late duel case, party politics will cover the misconduct of each, as with an ample robe to hide all their defects. It is this, indeed, which, more than any other influence, as far as I have yet been able to discover, so blinds the judgment and perverts the understanding as to make even intelligent men unable or unwilling to perceive anything right in their political opponents, or anything wrong in their political friends, so that neither are to be trusted to pass judgment on the other.

About the period of this Washington affray in Congress, the following appeared in the Philadelphia Sentinel:

"JUSTIFICATION OF MURDER.—Our readers cannot have forgotten the outrageous murder that was committed in the House of Representatives of Arkansas last winter, by Mr. Wilson, the speaker, who came down from his chair, drew a bowie-knife, and slew a Major Anthony. The act not only stamped Wilson as a *murderer* and *villain*, who neither regarded the laws of God nor man, but it cast a deep stain upon our national character by its horrid barbarity; and being done at the time and in the place it was, and by one who had been chosen as the presiding officer of a body which was sitting to make laws to control and

restrain the savage propensities of man, and to protect his person and property from violence. Viewing the act with the horror which it naturally excited, what will our readers say, and what will the civilized world say, on reading the following notice of Wilson's acquittal?

"**MOCKERY OF THE LAW.**—The trial of John Wilson, who, it may be remembered, officiated as speaker of the Arkansas House of Representatives during the last legislative session of that state, and who, on a certain occasion, walked down from his chair and slew Major T. T. Anthony with a bowie-knife on the floor of the House, took place a few days ago. The verdict of the jury was, '*Not guilty of murder, but excusable homicide.*'"—*Louisville Journal.*

Notwithstanding, however, the strong expressions of condemnation used by the newspapers near the scene of action, the acquittal of the speaker of the Arkansas Legislature excited no more sensation among the community at Philadelphia than the first announcement of the fact did at New-York, where I was staying when it occurred. The truth is, the American public generally are not sensibly alive to these evils, and therefore manifest but little indignation at their occurrence, or desire to effect their removal; and, until that is the case, it is to be feared that they will continue.

The following articles are from the Philadelphia papers of May, under the heads of intelligence from the South and West.

"**NEW-ORLEANS, May 1, 1838.**—Never was a city more infested by robbers, cutthroats, and incendiaries, than New-Orleans at this time. The villains of all the world appear to have congregated here, and to carry on their works of infamy with the greatest impunity.

"About one o'clock this morning the cabin of the schooner *Louisiana*, Captain Auld, ready to sail for Texas, was entered by a white villain; he was discovered before he had succeeded in stealing any article, and was pursued by the mate to the deck of the vessel; here a scuffle ensued, when the ruffian drew a dirk, and severely, if not dangerously, stabbed the mate in several places, and made his escape."—*Courier.*

"**St. Louis, May 1.**—The particulars of the drowning of a negro, named Tom, cook on board the steamboat *Pawnee* on her passage up from New-Orleans to this place, are as near the facts as we have been able to gather them. On Friday night, about 10 o'clock, a deaf and dumb German girl was found in the storeroom with Tom. The door was locked, and at first Tom denied she was there. The girl's father came, Tom unlocked the door, and the girl was found secreted in the room behind a barrel. Tom was accused of having used violence to the girl, but how she came there did not very clearly appear. The captain was not informed of this during the night. The next morning some four or five of the deck passengers spoke to the captain about it: this was near breakfast-time. He heard their statements, and informed them that the negro should be safely kept until they reached St. Louis, when the matter should be examined, and if guilty, he should be punished by law. Here the matter seemed to end; the captain, after breakfast, returned on deck, passed the cook's room, and returned up to his own room; immediately after he left the deck, a number of the deck passengers rushed upon the negro, bound his arms behind his back, and carried him forward to the bow of the boat. A voice cried out, 'Throw

him overboard,' and was responded to from every quarter of the deck; and in an instant he was plunged into the river. The captain, hearing the noise, rushed out in time to see the negro float by. The engine was stopped immediately. This occurred opposite the town of Liberty. Several men on shore seeing the negro thrown overboard, pushed from shore in a yawl, and arrived nearly in reaching-distance of the negro as he sunk for the last time. The whole scene of tying him and throwing him overboard scarcely occupied ten minutes, and was so precipitate that the officers were unable to interfere in time to save him."

If this individual had been a white man, and especially a wealthy one, no one would have dared to propose such a summary mode of punishment for such an imputed offence; though, for the much greater offence of being an "abolitionist," and endeavouring to rescue the African race from their present misery and degradation, Lynch-law is still deemed the best law, and no whiteness of complexion or extent of wealth will save a man from the risk of its application to himself if he but once stirs up the vindictive feelings of those to whom his efforts and his opinions are unpalatable. There are some, indeed, who contend that this state of manners in America is in no degree connected with the existence of slavery, though to me it has always appeared to be its direct and almost inevitable consequence. I have often hesitated to express this opinion, lest it should be thought unfounded and ill-considered; but in the Public Ledger of Philadelphia for May 4, 1838, the same opinion is boldly avowed by a native-born American editor, and may thus be given with safety. It is as follows:

"The express mail yesterday was unusually dull. Murders, however, are as plenty as broken banks, and yet the demand for *hemp* has not increased.—*Mobile Examiner*, April 24.

"Why has not the demand for hemp increased? Because the laws are not enforced. More murders are committed in the slaveholding states in one year than in all Italy in five, though the population of the latter is five times greater than the white population of the former. And these Southern murders are as strongly characterized as the Italian by a dastardly spirit, for the *dirk* of the 'chivalrous South' is nothing more nor less than the infamous *stiletto* of Italy. This is not because the Southern people are naturally worse than any other people. They are precisely what all people would be with the same institutions who permitted their laws to sleep.

"Without interfering with slavery as a political question between the free and slave states of this Union, we shall exercise our right to speak of it in the abstract as an institution. In this view of it, we insist that the ferocity which characterizes the South and the Southwest originates in slavery. When a body of men are accustomed from boyhood to trample upon the rights of another body, we cannot expect from them the utmost respect for the rights of each other. In governing slaves, fierce passions will be let loose; and, if not bridled towards inferiors, they will not be towards equals. Another consequence of slavery is want of education; for we cannot expect to find schools among a plant-

ing population, thinly scattered over a large surface. How can a school for white children exist in the *country* of Louisiana or Mississippi, when each white family is five or ten miles distant from any other white family?

"In the Spanish and French colonies slavery was always less burdensome, and the white population more orderly, than in the British, because controlled by a strong government in the mother country. Besides this, notwithstanding all that English historians have said about Spanish cruelty to the Indians and negroes, the Anglo-Saxon race have invariably been the most cruel of all Europeans to foreign enemies or subjects. For the first of these reasons, slavery has always been worse in the United States than even in the British colonies. Thus we find the Anglo-Saxon race, the most energetic and the most tyrannical of all, placed in the South in the position of masters over slaves, with no strong government to control them; and we consequently find it, as we should find it at the free North or the West under similar circumstances, in a state of ferocious insubordination.

"What is the remedy? A despotism that would govern all with a strong hand, or a determination of the majority to enforce the laws. Napoleon cleared Italy of assassins by salutary severity, for he very sagaciously thought that hanging them by dozens would save honest people by thousands. But, as the South are not yet prepared for despotism, we suggest to all of its considerate citizens the necessity of uniting in a determination to enforce the laws. Therefore, with a single eye to their own good, we ask the Southern people to lay aside their rifles, pistols, and stilettoes, to rely for security upon laws, and to punish unrelentingly every man who violates them. They talk of *honour, courage, and patriotism*. True honour is obedience to the laws. True courage is to fight *only* for the community. True patriotism is to render their country the abode of virtue, plenty, peace, and security."

The paper from which the above is taken circulates upward of 30,000 copies daily, being what is called a penny paper, but costing only one cent, or about a halfpenny per number; and its editors are intelligent, fearless writers, holding a strict neutrality in party politics, and directing their attention chiefly to the reformation of social and moral disorders: such sentiments as these, therefore, so well expressed and so widely circulated, cannot fail to make an impression on the public mind.

The bench, too, has lent its powerful aid to that of the press, in stamping with deserved opprobrium this general disregard to the authority of the law, which seems to be so widely spread over every part of the Union, and to evince itself in such a variety of forms; and the charges of the judges, first pronounced from the bench, and then repeated by a thousand newspapers of every shade of politics, must bring the subject home to the hearts and minds of the reflecting part of the community. The following is one example out of many, quoted from the Philadelphia Sentinel of the beginning of June:

"THE LATE MOB.—Judge Fox, holding a court at Montgomery county,

deemed it his duty, in charging the grand jury, to speak of the late outrage of the mob in this city, and the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall; and he has done so in a tone which ought to be used by every judge upon the bench, every public press in the country, and by every citizen who has the least regard for the honour of his country, or the least desire for the perpetuity of our free institutions. Nothing can be more fearfully true than that 'the same disposition that induces resistance to the officers whose duty it is to execute the law, will incite the same description of persons to resist or punish the judge on the bench who may do his duty in defiance of popular excitement.' The following is the language of the judge:

"That an extraordinary disposition to set at naught the law, and the legal power of its officers, exists throughout our country, from one extremity to the other, cannot be doubted by any one who pays the slightest attention to the events of the times. Nowhere and at no time has this disposition manifested itself in a more alarming shape than in the late riotous proceedings in the great city of our state. There, deliberately, and with the design well known, in the presence, we may say, of the whole people, a large building was set on fire by a mob and burned to the ground. The sheriff of the county and the mayor of the city attempted to interfere to prevent the crime and arrest the criminals, but not an arm was raised to assist them; they were beaten and driven off, and thus high crime was consummated with the most perfect impunity.

"So long as acts like these are perpetrated by the very young, the indiscreet, the vicious, and the ignorant, there is little cause of apprehension for the safety of our institutions, provided that those from whose age, general respectability, and stake in society we have a right to expect prudence and foresight, frown upon such outrages, and give, in time of need, efficient support to the laws and its officers. But when, as in the present case, all barriers are broken down, and the power of the law is prostrated by the connivance and countenance of all ages, ranks, and conditions, we must fear that the disease has reached the vitals of society; and, unless prompt and effectual remedies are supplied, a speedy and violent dissolution must take place.

"To-day the excuse for the outrage against the law is, that the building burned was an abolition hall, in which proceedings were had and principles disseminated destructive to our institutions, and abhorrent to the feelings of the great body of the community. In Boston a schoolhouse was burned by the mob because it was a Roman Catholic institution, and they feared the advancement of popery. Such excuses for such acts are, in effect, but avowals that the laws shall be suspended and the mob govern, when even the majority of those who have the power, whether a majority or not, shall choose that it be so. Society for the time is dissolved, and the law of the strongest prevails. To-day this law may be applied to abolition halls and abolitionists, but to-morrow it may please the mob to apply it to a Quaker meeting-house and to Quakers, Presbyterians, or Lutherans, or Menonists, or to whomsoever or whatsoever the prejudice or passion of the moment direct inconsiderate fury.

"The general disposition evinced in the case which has called forth these remarks, to resist, or, at least, not to support when assailed, the public officers in their attempts to preserve the public peace, is not the least alarming evidence of the diseased state of the public mind. The same disposition that induces resistance to the officers whose duty it is to execute the law, will incite the same disposition of persons to resist or punish the judge on the bench who may dare to do his duty in defi-

ance of popular excitement. It appears to me that there is but a step from the one to the other, and that that step may be fatal to liberty!"

• The agitation at Boston about the same period as this outbreak at Philadelphia originated in the same spirit of hatred to the abolitionists. It appears that a new place of worship was to be opened in Boston, in which there was to be no formal separation of the white and coloured worshippers who might frequent it. Throughout the United States, such is the strong prejudice against the coloured race, that these are made to sit in a gallery by themselves, entirely apart from the whites; and when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered to them, it is done at a separate table. Though this is the case generally, there are occasional exceptions to the rule. In New-York, for instance, at the Tabernacle, the Chatham-street Chapel, and one or two others, this distinction and separation is not enforced; but, for this very reason, no white persons except abolitionists attend these places of worship. At Boston, however, the enemies of abolition determined, if possible, to prevent the opening of this new church, or, if opened, resolved on pulling or burning it down. But the previous experience of the Boston community had made them more cautious than their brethren in Philadelphia; and, by a timely application to the proper authorities, they had an armed body of militia in readiness on the spot, and the intended perpetrators of the outrage were awed from their design.

The other incident which was made public in the newspapers, as a trait of American manners in the sober and orderly North, is not of so serious a nature as any of the preceding; but it is even more difficult to account for, as there is nothing of politics, or religion, or slavery that can enter into it in the slightest degree; and to attribute it to that sort of animal excitement which exuberant spirits often create in the lower orders of the Irish, till it makes them run riot with fun, would be wholly inconsistent with the general notion of starched and primitive demeanour which the people of Massachusetts especially have the reputation of retaining from their puritan and pilgrim ancestors. Whatever be the causes, here are the facts, as taken from the Philadelphia Inquirer of the 5th of June, in quoting two papers from the North:

"WEDDING SCENES.—The Northampton Courier of a late date says, 'Quite a scene of disorder, we are told, occurred at the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies at the Episcopal Church, on the week before last, in this town. An immense throng of people, of both sexes, gathered

there previous to the opening of the door, and the way in which the rush was made, and the frail materials comprising ladies' dresses used up, was an admonition."

"The Boston Transcript copies the above, and adds, 'Similar scenes, we regret to say, are not uncommon in this city, and are most disgraceful to the *females* who act them. On a recent celebration of a marriage at Grace Church, the women behaved abominably. Not content with bursting open the doors and taking the church by storm nearly two hours before the bridal party appeared, they carried off an entire coat of fresh paint from the gallery, regardless of the cost of silks and challys to them or their sponsors, or of the cost of white lead and oil to the wardens and vestry. We wish we were not compelled to add, regardless also of the decent proprieties of feminine delicacy.'

It may be mentioned, as belonging to the state of manners and society in America, that, amid all the education and institutions for promoting useful knowledge, there is, perhaps, no country in the world where so much delusion as to the virtues of quack medicines exists as here. Fortunes are made in the shortest space of time by men who invent a new pill or new potion; and there are at least twenty striking examples of this in the city of Philadelphia alone, though there are upward of 400 regularly educated and practising physicians there. In the fifteen or twenty newspapers, daily and weekly, published in the city, more than half the advertisements are of quack medicines; whole pages being often filled with the announcements of rival pretenders, each assuming his own to be the true panacea, and a cure for every disease with which the human frame can be afflicted. In a smaller way, necromancy comes in for its share, as will be seen from the following announcement, cut out from a Philadelphia paper of June, 1838:

"CARD.—Madame Dusar, thankful for past favours, respectfully begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, that she has removed from her former residence to a more commodious dwelling, No. 5 Lyndall's Alley, between Locust and Walnut, and Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, where she will be happy to solve all questions relative to journeys, lawsuits, marriages, dreams, losses, gains, and all lawful business, sickness and death."

Among the minor peculiarities of Philadelphia, we noticed the practice of tying a small band or streamer of black crape to the handle of the front door where the inmates of the houses were in mourning. It is the custom with those who have lost any member of their family by death not to receive visits of ceremony or morning calls while they are in mourning, or to go out to parties during the same period; and this custom of hanging out the crape at the door is useful, as an indication to those who call on mere visits of ceremony that the parties will not see company.

It would be a great improvement if this custom could be carried a single step farther, namely, by families hanging out at the door a streamer of white, or red, or any other colour, to denote that they were not at home, or not accessible to visitors, as this would save many an unnecessary knock and ring, many a weary trudging up and down stairs to the servants, and many a mortification at having knocked, and rung, and called in vain. Here at Philadelphia, as at New-York and Baltimore, scarcely any of the residents put their addresses on their cards; so that, what with the difficulty of hunting them out in the Directory or elsewhere, and the number of visits made to persons who are either not at home or too much engaged to see visitors, the days and hours lost in the year are really such a tax upon strangers as to call loudly for reform.

The air of tranquillity which reigns through the streets of Philadelphia, and which, next to the perfect symmetry and shady borders of its tree-fringed streets, is its most striking characteristic, is never disturbed by the heavy rumbling wagons which shake the foundations of an English town, nor by the rattling of stage-coaches, and twanging of bugles and horns, such as are heard at Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and all the great provincial cities at home; the reason of this being, that nearly all the inlets and outlets of Philadelphia are by steamboat and railroad.

Neither are there heard those vociferous and unintelligible cries which stun the ear in the streets of London, as the abundance and excellence of the markets render it unnecessary to cry commodities about the streets. The only exception to this that I remember is the musical song of the chimney-sweep, who here, as at New-York, ranges the street at certain hours of the day, and offers his services, not by the cry of "sweep! sweep!" or "soot-ho!" but by a kind of vocal voluntary, without words, and without any particular air, but a sort of melodious succession of monosyllabic vocal sounds, like the choruses of the Swiss peasants or the hunters of the Alps. This would be an improvement worth introducing into England, as much so as the musical cheers introduced at some of our public dinners, in lieu of their boisterous predecessor, the "hip, hip, hip, hurrah."

This reminds me, by contrast, of one of the quietest, most elegant, and most agreeable parties at which I was present in Philadelphia. It was at the splendid mansion of Mr. Matthew Newkirk, the president of the City Temperance Society, who presided at the great festival given to me in

the Arch-street theatre, by the friends of Temperance, on my first passing through Philadelphia in February last. This party was assembled in compliment to the popular senator, Henry Clay, who was here from Washington for a few days; and being the Whig candidate for the presidency, Mr. Newkirk, at whose house he stopped, was anxious to gather round him all the most respectable electors of the city. It was, in truth, a political, and even an electioneering party; and, according to all established usage, it might have been expected to be a noisy and an intemperate one. Mr. Newkirk, however, while he provided every luxury and delicacy in food and refreshment that money could procure, or culinary and confectionary skill prepare, introduced no intoxicating drinks, and not a drop of wine or any other kind of stimulating beverage was to be seen.

It was the first experiment of the kind that had ever been tried in Philadelphia; but, though a bold, it was a noble and a most successful one. Every person present spoke loudly in praise of the moral courage which the act evinced; and none was more decided in its eulogy than Mr. Clay, who, though as fond of conviviality as most public men of his standing and popularity, admitted that such parties as these were especially desirable, to avoid the thousand named inconveniences, and often graver evils, that spring from large and miscellaneous crowds called together, having wine placed before them, of which some few are sure to drink too freely, and those few will often disturb the harmony of the whole. The party retired before midnight, and the satisfaction of all seemed unbroken and complete.

During our stay in Philadelphia, which extended to eight weeks, I delivered three courses of lectures at the Masonic Hall and at the Musical Fund Hall on Egypt and Palestine; two of the courses being in the evening at eight o'clock, and one in the afternoon at half past four, intended chiefly for the accommodation of young students at the University and elder pupils at schools, as the later hours were inconvenient to these. Each of the courses was attended by large audiences, increasing gradually from 500 to upward of 1000 in number; and the satisfaction appeared to be general in both cases. These labours had the effect of bringing me acquainted with the most intelligent and agreeable families of the city, who voluntarily sought my acquaintance, and tendered their hospitalities to myself and my family.

Among these I cannot refrain from naming especially Mr.

Nicholas Biddle, the president of the United States Bank, because he appeared to me to present the most perfect specimen of an American gentleman that I had yet seen in the United States. To a mind of great force and originality he added the advantage of an excellent education, highly polished manners, great urbanity, and a perfect freedom from all those peculiarities which more or less mark the citizens of every class in this country. His early residence in Europe, and employment in a diplomatic station, was no doubt in part the cause of this exemption from national characteristics; yet, while his private hospitalities were conducted in the best possible European taste, and in a style that the most fastidious would admire, his patriotism, frankness, simplicity, and application to business were thoroughly American, and made him altogether one of the most agreeable, as he is unquestionably one of the most accomplished, members of the community.

During my stay in Philadelphia I was also in frequent request to assist at various public meetings for the promotion of religious and benevolent objects; and I was too happy to render that assistance wherever practicable, although, by permitting my zeal to outrun my strength, I suffered a severe illness of a fortnight's confinement to my room, which threw me back more than a month in time and strength. Among these meetings were several in connexion with temperance: one for the improvement of the condition of seamen; one for the promotion of Sunday-school education; one for facilitating the spread of religious tracts through the empire of China; one for the advocacy of the Peace Society; and several others of a more general nature; the active spirit of benevolence by which the city is peculiarly characterized evincing itself in a great number and variety of channels for the alleviation of misery, and the promotion of happiness at home and abroad.

Towards the close of our stay I had an opportunity of attending one of the chymical classes of my friend Dr. Mitchell, and witnessing there a most interesting experiment for the rendering carbonic acid gas solid, and for producing by it a degree of cold extending to 102 degrees below zero on the scale of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The materials, first confined in a strong iron receiver, were supercarbonate of soda and sulphuric acid, in separate divisions; the whole was then powerfully shaken, so as to be well mixed or incorporated, and this operation continually evolved the gas, till the whole vessel was filled with it in a highly condensed state.

An instrument, not unlike a common tinder-box, as it is used in England, but about twice the size, and with a small tube or inlet passing through its sides, was then fixed by this tube to a pipe from the receiver. The inside of this box was so constructed as to make the gas injected into it fly round in a series of constantly contracting circles, which was effected by projecting pieces of tin at different angles, fastened around the sides of the interior. The gas being then let out by a valve, entered this box from the receiver, making as loud a hissing noise as the escape of steam by the safety-valve of a large boiler, and in about three or four seconds the emission of the gas was stopped.

The box was then taken off from the receiver and its cover opened, when it was found to be filled with a milk-white substance, in appearance like snow, but in consistence like a highly-wrought froth, approaching to a light paste. It was surrounded with a thin blue vapour like smoke, and was so intensely cold that the sensation of touch to the fingers was like that of burning; and the feeling was more like that of heat than cold. The slightest particle of it, dropped on the back of the hand and suffered to remain there, occasioned a blistering of the skin just like a scald; and some of the students of the class, who attempted to hold it in their fingers, were obliged to let it drop as if it were red-hot iron.

Some liquid mercury or quicksilver was then dropped into a mass of this "carbonic acid snow," as it was called, mixed with ether, upon which it instantly froze, and, being taken out in a solid mass, it was found to be malleable into thin sheets under the hammer, and capable of being cut up like lead with a knife or large scissors. As it became less cold it grew more brittle, and then, when pressed strongly by the thumb or finger against a solid substance, it was found to burst under the pressure, with a report or explosion like the percussion powder.

A small piece of this carbonic acid snow was placed on the surface of water, where it ran round by an apparently spontaneous motion, and gave out a thin blue vapour like smoke. Another piece was placed under the water and kept beneath it, when it emitted gas in an immense stream of air-bubbles rushing from the bottom to the top, thus returning, in short, from its solid to its original gaseous condition. Some of the snow was then mingled with the well-known "freezing-mixture," and, by stirring these both together, a degree of intense cold was produced extending to 102° below zero, and there remaining for a period of ten or

fifteen minutes; though the weather was extremely hot, the thermometer standing at 94° in the shade in the coolest parts of Philadelphia, and being at least 90° in the lecture-room itself.

The practical application of this discovery to the propelling of engines in lieu of steam was then exhibited to us. A model of an engine of the ordinary kind now in use for mines, manufactories, and steamships, was placed on the table before the lecturer. A metal tube was then screwed on to the pipe and valve of the receiver, in which the condensed carbonic acid gas was contained, and the other end of the tube, through which the gas was to escape when let into it from the receiver, was applied to the wheel of the model engine; the gas was then let out, and the rushing torrent of it was such as that it propelled the engine-wheel with a velocity which rendered its revolutions invisible from their speed, making the wheel appear stationary, though in a trembling or vibratory condition, and rendering all perception of the parts of the wheel quite impossible till the gaseous stream which gave the impetus was withdrawn.

Dr. Mitchell expressed his belief that this power might be made to supersede entirely the use of steam and fuel in navigation, and thus overcome the greatest difficulty which has yet impeded long voyages; he thought it might effect the same salutary change in manufactories where engines are used, so as to remove the greatest nuisance, perhaps, of all manufacturing towns, the immense quantities of smoke which darken the atmosphere, and destroy the cleanliness of places, persons, raiment, and dwellings. He founded his belief on the expansive power of this gas when brought into a highly condensed state such as we saw it, and the practicability of bringing this power to act upon engines of any size by land or by sea. For the latter purpose he suggests the use of iron tanks, made with the requisite degree of strength, to act as receivers; these, being fitted to a ship's bottom, along the keelson and the inner floor of the hold, as the iron water-tanks of ships-of-war are at present, may be placed on board vessels intending to be propelled by engines in such quantities as the length of the voyage may require; communications from these tanks, by tubes of adequate size and strength, would then have to be made to the engines, and placed under the complete control of the engineer, as the steam-power is at present. The expansive power of the condensed gas and its pressure outward, or tendency to escape, being the same in its nature with steam,

but greater in degree, the application and direction of this power would effect all that steam now does, and thus supersede the use of fuel, with its inconveniences and accidents, entirely.

In reference to the expense, Dr. Mitchell had made such calculations as to satisfy him that it would be cheaper than the present materials of steam navigation. The Great Western steamer, in coming from London to New-York, actually consumed 600 tons of coal, which, at the lowest possible estimate, could not cost less than £1000 sterling or 5000 dollars. But as it was necessary to provide for a longer voyage than that actually performed, in case of accident or delay, no less a quantity than 800 tons were taken on board, and, consequently, 800 tons of space were wholly lost, or rendered unproductive by its appropriation to fuel. The expense of the requisite quantity of gas for such a voyage, including all the fittings, would not, he thought, exceed that of the coals and requisite machinery; and the saving of the space for freight would be a source of considerable profit; while the avoidance of the heat and smoke, inseparable from fuel and steam, the absence of boilers and chimneys, and the safety from accidents of bursting and taking fire, would be all such high recommendations to passengers, that none would venture to embark in steam ships while those propelled by carbonic acid gas were available.

The Franklin Institute, of which a slight mention only is made in a preceding page, corresponds pretty nearly with the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, or at least more nearly resembles that institution than any other I remember. Its avowed design is "the promotion and encouragement of manufactures, and the mechanic and useful arts, by the establishment of popular lectures on the sciences connected with them; by the formation of a cabinet of models and minerals, and a library; by offering premiums on all subjects deemed worthy of encouragement; by examining all new inventions submitted to them; and by such other means as they may deem expedient."

In conformity with this design, it is their custom every year to invite all persons who have produced any manufactures or models which they deem worthy of public inspection, to place them under their care for that purpose; and, in the month of October, an annual exhibition of all these takes place at the Masonic Hall in Philadelphia. Already have fourteen such annual exhibitions been held, affording

great pleasure to the community by the variety of interesting objects there for the first time brought to their notice, and producing great benefit to the manufacturing interests by the stimulus and rivalry excited to supply the best productions; the result of which is to improve progressively the skill and taste of the workmen in every branch of business.

According to fixed rules of the institute, previously made known, certain premiums in gold and silver medals are awarded to the most successful among the producers of the articles sent for exhibition; the funds for this purpose being provided partly from the subscriptions of members, partly from the payments for admission to the exhibitions, and partly by occasional grants from the General Government. In the course of each exhibition, from 40 to 50,000 persons, residents of the city and strangers, visit it, and the greatest interest is said to be manifested by all classes in the continued improvement of American manufactures.

Among these may be mentioned almost every description of cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics, especially broadcloths and carpets, the latter of which are equal in appearance and beauty of pattern to English; hardware in iron and steel; cutlery and surgical instruments; silver and plated goods; glassware and porcelain; stoves and grates; lamps and chandeliers; cabinet ware, and musical instruments; in all of which, such progressive improvement is manifest every year as to make it certain that they have already attained to equal perfection with the oldest nations of Europe in many articles, and that, before many years elapse, they will be inferior to none in their general manufactures.

In their capacity of examiners of new inventions, the directors have the reputation of conducting their investigations with skill, and pronouncing their judgments with impartiality; and, therefore, great public confidence is placed in the soundness of their opinions when publicly and deliberately pronounced on any invention submitted to their verdict; and both in this respect and in that of awarding premiums, their decision has rarely been impeached by disinterested parties.

Such an institution as this might be advantageously introduced into the large towns of every civilized country, and none would benefit more from their general adoption than England. The Polytechnic Society of Cornwall is a recent and successful example of the benefits to be derived by such associations; and the good they do in America might be effected to an equal extent in every other nation.

One of our last visits in Philadelphia was to the steeple of the State House, to enjoy a parting view of the city and its environs from that elevation, about 100 feet above the general level, the extreme of the spire reaching 70 feet higher than this.

The fresh breeze that blew here, and the comparatively cool temperature which it brought with it, were extremely refreshing, as the heat of the atmosphere had been intense for the preceding fortnight. In many places the thermometer had stood at 98° in the shade, and even in the night it seldom went below 86° , so that the effect on the system was oppressive. Gentlemen were seen in the streets with white jackets and trousers and straw hats, as in the West Indies, and many carried umbrellas to shield them from the sun. Ice was in great request; fortunately, the large supply of it in the winter made it cheap and accessible to all classes, and it was a luxury of the highest kind. At this slight elevation from the general level, the diminution of the heat was considerable, and the freshness of the breeze made it perfectly delicious.

We enjoyed from hence a commanding prospect of the whole city and surrounding country as far as the heights of Brandywine, where the celebrated battle of that name was fought in the Revolutionary war, not far from Wilmington. The windings of the Delaware were visible to the extent of many miles above and below the town, though the shores of the river looked very bare of shipping, the decline in their number being attributed by many to the fact that the river is so frozen as to be inaccessible to ships for several months in the winter, while the harbour of New-York, so much nearer to the sea, is open all the year round. The Almshouse on the opposite bank of the Schuylkill, the Marine Asylum, the Fair Mount Waterworks, the Penitentiary, the Girard College, and nearly all the public places of note, are distinctly visible from this elevation; while the rich and luxuriant foliage of the trees in Independence and Washington Squares, immediately beneath this edifice, the noble wood in the ground of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the fine green avenues of verdure that line the principal streets of the city in every direction, made up a picture of great variety and beauty.

On descending from the steeple, we took our last look at the room in which the Declaration of Independence of the United States was signed, on the 4th of July, 1776, when the great bell of the State House fulfilled the injunction of

the motto cast on it before it was sent out from England, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," from Leviticus, chap. xxv., v. 10. This bell, though no longer used for general purposes, still occupies the place in which it was originally hung, and, like the great bell of St. Paul's in London, is used only on very special occasions; such as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the visit of any distinguished personage—Lafayette, for instance, on whose arrival, at his last visit, it called the people together to do him honour, as one of the heroes of the Revolutionary war; and it will, no doubt, be preserved as a national treasure for centuries yet to come. In the Declaration room, as it is called, we saw a beautiful full-length portrait of William Penn, in his simple Quaker garb, with a countenance full of benevolence, holding in his hand a scroll, containing the treaty with the Indians for the sale of their lands; and in the back-ground was placed the great elm-tree under which the treaty was agreed to, with several Indian chiefs in their native costume. A full-length portrait of General Lafayette, taken during his last visit to America, served as a companion to this, and a small bust portrait of Washington was placed between; while at the opposite side of the room, facing the spectators as they enter, is a fine full-length statue of this idol of all American hearts, done in wood by Rush, executed with great spirit, and said to be a most faithful copy of the great original. It stands on a pedestal, on which is the following inscription, written in letters of gold: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Thus terminated our last day's stay in Philadelphia. On the whole, we had great reason to be pleased with our sojourn in this beautiful city. The regularity of its plan, the beauty of its public buildings, the foliage of its streets and squares, the delightful rides and drives of its environs, the great success of my public labours, uninterrupted by a single drawback, and the private hospitalities and kindnesses received from families and individuals, whose acquaintance ripened into friendship before we parted, were all calculated to make us remember Philadelphia and its society with more than ordinary pleasure; while the spirit of its benevolent institutions diffused an atmosphere of so much moral purity over all, that we felt a desire to breathe it again ourselves, and spread its influence as far and wide as possible.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Departure from Philadelphia.—Description of the Bustle of Embarking.—Beautiful Scenery of the Delaware.—Passage by Burlington and Bristol.—Landing at Bordentown.—Journey to Amboy by Railroad.—Fertility of the State of New Jersey.—Embarkation at Amboy in Steamboat.—Passage along the Straits of Staten Island.—Elizabethtown, Newark, and Brighton.—Opening of the extensive Bay of New-York.—Splendid marine Prospect from the Harbour.—Second Impressions on approach to the City.—Short Stay and second illness at New-York.—Visit to the Great Western Steamer from England.

On the morning of Saturday, the 16th of June, we left Philadelphia for New-York, and at the early hour of half past five embarked on board the steamboat at the Chesnut-street wharf. The scene was a very animated one; not less than 500 passengers were in motion on the deck of the boat, in the cabins below, and on the wharf at which she was lying. As few of these came without one friend to see them off, and some had two or three, another 500 at least were produced by this class; and of coachmen, carmen, porters, and servants in attendance on the adjoining shore, there was at least an equal number. Mingled with all these were newsboys, with early copies of the morning papers; peripatetic confectioners and fruiterers, with baskets of their several commodities; a harper, with his delicate strains of music, for the ladies' cabin; and a Scotch piper, with his bagpipes, for the upper deck, where the gentlemen were mostly congregated. In the boat itself was a barber's shop, for those who had been too much hurried to prepare their toilet before embarking; a public bar, at which were sold brandy, rum, wine, and bitters, of which a great many more partook than I had expected; a captain's counting-house, at which all payments of passage-money were made; a postoffice for letters, a news-room for the public papers; and besides all this, very spacious accommodations for breakfasting, lounging, and reading; the ladies, and the gentlemen accompanying them, having the after-cabin devoted to their use; but those gentlemen who were so unfortunate as not to have ladies with them were confined to the fore-cabin only.

We left the wharf at six o'clock, with many a waving of handkerchiefs and kissing of hands from the boat and from the shore, as if the voyage were to be a very long one, and the parting final, which to some, perhaps, it might have really been; and, soon after getting under weigh, we were

summoned to breakfast, which was obliged to be served at two separate hours, half past six and half past seven, as the only method of ensuring space and comfort for all. The breakfast was as ample and as excellent as the most fastidious could desire; and the utmost decorum and propriety prevailed during its enjoyment, as far as we could observe, with great mutual civility, and a desire to assist and please among the passengers; more so, I think, than is usual in English steamboats of a similar description. This was the more agreeable to us to witness, as we had been taught by American persons themselves to anticipate great rudeness, hurry, and confusion in steamboat meals; this, however, was perfectly well conducted.

Our route to New-York from hence was to ascend the River Delaware for about thirty miles; then land at Bordentown, and proceed from thence by railroad another thirty miles to Amboy; and, embarking there in another steamboat, complete the trip by another forty miles of navigation to New-York; the distance of one hundred miles, or thereabout, including all the transfers and stoppages, being accomplished in seven hours and a quarter, or nearly at the rate of fourteen miles an hour all the way.

The passage up the River Delaware was extremely agreeable. Abreast of the City of Philadelphia the river exceeds a mile in width, nor does this sensibly diminish for a distance of 15 or 20 miles up the stream, when it begins to contract, but retains a breadth of half a mile, at least, up to the point of debarkation. On both sides the banks presented a charming appearance, for, though not much variegated by elevation or depression of surface, the exuberant fertility that everywhere met the eye, the rich green pastures, abundant wood, and constant succession of pretty retreats overhanging the very margin of the stream, marked it out as the land of plenty, in which the bounty of nature was spread out with a lavish hand, and where no one need want for food, raiment, and shelter who would be honest and industrious.

In the course of our passage up the river we saw on the western bank the country-seat of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the president of the United States' Bank, which presents a chaste Doric front, with portico and pediment, after a design by Mr. Walter, the architect of the Girard College, and, surrounded as it is by a judicious admixture of shrubbery and lawn, it produces a very pleasing effect.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, or three hours after leaving Philadelphia, we arrived at Burlington and Bristol, two

pretty towns that occupy the opposite banks of the Delaware, Burlington being on the eastern bank, and in the State of New-Jersey, and Bristol being on the western bank, and in the State of Pennsylvania; the river being the boundary-line which separates these two states from each other.

Burlington, which is the largest of the two, contains a population of from 5 to 6000 persons. It was originally founded by Quakers, and continues to be a favourite place of retirement with the members of that body. It is, consequently, regular in its plan, neat in all its arrangements, and perfectly clean and orderly in its condition; these being the uniform results of Quaker influence or Quaker management. It was mentioned to me as a saying current among this body of people, that New-York was the place to make money, Philadelphia the place to spend it in, and Burlington was the quiet retreat for old age, when both making money and spending it gave way to other thoughts, and when persons desired to pass their declining days in tranquillity, and sink in peace to their graves.

Bristol, on the opposite bank, presents quite as pretty an appearance from the river, and though not so populous, is still a tolerably large country village or small country town; but the inhabitants would be offended, perhaps, at such a designation, as it is an incorporated city. We were told that the unfortunately "celebrated" Rowland Stephenson, the London banker, who some years ago fled from England to America with a large amount of money, abstracted from the banking firm of which he was a partner in London, resided here at Bristol, in "easy circumstances," and had some few associates among the less scrupulous residents of the place.

From hence we proceeded upward along the stream, sometimes steering close to one bank, sometimes to the other, but rarely in the centre, and admiring the exuberant fertility and beauty of both, till we reached Bordentown, where we were to be transferred from the steamboat to railroad cars. The disembarcation was soon effected, and the line of cars in motion, but the change was far from agreeable. The weather was delightful, as a fresh breeze greatly tempered the heat of the atmosphere; but from some defect in the construction of the engines, which requires reform, the ashes thrown up with the smoke of the chimneys fell in such quantities on the passengers in the cars as to be extremely disagreeable, besides burning the dresses of such of the ladies as were nearest the engines, the sparks falling on their

persons before the fire in them was completely extinguished, so that innumerable small holes were burned through the parts of their garments on which they fell.

The route by the railroad was through the State of New-Jersey, over a generally level tract of country, there being very few and very slight elevations or depressions in the surface to preserve the general level throughout the whole way.

New-Jersey is celebrated for its productions of fruit; and on either hand, as we passed on, we saw orchards of apples, pears, peaches, and other fruits, the trees of which were full of promise. The rich grass lands, general fertility, and exuberant foliage of the woods that lined our road were delightful to the eye, and gave us a very high conception of the productive powers of this part of the country. We enjoyed it, too, perhaps the more, because of the pleasing contrast which its present state of foliage and fruitfulness presented to the bleak and barren appearance of the same track when we passed it in February last.

About eleven o'clock we arrived at Amboy, having performed the distance of 30 miles in something less than two hours, the general rate of speed, therefore, being about 15 miles the hour; but in some particular spots, where a slight descent assisted the progress of the cars, a mile was performed in two minutes and a half, being at the rate of 24 miles an hour. It is not for want of power that the engines do not go at greater speed, but from restrictive regulations of the directors, which prohibit it, having reference, no doubt, to economy, durability, and safety in these restraints.

Embarking on board the steamboat at Amboy, we found the change delightful, and proceeded on our way to New-York. On our passage from this city to Philadelphia in February last, we were obliged to make the voyage from New-York to Amboy by passing round the outer or eastern edge of Staten Island, as the inner passage was thickly frozen and unnavigable, and the outer one, indeed, had floating ice of 15 and 16 inches in thickness all the way, the cold being intense. Now, however, the heat was as much in extreme, the thermometer being at 90°; while on the morning of our embarkation in February it was 6° below zero, such was the difference of temperature in four months. But the inner passage being now open, we did not regret the change, as it gave us an opportunity of seeing the long narrow channel on the west of Staten Island, and between it and the New-Jersey shore.

This strait, which is at least twenty miles in length, occupied us about two hours in passing; but there are few spots on the globe where for such a distance there is a more continued scene of beauty, at this season of the year at least, when everything appeared in its best dress. On both the shores, distant from each other from two to four miles in different parts, the vegetation was in the highest degree of luxuriance; and the frequency with which new settlements, small in extent, but neat and picturesque in their aspect, appeared to peep through the foliage, added much to the beauty of the scene.

In this way we passed Elizabethtown on the left, in New-Jersey; the recent but flourishing little watering-place of New-Brighton, on Staten Island, on our right, with the Pavilion Hotel, public baths, and private dwellings, built like groups of Greek temples rather than marine villas, and from their pure white exterior looking like edifices of Parian marble. We had also a distant view of Newark, in New-Jersey, one of the prettiest towns in the country. At length we opened the Bay of New-York, with the Quarantine Ground, the Narrows, ships at anchor, outward bound, schooners and small craft beating across the waters, Bedlow's Island, Governor's Island, Brooklyn on the Heights, and the City of New-York right ahead, forming altogether one of the most extensive, varied, and delightful marine pictures that the eye could survey. I had thought the entrance to the Bay of New-York, from the Atlantic, when we passed through the Narrows in October, extremely beautiful; and I did not think it less so when approaching it from the Straits of Staten Island in June. The city, too, preserved all its imposing aspect. The numerous spires and steeples of the churches; the Battery, with its trees, now in full foliage; the countless boats, sloops, and schooners emerging from the East River on the one hand, and from the North River on the other; with the forest of masts fringing the edge of New-York, at the wharves on either side of the shore, and the distinctive signals of the several packets and other large vessels engaged in the foreign trade, all made up a lovely and animating picture. It furnishes a striking contrast to the general absence of ships and vessels in the harbour of Baltimore and the river of Philadelphia, and gave me still higher ideas than I had entertained before, of the great maritime superiority of New-York to both these cities, partly from her closer proximity to the ocean, and accessibility of inlet and outlet throughout the year, and still

more, perhaps, from the capaciousness and security of her waters, and the magnificent avenues of the East River and North River, by which her smaller craft can penetrate at once into the very heart of the country.

We landed from the steamboat at half past one; but found the city so full of strangers, it being the season when persons come up from the South to enjoy the cooler climate of this and the more Northern parts, that we were four hours in searching from hotel to hotel in every part of the town, and this in the midst of a violent thunder-storm, with vivid lightning and torrents of rain, before we could get even a single sleeping-room disengaged. We at length obtained this at the Waverley Hotel in Broadway, and here made our home for the present.

During my stay in New-York I suffered a second illness, not having sufficiently regained my strength from the fever in Philadelphia before I resumed my journeys. I was accordingly detained here for a week, and only able at the close of it to see a few of the many friends we had left here, whose cordiality we found unabated. We paid a short visit to the Great Western steamer, which had just arrived at New-York on her second successful voyage across the Atlantic. Her size, accommodation, but, above all, the machinery of her truly magnificent engines, formed altogether a splendid triumph of art, honourable to the projectors and to the nation, besides being gratifying in a moral point of view, bringing England and America so much nearer to each other in time. This increased facility of intercourse cannot fail to lead more Englishmen to visit the United States, and more Americans to visit England than heretofore, and thus hasten the breaking down of those anti-national prejudices which still linger in each against the inhabitants of the *other*, and may every year thus strengthen the bonds of peace and amicable relations of commerce and good-will between all the nations of the globe!

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Departure for Albany.—Voyage up the Hudson.—Hoboken, Weehawken, and the Palisades.—Tappan Bay.—Grave of Major André.—State Prison for Criminals at Sing-sing.—Picturesque Scenery of the Highlands.—Military Academy at West Point.—Monument to the Polish Patriot, Kosciusko.—Polopell Island, and Breakneck Hill.—Flourishing Town of Newburgh.—The Beacon Hills, extensive Prospect thence.—Town of Poughkeepsie, Manufactures there.—Landing at the Village of Catskill.—Stage Route from the Village to the Mountains.—Excessive Roughness of American Roads.—Beautiful Appearance of the Country.—Steep Ascent of the Mountains.—Tremendous Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Hail.—Gentleness and Humanity of the Drivers.—Road on the Edge of a Precipice.—Complete envelopment in Mist, second Thunder-storm.—Arrival at the Hotel called the Mountain House.—Description of the Hotel, American Cookery.—Splendid Daybreak on the Mountain-top.—Singular Sea of Clouds beneath the Spectator.—Sublime Picture of Sunrise.—Effects of Sunlight on the beautiful Picture.—Gradual breaking away of the Clouds and Mist.—Herschel's Theory of the Spots on the Sun.—Glorious Prospect under the meridian Day.—Resemblance to the Plain of Damascus.—Waterfall of 260 feet near the Mountain House.—Leave the Mountain for the Landing-place.—Character of the Scenery above Catskill.—City of Hudson and Village of Athens.—Associations of celebrated Classical Names.—Defective Nomenclature of the Towns of America.—First Approach to Albany from the South.—Interesting Appearance of the City.—Triumph of Steam Navigation.—Affecting Account of Fulton's Experimental Voyage.—Landing at Albany, and comfortable Home.

As the weather continued sultry, and I derived less benefit from medicine than it was thought likely I should do from change of air, I was advised by my physician to embark at once upon the Hudson River, and go straight to the village of Catskill, without halting at any intermediate point, but, on landing there, to ascend the mountains, and pass a night or two at the Mountain House, the elevation of which secures a cool and bracing atmosphere, while all the lower parts of the country are steeped in sultry heat.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of June, we accordingly embarked at seven o'clock on board the steamer for Albany, and found there between four and five hundred passengers bound up the river. The vessel was of large size, with ample accommodations and engines of great power, so that her average speed when under way was not less than fourteen miles per hour.

Leaving the wharf at the foot of Barclay-street, we proceeded upward on our course, having on our right the continuous lines of wharves, ships, steamers, and small craft, which fringe the western edge of New-York, as the larger vessels do the banks of the East River on the other side of the town. At every hundred yards, and often less, we met schooners and sloops under sail, coming down the Hudson with a leading wind from the eastward, while as many were

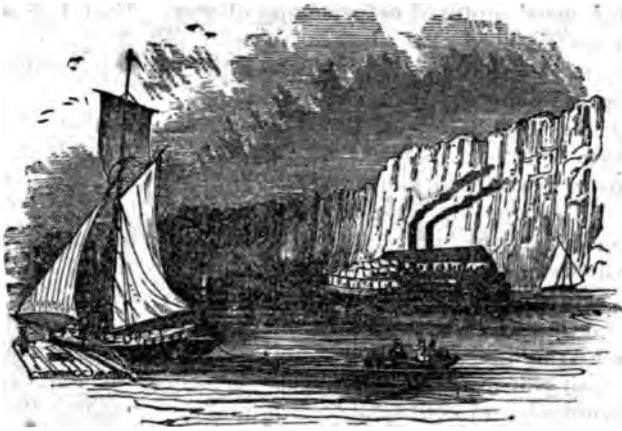
passed by us upward-bound; the number of these small craft—with their clean, well-cut, and well-trimmed sails, and vanes lengthened out into broad pennants, after the manner of the Dutch, from whom this custom is no doubt derived—being sometimes as many as a hundred, all in sight at once, and giving great life and animation to the scene.

We passed the hills of Hoboken on our left, scattered over which were many beautiful villas, the country-seats of opulent merchants and others from New-York; the position of Hoboken combining the advantages of fine air, extensive view, beautiful woods, and close proximity to the city, there being a steam ferry-boat that crosses the Hudson at this point continuously throughout the day.

A little above this, on the same side of the river, and distant from the city about six miles, is a spot called Weehawken, which is memorable as the usual duel-ground of this quarter. It is close to the river's edge, and screened in from the land-view by surrounding rocks, which give it the privacy usually sought in such encounters. Here it was that the well-known General Hamilton fell in a duel with the then notorious, and, it may now be added, infamous Colonel Burr. The St. Andrew's Society of New-York erected a monument to the memory of the general, which continued for some years to occupy the spot where he fell; but since the removal of his remains to the burial-ground of Trinity Church in Broadway, the monument has been removed also, and one has been erected to his memory near the church named.

About two miles beyond this, and eight from New-York, the western bank of the river begins to assume a very remarkable appearance, presenting all along, on that margin of the stream, a perpendicular wall of rock, varying from 100 to 500 feet in height, sometimes perfectly bare, and sometimes partially covered with brushwood, but always showing the perpendicularity which constitutes its most striking feature, and carrying along on its summits the sharp and broken edge of a precipice, while at the foot of the cliff below there is often neither beach nor platform, so that the river bathes the solid wall of rock as it rises perpendicularly from the stream.

These cliffs extend for nearly twenty miles along the western bank of the Hudson, and are called "The Palisades," a name given probably from the ribbed appearance of some parts of the cliff, which seem like rude basaltic columns, or huge trunks of old and decayed trees, placed



close together in a perpendicular form for a barricade or defence. The water is deep close to their very feet, being what is called, in nautical language, "a bold shore;" and the small sloops and schooners that navigate the stream were often so close to the cliffs that a biscuit might be thrown on shore from them; sometimes, indeed, it would seem as if they were determined to run their bowsprits into the rock, as they did not tack till their stems were within a few feet of the cliff, making their evolutions interesting and picturesque.

Here and there, however, a break in the cliffs would show a little bit of lawn sloping down to the stream, and a pretty little cottage peeping out from the wood in which it was imbosomed; and sometimes, at the foot of a narrow ravine, would be seen an humble shed, either of a river-fisherman, a quarryman, or some other labourer to whom this locality was acceptable. The opposite or eastern bank of the river was only of moderate height, cultivated, wooded, and dotted over with dwellings at intervals, so as to contrast agreeably with the western cliffs.

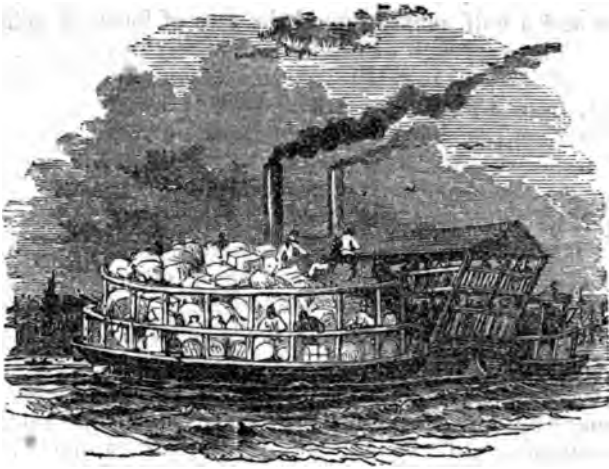
In the course of our progress along these palisadoes, and about four miles after their commencement, there were pointed out to us the sites of two remarkable forts, one of them called Fort Lee, which stood on the very edge and summit of the western cliffs, at an elevation of 200 feet above the level of the river, and the other called Fort Washington, which stood on the opposite side of the stream, on a moderately elevated hill. This latter fort was taken by the British in 1776, and the garrison, consisting of 2600

troops, were captured as prisoners of war. Fort Lee soon after surrendered also ; but these were only temporary disasters in the glorious effort by which the oppressed colonists of Britain achieved their independence.

At the termination of the Palisades, the river, which hitherto continues its breadth of about a mile, suddenly expands to a width varying from two to five miles, and is here called Tappan Bay, the increased breadth continuing for a distance of about eight miles. This spot is also consecrated in American history ; for, close by the little village of Tappan, which gives its name to the bay, is pointed out the grave of André, whose connexion with the conspiracy of the traitor Arnold is well known ; and whose remains, as that of a British officer, were given up at the request of the British government, and conveyed to England for interment there a few years ago.

On the eastern shore of the Hudson, and near the northern termination of Tappan Bay, is the state-prison for criminals, called Sing Sing. It presents a very singular appearance from the river, being a mass consisting of several low ranges of buildings, quite close to the water's edge, and, from being built of white marble, it has a snowy, and, in some positions of the sun, even a dazzling appearance. It was my intention, had my health permitted, to have visited Sing Sing and West Point in our progress up the river ; but the interdict under which I was placed by my physician forbade it, and I was therefore compelled to reserve my examination of these two interesting spots—interesting, of course, from very different causes, the one as a place of punishment, the other as a place of education—till some future time.

About twenty miles above the Bay of Tappan, and forty from New-York, the scenery of the river becomes again changed, and the range of hills called the Highlands approach close to the water, and hem in the stream on either side. The entrance into this channel is strikingly picturesque ; and, with the full green foliage of the month of June, and the countless sailing and steam vessels going up and down the river, some of the latter like floating warehouses (laden with two or three tiers of decks filled with cargo), few prospects can be imagined more romantic, more stirring, or more beautiful. The hills rise abruptly in steep angles from the stream, and present, for a distance of nearly twenty miles, a succession of bluff headlands or promontories, all, however, clothed with underwood from their base to their summits ; and the ravines or valleys between them are



as beautiful as the hills themselves. The windings round the promontories present a series of lakes, in which the spectator seems land-locked, as the continuation of the river is not visible either above or below, from the overlapping or interlacing of the headlands of the one side with the projecting capes of the other. This is peculiarly the case at a spot called "the Horse Race," where the stream makes a bend, running nearly east and west, its general direction being north and south. The hills on either side approach closer to each other here, and the contraction of the river's breadth, contrasted with the height of the overhanging hills, which rise from 1200 to 1500 feet—higher than the highest peak of the Rock of Gibraltar, and with almost as steep an angle of ascent—give the whole a very striking and imposing appearance.

Here, too, the recollections of the Revolutionary war are preserved in the names of Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton, which were captured from General Putnam by the British troops in 1777; and in the name of a sheet of water in the rear of Fort Clinton, called "Bloody Pond," from the crimson tinge given to its waters by the number of the slain thrown into it after the sanguinary battle and dreadful carnage of which that fort was the scene.*

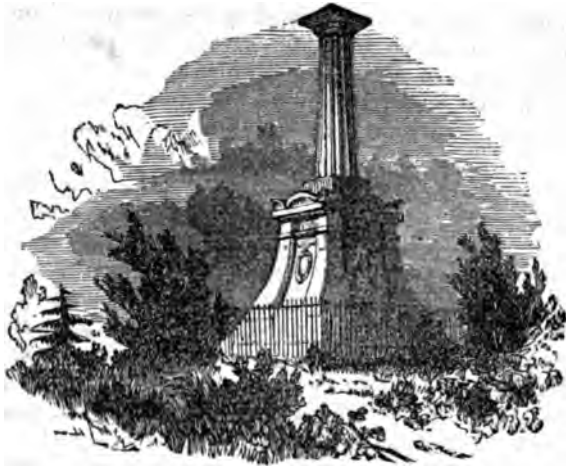
About half past ten we arrived opposite to West Point, having performed the distance of fifty miles in about three

* A similar circumstance, as to the deep discoloration of the waters by the blood of the slain, is mentioned by Josephus in his *History of the Wars of the Jews*, after a great slaughter in a naval battle fought between them and the Romans on the Lake Tiberias.

hours and a half, making good the rate of fourteen miles an hour. The approach to this spot is highly interesting. On the west side of the Hudson, a promontory of moderate height, from 150 to 200 feet above the level of the river, projects into the stream, so as to require a sharp turn round its extremity to follow the course of the river on the other side. On the upper or level part of this promontory are placed the buildings of the Military Academy, at which all the cadets intended to form the officers of the United States' army are educated; and above these, on a commanding elevation of about 600 feet, are the ruins of Fort Putnam, one of the most impregnable of the American fortresses during the Revolutionary war. The position of the fortress, and of the batteries on West Point, gave them a complete command of the river up and down, as far as the range of the cannon could extend; and every effort of the British, during eight years of warfare, to wrest them from the brave hands that defended both, were unsuccessful. Fort Putnam is dismantled and in ruins, there being no apparent necessity for such inland fortresses at present; and the policy and the interest of the country being pacific, centuries may elapse before they are ever required again.

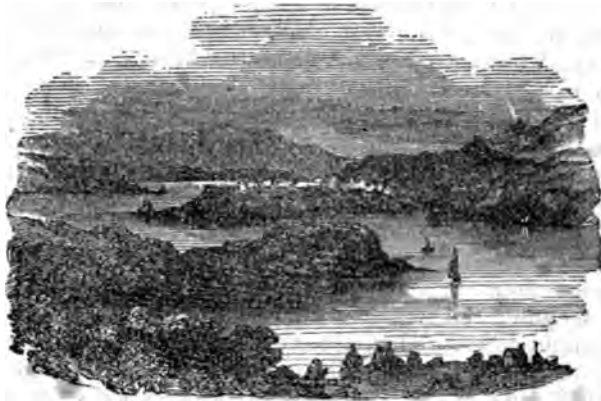
The establishment at West Point is still, however, maintained with full efficiency, and the beauty, as well as the interesting nature of the spot, occasions it to be much frequented. To accommodate the large number of visitors here in the summer, a spacious and splendid hotel was built by the government, and leased out to a proper superintendent; but, after a few years of trial, it became so attractive that it was thought injurious to the good discipline of the students to continue it, and therefore it was ordered to be shut up. The building still occupies its original position, and forms a fine object from the river, but it is quite untenanted at present.

I had letters of introduction to Colonel De Russey and Colonel Thayer, the officers in command at West Point, as I had originally intended to have passed a few days here; but my present debility rendered it imprudent to attempt it now. I therefore passed on without landing, reserving my visit till another opportunity. We admired exceedingly, however, the beautiful appearance of the place, saw with pleasure the pillared monument erected to the memory of the brave Polish patriot, Kosciusko, who resided here, and tilled with his own hands a quiet little garden, which he made his favourite retreat, and which is still carefully preserved.



The termination of the Highland scenery is about six miles above West Point, where two frowning hills overhang the stream on either side, the one called Breakneck, and the other Butter Hill; and between these, in the centre of the river, rises a mass of rock called Polopell Island. The height of the overhanging hills is here also from 1200 to 1500 feet, and the scene is one of great grandeur and beauty.

Beyond this the character of the landscape changes into a softer and more subdued style. The river again expands in



breadth; the shores on either side are well cultivated in rising slopes, and studded with small villages, separate farmhouses, and private dwellings; while the incorporated town of Newburgh, just above the smaller village of New-Wind-
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sor, displays itself on a commanding elevation, and presents a striking appearance from the river. It is a rising and flourishing place of trade, containing already a population of about 10,000, annually on the increase. The buildings have all that newness and freshness of appearance which is so characteristic of American settlements; and, being built chiefly of wood (though there are many fine stone houses in Newburgh), and painted, with white walls, relieved by bright-green Venetian windows and blinds, they seem as if they were hardly a month old. There are several large hotels, an Episcopal Church with a lofty steeple, and a Presbyterian Church with a gilded cupola or dome, the first I had seen in the country; and these, rising from the mass of well-built houses, symmetrically arranged, and sloping down the steep bank of the Hudson on the west, gave the whole town a commanding air and pleasing aspect.

Among the whole is preserved, with great care, the "stone house" in which General Washington held his headquarters when the Revolutionary army was encamped here; and many continue to visit it as a spot rendered sacred by its former occupier, and by the cause in which he fought. On the eastern bank of the river rises a lofty eminence called Beacon Hill, which is 1500 feet high, and a little to the south of it is another peak about 1700 feet high. These are both called Beacon Hills, because, during the Revolutionary war, signals were made from their summits by fires. They are often frequented by visitors, especially the former, as from its summit the view extends into five different states, namely, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York.

About fifteen miles beyond Newburgh, but on the opposite side of the river, on the east, is another of those rising and flourishing towns of which America is so full, namely, Poughkeepsie. It contains a population of about 10,000, but is even more rapidly augmenting its numbers than Newburgh. Occupying an elevated position, it is seen as a conspicuous object in the river scenery, both in ascending and in descending the stream. Its principal source of wealth is its manufactures, and of these the principal branch is silk, there being a company engaged in this with a capital of 200,000 dollars. A variety of manufactures in hardware are also carried on, and a peculiarly beautiful screw has been manufactured here by a machine, for which a patent has been taken out, which, from its mathematical precision in all its parts, is likely to supersede every other kind of

screw in use, it being far superior to any other in quality, and quite as cheap in price. A little to the north of Poughkeepsie, and on the same side of the river, are several very pretty country-seats, at a spot called Hyde Park, which abounds in beautiful landscape views.

At three o'clock we arrived at the intended place of our debarkation, Catskill, and, having dined on board the boat, we landed here, and entered the stagecoach, which was waiting on the wharf, with a party of three of our fellow-passengers from New-York, making, with Mrs. Buckingham, my son, and myself, six in all. The stage was a large open coach, designed for nine inside passengers, a front and back seat for three each, and a central cross seat, midway between these two, for three more; and we were heartily glad that it was not likely to be filled, as the heat was oppressive, and in my weak and exhausted condition I should have felt the pressure painfully.

The word "kill" signifies, it is said, in Dutch, "creek;" and hence the number of names on the rivers of those parts of America settled by the Dutch with this termination: such as Schuylkill, Fishkill, &c. This village stands on a small creek, which flows through it towards the Hudson, and contains about 5000 inhabitants, the buildings being chiefly of wood.

We left the village, and rattled on, with four stout horses and a skilful driver, at a rate which soon made me long for English roads instead of American ones. We had been told, on inquiry, that the road to the foot of the mountain, which is about nine miles, was level and excellent, and that it was only the ascent of the mountain itself, about three miles more, that was at all rough or disagreeable. The standard of excellence differs, however, in different countries and in different minds. In any part of Europe the road would have been thought bad, but in England it would have been called execrable. There was no remedy, however, but patience; though it required a large exercise of this to sustain the jolts and shocks, which were almost enough to dislocate a weak frame and shake it to pieces. The road was not only full of deep ruts and large masses of rock, by which elevation and depression sometimes succeeded each other so rapidly that the transition was fearful, but there was a perpetual succession of steep ascents and descents instead of a level road, nearly all the way to the foot of the mountain.

The country looked beautiful, however, on either side.



THUNDER-STORM.—AMERICAN DRIVERS.

The wood predominated in the track we passed ; but at intervals small patches of cleared land appeared, the trunks of the felled trees still remaining a foot or two above the ground, and wheat, barley, rye, and grass occupying the general surface. Many rivulets crossed the road, and it was deemed a sufficient bridge over these to lay along a few rough trunks of trees or a few loose planks ; the sensation of passing over which, at a full trot, and sometimes a gallop, may be better imagined than described.

It took us about two hours and a half, over this rugged road, to reach the foot of the mountain ; our rate of speed, upon the whole, therefore, being hardly four miles an hour. Here we drew up at an inn, and supposed that a pair of fresh horses, if not the entire four, would have been put in, to complete our journey up the steep ascent ; but it was not the custom to change at all, as it had been found, by experience, that the same horses could perform the whole distance without being distressed. We accordingly set forth again upon our way. We had scarcely commenced the ascent, however, before the clouds began to lower overhead, and there was every indication of an approaching thunder-storm. In less than half an hour it burst upon us with all its fury. The lightning was most vivid, the rattling of the thunder deafening, and its prolonged reverberation in the hollows of the surrounding mountains, grand in the extreme. The rain, too, fell in torrents, the drops being so heavy as to make an impression as large as a dollar on the rocky masses which formed part of our road ; and these were succeeded by a rattling hail-shower, which completely chilled the air. During the first burst of the storm the horses stopped ; but there being a guard against the descent of the coach behind, in the shape of a large iron fork, which, as the coach receded backward, plunged into the road, and prevented its going farther, we were at ease respecting our safety. The driver managed his team not only with great skill, but with great tenderness also ; for he permitted them to halt for breath in the steep ascent every five minutes at least ; and when they had sufficiently rested, said to them, "Come, my boys, set out again," as if he had been addressing men instead of cattle ; and the horses understood these good English phrases quite as well as the unmeaning sounds of "gee-whoap, gee-whoah, and meather-ho !" with which English carters and ploughmen accost their beasts ; and once or twice he said, "Now mind, if you don't get us well up the hill, I must get others that will." They set out

invariably at the word of command, and the whip was not once used, nor its sound ever heard, from the commencement to the end of our journey; and I confess I thought the substitution of the vocal organs for the lash a great improvement, and one worthy of universal imitation.

Our road wound up the mountain-side with a steep rising or ascending slope of rock, clothed with wood on our right hand or above us, and deep glens and ravines with a similar or still greater profusion of wood, on our left hand or below us; the road often going on the very edge of a precipice, several hundred feet in depth, over which a timid traveller would every moment expect to be thrown. But no accident of any kind has occurred on this mountain road for many years past; an honourable testimony to the skill, sobriety, and care of the drivers.

About half way up the ascent we became completely enveloped in a thin blue mist, so as to be unable to see a dozen yards before us. Patches of this would sometimes clear away, and then unfold to us peeps of beautiful views through the opening foliage below us. To this again succeeded a second thunder-storm, more violent and with heavier rain than the first; until, after two hours' tedious climbing—for our slow and broken pace might aptly so be called—and with intervals of thunder, lightning, wind, rain, and momentary gleams of sunshine and mist, we reached the hotel called the Mountain House about half past seven, having been four hours and a half performing the distance of twelve miles from the landing. We found here a small party of about a-dozen persons only, as the season was yet early, so that we had an ample choice of rooms; and our fatigue was so great that we were glad to retire as early as possible, after we had taken refreshments, to rest.

We passed the whole of Sunday at the Mountain House, as completely shut out from the world below as if we had been elevated to another planet; for the mist or fog continued so intense during the greater part of the day that we could barely see the foundations of the house we occupied, and at some moments the mist so completely enveloped the house that not a particle of the ground around or near it could be distinguished, so that our dwelling was like an aerial mansion suspended among the clouds. I never remember to have been placed in any situation in which I felt so strongly the impression of complete isolation from the world.

The hotel is a large edifice, built of wood, within a few

feet only of the brink of a precipice of perpendicular rock, about 100 feet in depth, overhanging the brow of the mountain below. It thus stands on a level platform of rock, which occupies an area of about six acres, having a rising elevation on the south, and several higher peaks on the west, but the eastern slope of the mountain being continuous downward from the Mountain House to the plain. The elevation of the hotel above the River Hudson is 2212 feet measured barometrically; but there are other peaks of the same range of mountains in the vicinity which have an altitude of 3800 feet.

The Mountain House has a frontage of 140 feet, with a depth of only 24; so that it is extremely narrow in proportion to its length. A separate wing furnishes a series of drawing-rooms, of the extent of about 50 feet by 20; and there is a large verandah or piazza, with lofty wooden pillars, in the eastern front of the house, for the promenade of visitors, with a long dining-room, divided by a range of central pillars, in the sub-area or lowermost story; but all the upper part of the house is subdivided into very small bedrooms for the accommodation of large numbers, to the extent, it is said, of 200, which number of visitors they sometimes have in the months of July and August; but the present is considered the earliest part of the season, when few persons are here.

We found the accommodation more agreeable than we had anticipated, as the rooms and beds were perfectly clean, the servants numerous and attentive. The table, however, was, like all the American tables of hotels, steamboats, and boarding-houses that we had yet seen, more remarkable for superabundance of food than skill or delicacy in preparing it. I had often thought that we might be too fastidious in our tastes, though my whole family were, like myself, partial to plain dishes and simple food, and in England were always classed among those least attached to the pleasures of the table; but, though the native Americans are generally insensible to the defects of their culinary preparations, all persons who have travelled in Europe return deeply convinced of their national inferiority in this particular.

I had heard this from a hundred native Americans, at least, who had visited England; but as the published testimony of one of their own writers will be deemed of more force, perhaps, than any private opinions that could be adduced, I venture to transcribe the observations of Mr. James Fennimore Cooper, the well-known American author, who, in his

last work, just issued from the press under the title of "The American Democrat ; or, Hints on the Social and Civil Relations of the United States of America," has the following paragraphs on this subject :

"There is a familiar and too much despised branch of civilization, of which the population of this country is singularly and unhappily ignorant : that of cookery. The art of eating and drinking is one of those on which more depends, perhaps, than on any other ; since health, activity of mind, constitutional enjoyments, even learning, refinement, and, to a certain degree, morals, are all more or less connected with our diet. The Americans are the grossest feeders of any civilized nation known. As a nation, their food is heavy, coarse, ill prepared, and indigestible, while it is taken in the least artificial forms that cookery will allow. The predominance of grease in the American kitchen, coupled with the habits of hasty eating and of constant expectoration, are the causes of the diseases of the stomach so common in America. The science of the table extends far beyond the indulgence of our appetites, as the school of manners includes health and morals as well as that which is agreeable. Vegetable diet is almost converted into an injury in America, from an ignorance of the best modes of preparation, while even animal food is much abused, and loses half its nutriment.

"The same is true as respects liquors. The heating and exciting wines, the brandies, and the coarser drinks of the labouring classes, all conspire to injure the physical and the moral man, while they defeat their own ends.

"These are points of civilization on which this country has yet much to learn ; for, while the tables of the polished and cultivated partake of the abundance of the country, and wealth has even found means to introduce some knowledge of the kitchen, there is not, perhaps on the face of the globe, the same number of people among whom the good things of the earth are so much abused or ignorantly wasted as among the people of the United States. National character is, in some measure, affected by a knowledge of the art of preparing food, there being as good reason to suppose that man is as much affected by diet as any other animal, and it is certain that the connexion between our moral and physical qualities is so intimate as to cause them to react on each other."

My own experience leads me to concur in these remarks, both as regards the facts and the opinion of their influence upon health and character ; and I feel persuaded that one of the most valuable reforms that could be effected in America would be a reform in the culinary and dietetic system of the country.

On the morning of Monday, the 18th of June, we were all stirring at daylight, in order to enjoy the prospect of the rising sun. On looking out of the windows the scene that presented itself was most remarkable, and totally different from anything I had ever before witnessed. The sky above us was a bright clear blue, slightly mottled with white fleecy clouds, as in the finest summer mornings of England. But of the earth beneath us nothing was to be seen except the rocky platform on which our habitation was built, and a

small portion of the brow of the hill on which this stood. All the rest of the great expanse before us, extending to a distance of from 40 to 50 miles, was covered with a thick sea of perfectly white billows, as if there had been a general deluge, and we were occupying the summit of the Ararat which alone rose above the wide waste of waters around us. This was a compact and continuous stratum of fleecy clouds, which were below our feet instead of above our heads, and which literally covered the earth as with a canopy, and shrouded it entirely from our view. The waves of this cloudy sea assumed, too, so much the appearance of huge billows rolling, the one after the other in succession, from west to east, that, excepting in the colour of the element, which here was of snowy whiteness instead of blue, it was like looking down from a ship's mast-head on the turbulence of the Southern Ocean in a tempest off the Cape of Good Hope, or like a view of the great sea, seen in its most violent agitation from the summit of the Table Mountain that overhangs the promontory named. It was altogether the most striking and impressive scene I had ever beheld, and could never be forgotten if life were prolonged to a thousand years.

While we were gazing with unspeakable admiration on this singular and beautiful cloudy sea, the increasing light of the eastern horizon betokened the near approach of the sun. All eyes were accordingly turned to that direction, and in a few moments the bright and splendid orb rose up from his eastern bed, with a fulness of glory that seemed like the dawn of a new creation. There were accumulated, in the immediate quarter of the heavens where the sun arose, a series of strata in the clouds, of different shapes, densities, and distances, which produced a variety of lights and tints, from the palest amber to the deepest purple; and caused the straight edges of some, and the wavy or undulated edges of others, to be tipped with the brightest lustre, sometimes of silver, sometimes of paler, and sometimes of deeper gold, so as to form altogether one of the most gorgeous and splendid skies that could be imagined; while overhead in the zenith, and in every other quarter but the east, a serene azure, over which sailed clouds of fleecy whiteness, completed the beauty of the picture.

At the same time, the billowy surface of the cloudy sea beneath our feet, still completely hiding every spot of the earth from our view, was made so radiant with the slanting beams of the rising sun thrown horizontally along its waves,

that they looked like a sea of the brightest snow, heaving and rolling in some places in rounded surges, and in others flinging up their spiral points to the sky, like the conflict of opposing streams or the spray of a vast cataract. Altogether the scene was as indescribable as it was splendid and sublime, and we dwelt upon it with an intensity of admiration which almost made the head ache with the pleasure of the sight.

About an hour after sunrise we began to discover a partial breaking away of the cloudy awning, or, rather, the opening of patches and spaces in it, which bespoke its approaching dissolution. The first place in which this was visible was over the channel of the Hudson River, the track of which could be plainly traced by a corresponding hollow, or long and winding valley in this misty sea. The next places were close by the sides of the mountain on which we stood, where little slits or loopholes gradually opened, through which we could peep downward and see, at a great distance below, the green fields and thick woods, with little farm-houses, just visible as white spots on a speckled plain.

At ten o'clock the mist had so cleared away over the Hudson that its stream became visible, but no portion of the green banks of the river could be seen on either side, so that it was like a mighty stream winding its way through a bed of clouds. At eleven, large hollow patches in the mass of clouds opened in several places, so as to enable us to see corresponding portions of the earth's surface through them; and the manner in which these hollow patches altered their forms, expanding in some parts and contracting in others, reminded me strongly of the theory of the late Dr. Herschel as to the spots on the sun, which he supposed to be merely patches of the opaque body of the sun's orb seen through hollows or openings in the luminous atmosphere by which it is surrounded; and certainly, if this vast mass of clouds that hung between us and the earth should be as bright as it was at sunrise, and a spectator in the moon should be looking at our earth at the time, these open gaps or hollows in the illuminated stratum would make the patches of the soil seen through them look like spots on its surface, of varied and fluctuating forms and sizes, just as those on the sun appear to us from the earth.

By noon the whole of the clouds below us were dissipated, and the full glory of a meridian sun beamed down upon one of the most extensive and beautiful landscapes that could be well conceived. Behind us, to the west-

GLORIOUS PROSPECT.

ward, rose the peaks of mountains, higher by a thousand feet and more than the summit of that on which we stood, and completely intercepting all farther view in that direction. To the east, however, the prospect was almost boundless. At the foot of the steep slope of the range beneath our feet commenced the cultivated plain, covered with cleared land, in farms of different sizes and in different degrees of cultivation, interspersed with patches of thick wood, of variegated trees, and dotted over with farmhouses, country residences, and other buildings. This plain continued for seven or eight miles in a straight line, till it reached the western bank of the Hudson.

Beyond that stream the lands, equally fertile, and as extensively cleared and cultivated, rose gradually in an ascending slope till it terminated in a range of hills at a distance of forty or fifty miles, intercepting the eastern horizon, and bounding the view in that direction. In the centre of the valley or plain, and between these distant ranges of eastern and western elevation, flowed down the noble river, which could be distinctly traced along its path for thirty miles at least, here contracting its channel between abrupt projecting bluffs, there expanding it into ample bays, and several times throughout its length having its current interrupted by beautifully-fertile islands, while its surface was studded with at least a hundred sails as white as the fresh-fallen snow, floating on its glassy bosom like so many buoyant pearls.

Altogether the prospect was enchanting, and worth going a hundred miles to see. It reminded me, more strongly than any other scene I remember, of the view of the plain of Damascus from the summits of the hills by which it is environed. It wanted, it is true, the camel, the dromedary, and the herds and flocks of that Eastern picture, as well as the meandering and pellucid streams of the Pharpar and Abana, and the gorgeous and glittering city of domes and palaces, environed with its cypress groves and citron gardens in the centre; but still, even with the absence of these, the resemblance was striking, and to say this is to admit that it was as grand and beautiful as any scene in nature can be.

About two miles from the Mountain House is a fine waterfall, which the nature of the road to it, and my own state of health at the present moment, did not admit of my visiting. My wife and son, however, joined a party from the hotel in an excursion there, and were highly gratified. The



cavernous hollow from which the fall is seen, the semicircular theatre of rock around it, the romantic combinations of the clustered wood, and the imposing aspect of the cataract itself, which, by two separate falls of 175 feet to a projection of shelving rock, and from thence of 85 feet to the bottom, complete a descent of 260 feet in the whole; and the late heavy rains having furnished an abundant supply of water, the cataract was witnessed to the greatest advantage.

Soon after noon we left the Mountain House for the river to embark for Albany. On our way down, the bright sunshine, clear atmosphere, and perpetual vistas of beauty through the trees, made a pleasing contrast to the thunderstorms and mists of our ascent. We found the way, therefore, more agreeable; but on the road from the foot of the mountain to the village, the dislocating jolts and shocks were repeated, and it seemed to me that I had been more bruised and beaten by this ride of twelve miles than I could be in Europe by the longest journey that could be undertaken.

We reached the wharf at the landing-place about three, and the steamboat from New-York arriving soon after, we re-embarked and proceeded onward to Albany with a still larger company of passengers, and in a larger and finer boat than that in which we had come thus far.

From Catskill to Albany the river appeared narrower than

below, and the banks become more tame in scenery ; but they everywhere preserve the most exuberant fertility, and are thickly interspersed with towns, villages, hamlets, and single dwellings.

About five miles beyond Catskill, to the north, are two towns, occupying opposite banks of the river, that on the east being the City of Hudson, of Dutch foundation, and called after the navigator who has given his name to the river, and that on the west being the incorporated village of Athens. The first of these, which contains about 6000 inhabitants, exhibits in its architecture and the colouring of its houses the origin from whence it has sprung. The latter, containing about 1500 inhabitants, is of much more recent date, and exhibits, accordingly, a newness and freshness in the style and hue of its buildings, which make it look gay-er and lighter than its opposite neighbour.

To be called upon by some fellow-passenger to look around and see Athens, appears at first like a joke, it seems so difficult to separate from the sound of that word the glories of the immortal city of Minerva, with its frowning Acropolis, its beautiful Parthenon, its temple of Theseus, and its classically-sacred associations. The very name conjures up the shades of Pericles, Phidias, and Praxiteles, and the imagination wanders through the gardens, and listens in the portico to the great teachers of the several schools of Grecian philosophy, to Socrates and Plato, to Aristotle and Zeno ; from thence passes on to the theatre, and hangs with delight on the tragic glories of Euripides, Æschylus, and Sophocles ; to the Areopagus and Agora, to hear the thunders of Demosthenes against Philip, or to the Hill of Mars, to listen to the great apostle of the Gentiles unfolding to the inquisitive Athenians the nature, attributes, and purposes of the Infinite Being to whom they had dedicated an altar with the inscription, "To the Unknown God." But all this dream of the imagination vanishes the moment the eye reposes on the humble village which here assumes this imposing name.

It is not peculiar, however, to any part of America more than another, ~~that~~ to appropriate to itself the most renowned names of history for their cities, towns, and villages ; everywhere this singularly ill-directed taste is apparent. From New-York to Albany, within the compass of a single day's journey, including the valley of the Hudson and its neighbourhood, we have Babylon and Jericho, Salem, Lebanon, Gilboa, Carmel, Goshen, Athens, and Troy, with a railroad

to Syracuse, Utica, and Rome, from among the ancient cities and places of celebrity; and Oxford, Canterbury, Salisbury, Windsor, Hamburg, Hyde Park, Kingston, Glasgow, Bristol, Durham, Cairo, Bath, Cambridge, and Waterford, from among the modern. The evil of this is increased by the constant repetition of the same practice in different states, so that there are no less than 14 places bearing the name of Athens, and nine of Rome, besides a Romeo and a Romulus, 14 Palmyras, 12 Alexandrias, four of Damascus, two of Joppa, and three of Jerusalem.

In the names of more modern cities the repetitions are even still greater, but the most multiplied of all are those in which towns are called after distinguished political leaders, of which it may be sufficient to mention as an example that there are no less than fifteen Jefferson counties and forty Jefferson towns, eight Jackson counties and sixty-six Jacksons or Jacksonvilles; twenty Washington counties and eighty Washington towns, in addition to the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, which is the seat of the General Government. The greatest confusion already results from this tautological nomenclature; and the evil will increase with every succeeding year, till it forces some reform. It is the less excusable, also, as the Indian names are sufficiently varied and beautiful to admit of constant adoption.

At five o'clock we came in sight of Albany, having passed several small villages and landing-places on the way, and rapidly approached the town. The appearance presented by it was interesting and full of promise. The slope of the western bank, on which it stands, represents a city rising upward from the shore of the river to an elevated ridge of land, and the number of towers and domes scattered among the general mass of dwellings, one of them that of the City Hall, having its surface gilded, and several others of a burnished and dazzling white, being overlaid with plating of zinc and tin, gave to the whole a very brilliant aspect.

At half past five we reached the wharf, the boat having accomplished her voyage from New-York, of about 150 miles, in a period of ten hours and a half, going, therefore, nearly fifteen miles an hour the whole way. This triumph of steam navigation is felt in its fullest force by a voyage upon the Hudson, and especially on arriving at Albany, as it is the very route on which the first experiment was made, the record of which is at once so affecting and so instructive that it cannot be made too widely known. The cele-

brated Fulton, who was the first to make this experiment, thus describes its progress and issue in a letter to his friend, Judge Story :

"When I was building my first steamboat," says he, "the project was viewed by the public at New-York either with indifference or contempt, as a visionary scheme. My friends, indeed, were civil, but they were shy ; they listened with patience to my explanations, but with a settled cast of incredulity on their countenances. I felt the full force of the lamentation of the poet,

' Truths would you teach to save a sinking land,
All ahun, none aid you, and few understand.'

"As I had occasion to pass daily to and from the building-yard while my boat was in progress, I have often loitered unknown near the idle groups of strangers gathering in little circles, and heard various inquiries as to the object of this new vehicle. The language was uniformly that of scorn, sneer, or ridicule. The loud laugh rose at my expense ; the dry jest ; the wise calculation of losses and expenditure ; the dull but endless repetition of 'The Fulton Folly.' Never did a single encouraging remark, or bright hope, or warm wish cross my path.

"At length the day arrived when the experiment was to be made. To me it was a most trying and interesting occasion. I wanted my friends to go on board and witness the first successful trip. Many of them did me the favour to attend as a matter of personal respect, but it was manifest that they did it with reluctance, fearing to be partners of my mortification and not of my triumph. I was well aware that in my case there were many reasons to doubt of my own success. The machinery was new and ill-made, and many parts of it were constructed by mechanics unacquainted with such work ; and unexpected difficulties might reasonably be presumed to present themselves from other causes. The moment arrived in which the word was to be given for the vessel to move. My friends were in groups on the deck. There was anxiety mixed with fear among them. They were silent, sad, and weary. I read in their looks nothing but disaster, and almost repented of my efforts. The signal was given, and the boat moved on a short distance, and then stopped, and became immovable. To the silence of the preceding moment now succeeded murmurs of discontent and agitation, and whispers and shrugs. I could hear distinctly repeated, 'I told you so—it is a foolish scheme—I wish we were well out of it.' I elevated

myself on a platform, and stated that I knew not what was the matter ; but if they would be quiet and indulge me for half an hour, I would either go on or abandon the voyage. I went below, and ascertained that a slight maladjustment was the cause. It was obviated. The boat went on ; we left New-York ; we passed through the Highlands ; we reached Albany ! Yet even then, imagination superseded the force of fact. It was doubted if it could be done again ; or if it could be made, in any case, of any great value."

If Fulton and his then doubting friends could be raised from the dead, and witness now the triumphs of steam on the Hudson and the Mississippi, the Ganges, the Indus, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and, still later, across the broad Atlantic, the sensations of both would be very different to those by which they were animated on the first experimental voyage.

We landed at the outer wharf at Albany, amid a crowd of competitors for the favour of conducting us to the hotel, the stage, or the railroad ; and, after crossing the long wooden bridge which stretches across the basin of the great Erie Canal, we drove to an excellent house in Pearl-street, No. 59, formerly the residence of the late governor, De Witt Clinton, in which, indeed, he ended his useful and honourable life ; and having comfortable accommodations provided for us there by Mrs. Lockwood, we took up our abode in one of the most agreeable homes that we had yet found since our landing in the United States.



APPENDIX.—VOL. I.

No. I.

THE following lines are those referred to at page 20. They were written on my return from India in 1823, after being exiled by the authorities of the East India Company in Bengal, without trial, hearing, or any other legal process of inquiry, for exercising the now admitted right of British subjects in every possession of the British crown, to comment on the measures of the governing body, subject to the fullest responsibility to the laws of England, and the verdict of a court and jury; and for advocating, in the exercise of this right, the measures which have subsequently been adopted by the Legislature of England in the improved administration of our Indian empire, and have long since become the established law of the land.

ON BEHOLDING THE SHORES OF ENGLAND AFTER AN ABSENCE OF MANY YEARS.

(Written on board the ship Sir Edward Paget.)

HAIL! loveliest gem that studs the sea,
Isle of the brave, the just, the free!
Whose surge-lash'd cliffs at length arise
To greet once more my longing eyes:
Though Time my brow has silver'd o'er
Since last I trod thy happy shore,
And ev'ry change of weal or wo,
That heart can feel or man can know,
Has checker'd thick the devious way
Through which my weary wanderings lay:
Yet, while by fortune driv'n to roam,
My bosom knew one only home,
And ever, as my course might range,
Still turn'd to thee, and knew no change.

Fair Lusitania's hills imbrown'd,
And Spain's proud peaks, with deep snow crown'd,
Sicilia, breathing love and smiles,
And Greece, with all her sea of isles,
Have seen my bark's progressive way
Along their coasts, by cape and bay.

Old Egypt next, and Nile's great stream,
Whose wonders yet appear a dream,
Where Cleopatra's 'witching power
Still seems to haunt each grove and bower,
Where pyramids and temples rise
To mock the earth and brave the skies,
Allured my hopes of promised gain,
By visions, like its glories, vain.

Then Palestine's more sacred vales,
And Lebanon's soft balmy gales,
Jordan's clear stream, dew'd Hermon's mountain,
Zion's high hill, and Siloa's fountain,
With scenes revered in every age,
Repaid my weary pilgrimage;
Till Syria's fertile regions came,
Water'd by fair Orontes' stream;
And Tigris and Euphrates flow'd
Along the various paths I trod;

Where Nineveh of old was placed,
And Babylon's ruin'd heaps are traced,
Where Bagdad's minarets still show
The Crescent—of the Cross the foe.

From thence, through Persia's land of song,
I led my lengthen'd way along,
Where Ispahan's imperial halls,
Her verdant bowers and mirror'd walls,
And gay Shiraz, where Hafiz strung
His "orient pearls," and sweetly sung :

Arabia's gum-distilling trees,
And Serendib's rich spicy breeze,
With golden India's ample field
Of wealth, and all that wealth can yield,
Charm'd every sense, and would have won
Less ardent bosoms than my own ;
But that dear Albion's freer sky
Roses ever to my memory,
And bade me turn from lands enslaved,
To that loved rock by ocean laved,
Where, though by storms and tempests riven,
Man can erect his front to heaven ;
And where the monarch on the throne
Rules for the many, not for one.

Hail ! then, again, bless'd island, hail !
Speed, speed our flight, propitious gale !
Bid lazy Time's slow, lagging wheel
Fly like the lightning with our keel,
Till I shall touch my native earth,
And tread the land that gave me birth ;
Escaped from Slavery's tainted air,
To plead the wrongs of Freedom there :
(For there, at least, her holy cause
May claim an ear) till equal laws
Extend o'er Asia's vast domains,
Now fetter'd with degrading chains,
Where Britons, elsewhere free and brave,
Must tremble like the abject slave,
Desert their country's dearest pride,
And lick the dust when tyrants chide.

Oh ! never, never, while the glow
Of health around my heart shall flow,
While my warm pulses freely beat,
And Reason still retains her seat,
Never shall that bless'd gift of Heaven,
Which God to man has freely given
For nobler cause than war or strife,
Be yielded up—but with my life.
A willing victim, then, I come,
Though to a less luxurious home ;
And ever, when the choice shall be
For exile, death, or slavery,
Oh God ! do thou the firmness give,
Still to be free—or not to live.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

British Channel, June 25, 1823.

No. II.

THE opposite feelings of hope and despair were felt by me, in all their contrasted force, on the two occasions of my first arriving in sight of England in 1823, and on my losing sight of its white cliffs again in 1837. The intervening period of fourteen years was passed in fruitless efforts to obtain redress for the unjust, and—as many even of the actors in the scene now admit—unnecessary destruction of my property in India, to the extent of £40,000 sterling, with the refusal of the East India Company to grant me even permission to return to that country for a few months, to collect in the scattered debts due to me, and realize the small amount which might be saved from the general wreck of my concerns.

In the mean time, discussions had taken place at the India House, in which Sir Charles Forbes, Sir Henry Strachey, Sir John Doyle, Colonel Leicester Stanhope, Mr. Hume, Mr. John Smith, the chairman of the London bankers, Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, and other large proprietors of East India Stock, advocated my claims to redress for the injuries I had received. After this, my case was brought before the House of Commons on two successive occasions; and a committee of the House, after a patient examination of the facts, and hearing evidence on both sides—with the minister for Indian affairs, Lord Glenelg, at their head—drew up, and passed unanimously, a series of resolutions, declaring it to be the duty of the East India Company to grant me compensation for the destruction of my property in Bengal.

The Parliamentary and public proceedings on this case would fill a large volume if given in detail; but it will be sufficient for the present purpose to select, from the multiplied testimonies that are on record on this subject, the few given by persons enjoying the best possible opportunities of knowing the facts, namely, Lord Durham, who first introduced the case to the House of Commons as Mr. Lambton; Lord Denman, and Lord Abinger, both then members of the House, though since elevated to the bench and the peerage; Mr. J. B. Lewin, formerly advocate-general in India, and intimately acquainted with its laws; Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, who first brought the case before the proprietors of East India Stock at the India House; Lord John Russell, as chairman of the first Parliamentary Committee, by whose hands, as a minister of the crown, the resolutions of the second Parliamentary Committee were drawn up, declaring that compensation ought to be granted by the East India Company; and, lastly, Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general of India, than whom it was impossible to select a more competent or more impartial judge. These are brief extracts from their respective speeches.

MR. LAMSTON, late LORD DURHAM.

"Mr. Buckingham has been the victim of the most *cruel oppression*, not warranted by sound policy or expediency, but arising from a wanton and aggravated spirit of despotism. If such things are allowed to go unredressed, it is idle to talk of the responsibility of the Indian government. I do maintain that Mr. Buckingham has suffered from the grossest tyranny, and that to suffer the repetition of such practices is to endanger the very existence of the empire."

MR. DENMAN, now LORD DENMAN.

"Mr. Buckingham had been torn from his business, from his friends, from all his hopes, and had been sent to a distant country, where he was ruined, and was, perhaps, on the very verge of beggary. It was horrible to hear of such things. It was horrible to see anything like an attempt to introduce into this country that Indian atmosphere, which he, for one, was not prepared to breathe. He considered this to be one of the most cruel, oppressive, and unjustifiable acts which he had ever known to have been committed by a British governor in the history of the colonies, bad as they were."

MR. SCARLETT, now LORD ASHINGER.

"Mr. Scarlett observed, that no action could be brought against the government of India for the exercise of that prerogative, and the only mode of redress, therefore, left was that stated by the noble lord, a select committee of inquiry. He was surprised that the House, who were said to be the guardians of the lives, the liberties, and properties of the people, could hear one clause of the petition read without instantly affording the petitioner the means of redress. The petitioner stated that he was banished from India himself, and that the license or copyright of his Journal was taken from him and co-proprietors, without compensation, and presented as a gift to

the son-in-law of one of the members of the government. Could the House endure this statement without endeavouring to ascertain its truth? Not only was he banished, but the most valuable part of the property he left behind him was also taken from him without consideration. If these statements were proved, the government of India deserved the reprehension of the House and the country for punishing a man without trial."

MR. J. B. LEWIS.

"On the private and public merits of Mr. Buckingham we are all agreed. The only difference between us is, whether any public man could have braved better than he has braved the particular difficulties of his situation. Do you not yearn with sympathy towards a man whose private conduct has been admitted on all hands to be free from reproach, and whose public conduct, though open and manly in the extreme, has been productive to him of nothing but suffering and disappointment? Mr. Buckingham has done well and suffered well for your sakes. Be it yours to provide that he is also indemnified well for the losses he has sustained. If ever a man deserved the support of his fellow-countrymen, it is Mr. Buckingham."

THE HONOURABLE DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.

"Mr. Buckingham is entitled to sympathy as a gentleman of unimpeached character, who is suffering under a great calamity, without being in any degree the author of his own misfortunes. There is not a single India director who would not, with all his heart, make some compensation, but for this reason, that they dare not censure any of the acts of their servants abroad. There is not an individual director with whom I have ever conversed on the subject, who did not say that Mr. Buckingham's was one of the hardest cases he had ever heard of. They all acknowledge that they have not a word to say against him as a man and a gentleman; they would willingly meet him on friendly terms in a private room; but they say, if we afford him redress, if we save him from destruction, we pass censure upon the despotic power existing 10,000 miles off, and that we dare not do.

"It has been said that Lord Hastings, if he had remained in India, would have found it necessary to banish Mr. Buckingham, as had been done by his successor. But I have it under Lord Hastings's own hand, that Mr. Buckingham never wrote anything, and he, Lord Hastings, believed that he never would have written anything which could induce him to resort to so severe a measure. For my own part, having had frequent and almost uninterrupted personal intercourse with Mr. Buckingham, from the moment of his arrival in this country up to the present period, I can declare that I never met with a gentleman who, under the difficulties and distresses with which he has had to contend, behaved with more consistency and uprightness, or showed a greater disposition to behave in a fair and conciliatory manner. It is not a little to his credit, that, after standing before the public eye for so long a period, with the most searching scrutiny applied to every incident of his public and private life, no man can put his hand upon his heart, and point out any one of his acts as dishonourable."

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

"I am of course in possession of all the facts which were laid before the committee, and I am prepared to state that, having listened attentively to all that transpired in the committee, my opinion of the hardships suffered by Mr. Buckingham is, instead of being weakened, materially strengthened, by the experience and knowledge I have thus acquired. What we have met here to consider is the great hardships and grievous losses sustained by Mr. Buckingham, in consequence of conduct which, so far from attaching any blame to him, is, in my opinion, highly honourable and praiseworthy, and perfectly conformable to those rules of conduct and those examples of freedom which we are accustomed to admire and hold up for imitation by others of our own countrymen.

"For my own part, having had an opportunity of reading all those articles published in Mr. Buckingham's Journal which were particularly found fault with by the Indian government, I can undertake to say that there is not one of these articles, although they must all have been written and inserted in the hurry inseparable from the publication of a daily paper, which not only does not reflect the slightest stain on the character of the writer, but are such as would do honour to any man possessing an honest zeal for the welfare of the community in which he lived, and such as there is every reason to believe were written and published with a perfect convic-

tion, on the part of the author and publisher, that he was serving the cause of truth, and was therefore *entitled to the thanks of his fellow-subjects*, and the *APPROBATION of a WISE and BENEVOLENT GOVERNMENT.*"

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

"Lord William Bentinck, on taking the chair, said: In accepting the office to which I have been appointed, as chairman of the present meeting, it will not be necessary for me to address you at any length on the subject of Mr. Buckingham's claims, because I shall be followed by many gentlemen fully competent to discharge this duty. But there is one point of some importance to the question, on which no one present can speak with the same knowledge or authority, perhaps, as myself.—(Hear, hear.) The situation which I have recently filled, as Governor-general of India, enables me to speak from personal experience as to the state of feeling in Calcutta on Mr. Buckingham's case. I did not arrive in India until some time after Mr. Buckingham's departure; and at that period all the excitement produced by the measures of the government towards that gentleman was over, and public feeling had been calmed down so as to enable the Indian community to form as just and impartial an opinion on the whole case as on any matter of past history. I can assure you, then, that even at this period, and under those most favourable circumstances for forming an accurate judgment, a deep feeling pervaded the public mind generally as to the injustice with which Mr. Buckingham was treated—(hear, hear); and, with very few exceptions—such as must, indeed, occur in almost every case—the people of India generally were of opinion that Mr. Buckingham's was a case of great and unexampled hardship.—(Cheers.) In bearing this testimony to an important truth, I do not do so as the partisan of Mr. Buckingham, whose acquaintance I have but very recently made, but I do so as the friend of justice, my attachment to which alone brings me here this day.—(Hear, hear, hear.) An appeal has been made elsewhere on Mr. Buckingham's behalf, which I deeply regret has not met with the reception which the case justly deserved. I trust, therefore, that the British public, to whom this meeting will address itself, will render to Mr. Buckingham that justice which, after all his efforts in other quarters, has been so long withheld from him.—(Loud cheers.)"

This meeting was attended by a large number of members of Parliament, and by Sir Charles Forbes, Colonel Leicester Stanhope, and other Indian friends; and the speeches and resolutions were unanimously in condemnation of the oppression and cruelty of the measures pursued towards myself and my property in India, as well as of the inconsistency and bad faith of the ministers of the crown in England, who, when the opportunity presented itself for giving legal effect to their own resolutions, shrunk back from the task, abandoned the object they had so solemnly pledged themselves to protect, and presented an example of moral cowardice, of which the annals of England present few parallels. No one will therefore wonder at the feelings of indignant disappointment which dictated the following effusion.

ON LEAVING THE SHORES OF ENGLAND FOR AN ABSENCE OF SOME YEARS.

(Written on board the ship *President*.)

DEAR England! while slowly thy shores are receding,
And the trace of thy white cliffs grows dim to the view,
Some cheering presentiment whispers I'm bidding
The land of my fathers a short-lived adieu!
That the home of my childhood, whose green hills and vales
Have gladden'd my heart when most burden'd with pain,
Will soon welcome me back, when with favouring gales
I return to enjoy all its pleasures again.

Oh! Fate! in Uncertainty's dark womb concealing
The events of the future, with ignorance bleas'd,
Still prolong the delusion, nor blast, by revealing,
The first ray of hope that irradiates my breast.
Though faintly it glimmer, I'll cherish it there,
Till Time shall its embryo expand into flame;
Till again I embrace the few friends that are dear—
Yes! dearer than riches, than power, or fame.

While from the tall mast the blue signal's still waving,
 And the breeze fills the sails that the morn saw unfurl'd,
 A pang, half indignant, awells my bosom while leaving
 Thy shores, once so famed as the hope of the world ;
 For though to the slave thou canst liberty give,
 And mediate for justice when nations demand,
 Thine own children, when plunder'd, oppress'd, and deceived,
 Find nor justice, nor mercy, nor truth at thy hand.

Believe me, ye faithful and fondly-loved few !
 That, wherever my track, at the Line or the Pole,
 The pleasures of Hope, like the Spring's early dew,
 Will cheer, and refresh, and invig'rate my soul.
 Yes ! though driven from Justice, though exiled from friends,
 My heart spurns with scorn base Subserviency's chain ;
 And where'er my dark course through this banishment bends,
 It will bound with the hope of our meeting again.

Yet it shall not be always thus heartless and cold
 That thy rulers shall falsely and faithlessly sway ;
 The spirit of Freedom, which fill'd thee of old,
 Shall call to thy councils men nobler than they.
 Then Party and Faction, together cast down,
 Shall fall before Knowledge and Justice combined,
 And coronet, mitre, and ermine, and crown,
 Shall yield to the influence of Virtue and Mind.

Oh ! hasten the day, thou omnipotent Judge,
 Which thy prophets and seers have so clearly portray'd,
 When the world, now so fill'd with injustice and fraud,
 Shall be purged of the dross which Corruption has made ;
 When the earth shall be fill'd with the knowledge of Thee,
 And the sword shall give place to the press and the pen ;
 When Truth shall encompass the globe, like the sea,
 And Justice establish her throne among men.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

British Channel, Sept. 11, 1837.

No. III.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

New-York, October 25, 1837.

Men, Brethren, and Fellow-Christians :

THE numbers of human beings that every year approach your shores from all parts of the Old World, must so familiarize you with the arrival of strangers from every quarter of the globe as to justify your indifference towards all who do not ask your attention on some special account, since it would be impossible for you to shew it to every individual of so countless a multitude ; and, without some grounds on which to establish exceptions, none could be fairly expected to be made. This consideration, while it will fortify me in the propriety of the step I am taking, will also, I trust, dispose you to lend a favourable attention to a short statement of the circumstances which have driven me to your shores, of the motives which impel me to the course I am pursuing, and of the objects which I hope, under the blessing of Providence, and with your aid and protection, to accomplish.

A train of events, much too numerous to be narrated in detail, occasioned me very early in life to leave my native country, England, and to visit most of the nations in Europe, still more of the interior of Asia, many parts of the Continent of Africa, and some portions also of the two Americas. It was after an active life of some twenty years thus devoted, in which it fell to my lot to traverse, I believe, a larger portion of the earth's surface, and to visit a greater number and variety of

countries, than almost any man living of my age, that I settled as a resident in the capital of the British possessions in India, where I remained for several years.

During the voyages and travels I was permitted to make along the shores of the Mediterranean, amid the isles of Greece, in Asia Minor, Egypt, Nubia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldeæ, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, and India, I had an opportunity of personally inspecting almost all the remarkable cities and monuments of ancient greatness in the several countries named, including the gigantic pyramids, colossal temples, stately obelisks, majestic statues, and gloomy catcombs and sepulchres which stud the classic banks of the Nile from Alexandria and Grand Cairo to the Cataracts of Syene; the hoary mountains of Horeb and Sinai, and the Desert of Wandering, across which the children of Israel were led from out of the land of Egypt to the promised Canaan; the plains of Moab and Ammon, with Mount Pisgah, the valley of Jordan, and the Dead Sea; the ruined cities of Tyre and Sidon; the ports of Joppa, Acre, and Cesarea; the villages of Nazareth and Cana of Galilee; the cities of Sichem, Samaria, and Bethlehem; the mountains of Lebanon, Hermon, Tabor, and Carmel; the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion; the holy City of Jerusalem, with all its sacred localities, from the pools of Siloam and Bethesda, near the brook Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, to the more touching and endearing spots of the Garden of Gethsemane, the Rock of Calvary, and the sepulchre in which the body of our Lord was laid.

While these were the objects of my inspection in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, the Scriptural countries of Syria and Mesopotamia were scarcely less prolific in the abundance of the materials which they presented to my view. In the former were the seaports of Berytus, Byblus, Tripolis, and Laodiceæ, with the great interior cities of Antioch on the verdant banks of the Orontes, Aleppo on the plains, and the enchanting city of Damascus, whose loveliness has been the theme of universal admiration, from the days of Abraham and Eliezer to those of Naaman the Syrian and the great apostle of the Gentiles, and from thence to the present hour; while the great temple of the Sun at Basilbec, the gorgeous monuments of ancient splendour in the Roman settlements of the Decapolis, and the still earlier monuments of those who reigned before either Greek or Roman in Bashan and Gilead, and the regions beyond Jordan, added splendour to beauty, and combined all that the traveller or antiquary could desire.

Mesopotamia, including the ancient empires of Chaldeæ, Assyria, and Babylonia, into which I passed from Palestine, largely rewarded my researches. In the former, the celebrated city of Ur of the Chaldees received me within its gates, and I passed many days in this ancient birthplace and abode of the patriarch Abraham. The extensive ruins of Nineveh, spread in silent desolation along the banks of the Tigris, and the fallen Babylon, stretching its solitary heaps on either side of the great river Euphrates, were also objects of patient and careful examination; as well as the Oriental capital of the caliphs, Bagdad the renowned; and the remains of the great Tower of Babel, on the plain of Shinar, of which a considerable portion still exists to attest the arrogance and folly of its builders.

Media and Persia came next in the order of my wanderings; and there, also, the ruins of the ancient Ecbatana, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada, and the splendid remains of the great temple at Persepolis, gratified in a high degree the monumental and antiquarian taste; while the populous cities of Kermanshah, Ispahan, and Shiraz, with the lovely valleys of Persian landscape, amply fed my love of the beautiful and the picturesque.

In India, as the field was more extended, and the time devoted longer by several years, far more was seen, experienced, and felt. It may suffice, however, to say, that all the outlines of that magnificent "Empire of the Sun," from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf on the west to the Bay of Bengal on the east, were traced by my voyages along its shores; for after navigating and accurately surveying both the seas named, from Suez to Bab-el-mandeb in the one, and from the mouth of the Euphrates to the port of Muscat in the other, I visited Bombay, and all the ports upon the coast of Malabar; from thence to Colombo and Point de Galle in the Island of Ceylon; afterward anchored at Madras, and entered the ports of Bimlipatam and Vizagapatam, on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in the region of the idol temple of Juggernaut; and ultimately reached the British capital of India, Calcutta, on the banks of the Ganges.

It may readily be conceived that, in so extensive and varied a track as this, the

personal adventures I experienced were as varied as they were numerous; and I may assert with confidence, that while privation and suffering had been endured by me in almost every form—in hunger, thirst, nakedness, imprisonment, shipwreck, battle, and disease—so also every pomp and pleasure that man could enjoy, from honours bestowed and hospitalities received, agreeably relieved the tedium of my way; so that, although my course was not invariably on a bed of roses, neither was it always across a path of thorns.

Amid all these changes, however, there was one thing which, in me at least, remained happily the same. No length of travel, no amount of suffering, no blandishments of pleasure, no intimidations of tyranny, no debilitation of climate, no variety of institutions, had been sufficient to abate in me, in the slightest degree, that ardour of attachment to liberty, civil, political, and religious, which God and Nature implanted in my breast from the cradle, which experience fanned into maturity with manhood, and which Providence, I trust, will keep alive in my heart to the latest period of my advancing age. Animated by this love of liberty, which you, the people of America, as you know how to cherish among yourselves, will not be disposed to condemn in others, I continued, even under the burning climate and despotic rule of an Eastern tyranny, to think, to feel, and to speak as every Englishman, proud of his country, his ancestors, and his laws, ought to do, so long as he bears that honoured name. For thus presuming to carry with me from the land of my fathers that spirit, which made England for so many years the hope of the world, and which, infused into the early settlers of your own still freer country, and continued in their proud posterity, makes it now the asylum and the home of the oppressed; for this, and for this alone, I was banished by a summary and arbitrary decree, without trial, hearing, or defence, my property destroyed to the extent of not less than two hundred thousand dollars, and the prospective certainty of an equal sum, at least, cut off and annihilated at a single blow.

With the details of this atrocity it is not my purpose or intention to trouble you; but while I record the fact as one which forms an important link in the chain of circumstances that impel me hither, I may add that the almost universal indignation of the people of England has been expressed against this gross injustice; that a Parliamentary committee, composed of men of all parties in politics, unanimously pronounced its condemnation; and that the highest authorities among our public men have expressed their abhorrence of the deed; but from the impunity enjoyed by the East India Company in their oppressions abroad, and the impossibility of making them subject to our legal jurisdiction at home, no redress has, to this hour, been obtained, nor, according to all probability, is any ever likely to be procured.

From the period of my arbitrary and unjust banishment from India up to the reform of our Parliament in England, I was incessantly and successfully engaged in directing the attention of my countrymen to the evils of the East India monopoly, and enlisting their interests and their sympathies in demanding its extinction. With this view I was occupied about six years in addressing the British public through the pages of the "*Oriental Herald*," and four years in a patriotic pilgrimage through England, Scotland, and Ireland, on a crusade against the abominations of the East; in the course of which I traversed all parts of the three divisions of our kingdom, visited almost every town of the least importance in each, and addressed, in public speeches, lectures, and discourses, on this important subject, not less than a million of my assembled countrymen, in audiences varying from five hundred to two thousand each, including persons of all ranks, from the peasant to the peer, of both sexes, of every age, and of every political and religious persuasion.

The result of all this was the kindling a flame throughout the entire nation, which burned brighter and brighter as the hour of consummation approached, and at length became perfectly irresistible. More than a hundred provincial associations were formed, among which Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and Birmingham took the lead, to demand the abolition of the East India Company's commercial monopoly, and the amelioration of its civil government; and not less than 10,000*l.* was raised and expended in the legitimate promotion of this object, through public meetings, deputations, and the powerful agency of the press.

The reform of Parliament being accomplished, I was invited, under circumstances of the most flattering nature to myself, but on which I will not dwell, to become the representative of the town of Sheffield, in which and to which I was then personally an entire stranger; but its invitation was founded on a knowledge of my public life

and labours alone. I was successfully returned to the first reformed Parliament as its member, and had the happiness to advocate, in my place in the British House of Commons, the views I had maintained in India, for maintaining which, indeed, I was banished from that country, and which I had since, by the exercise of my pen and tongue for ten years, spread so extensively in England. The triumph of these principles was at length completed by the accomplishment of all my views. The India monopoly was abolished, and free trade to India and China secured. The liberty of the press in India was established, and trial by jury guaranteed. The political as well as the commercial powers of the East India Company were curtailed. The horrid and murderous practice of burning the widows of India alive on the funeral piles of their husbands was put down by law. The blood-stained revenue derived from the idolatrous worship of Juggernaut was suppressed. The foundation of schools, the promotion of missions, the administration of justice, were all more amply provided for than before; and to me, the sufferings and anxieties of many years of peril and labour combined were amply rewarded by the legal and constitutional accomplishment of almost every object for which I had contended, and the gratification of all the wishes I had so long indulged.

In addition to my ordinary share in the duties of the Senate, I had the happiness to be the favoured instrument of first bringing before it the great question of temperance; and, through the investigations of a committee, I had the satisfaction of presenting to the world such a body of evidence, and so demonstrative a report, as to convince a large portion of the British nation that it was their solemn duty to God and man to follow their American brethren in the noble example which they were the first to set in this most important branch of moral and social reform.

Of the remainder of my labours as a member of the British Legislature it is not necessary that I should speak; but I may, perhaps, without presumption, be permitted to add—and there are, happily, now in the city of New-York some of the most intimate and influential of my constituents among the merchants and manufacturers of Sheffield, who can confirm the statement—that I had the happiness to sit as the representative of that large and opulent town for a period of five years, in the enjoyment of as much of the confidence and approbation of its inhabitants as it was possible for any representative to be honoured with; and that, in every annual visit made to my constituents, for the purpose of giving them an account of my stewardship in Parliament, and surrendering up my trust to the hands of those who first bestowed it on me, I was uniformly crowned with the testimony of their unanimous approbation, and sent back to the House of Commons as their representative, with still more unlimited confidence than before.

The period came, however, in which it was necessary, for the interests of those who are dear to me by blood and family ties, and for whom it is my duty, as it is my happiness, to provide, that I should quit my senatorial duties, and, after nearly thirty years devoted to the service of the public, devote the few remaining years of health and activity that might be spared me, before old age should render exertion impracticable, to providing a retreat for the winter of life, and acquiring the means of making that retreat independent as well as honourable. I accordingly announced this intention, and the reasons on which it was grounded; and, at the close of the last session of Parliament, in July, 1837, I paid a farewell visit to my constituents at Sheffield, where, though all our previous meetings had been cordial, hearty, and affectionate in the extreme, this was more cordial, more affectionate, though tinged with a new element of sorrow and regret, than any that had gone before.

These, then, are the circumstances, and I have narrated them with as much brevity as possible, which have led me to quit the land of my nativity, and go with my family to other shores. The motives which have induced me to prefer those of the United States as the first, at least, to be visited in my course, and the objects which I hope to accomplish among you, still require to be explained.

It is an opinion, not now professed by me for the first time, but long entertained and frequently avowed, that America is destined, in the course of time, to be the great centre of freedom, civilization, and religion, and thus to be the regenerator of the world. In the ages that are passed, we have seen the rays of science and the beams of truth first illumining the countries of the East, and then passing onward, like the light of heaven itself, progressively towards the West: Chaldaea giving knowledge to Egypt, Egypt to Greece, Greece to Rome, Rome to Iberia, Gaul, and Britain, and these three in succession to their respective settlements in America; till

these last, shaking off their dependance, and rising in the full dignity of their united strength, asserted and secured their freedom, and took their place among the most enlightened and most honoured nations of the earth.

From that moment you have gone on, rejoicing like the sun in his course, increasing in population, in commerce, in liberty, in wealth, in intelligence, in happiness, till your people have penetrated the primeval forests, and spread themselves as cultivators of the soil from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific; till your ships cover every sea, and till the message of your president, unfolding the measures of the past and developing the prospects of the future, is looked for with interest at every court in Europe, and read with eager and intense attention by the humblest lover of freedom in every country in which it is made public.

Commanding, therefore, as you now do, a position the most favourable to national greatness, to useful influence, and to honourable renown; the vast interior of your extensive surface embracing every variety of climate, soil, and production, and your extended seacoasts furnishing ports of attraction to all the world; with the Atlantic Ocean for your highway to Europe, and the Pacific for your approach to Asia; your mighty rivers, rising cities, populous villages, increasing colleges, temples of public worship, and adult and infant schools, what is wanting but time to place you at the head of those nations of the old world, who, less than a century ago, derided your intelligence and your strength, to both of which you have long since compelled them to pay the homage that was justly due!

While others, therefore, visit your shores charged either with merchandises to sell, or gold and silver to buy, I venture to come among you freighted with no cargo of goods for your consumption, or with the precious metals for purchase or exchange. In the midst, however, of all the bustle and animation that fill your crowded marts, there will be room, I hope, for one who brings only the knowledge and experience acquired by years of travel in the Scriptural and Classical countries of the East, to communicate to those who may have leisure and disposition to hear, and taste and education to enjoy, whatever can illustrate the history and poetry of early days, and, above all, whatever can tend to unfold the beauties, confirm the prophecies, and give strength and force to the sublime and important truths contained in the sacred volume of our common faith.

This is the first object which I hope to accomplish by my sojourn among you, and this alone would well justify my visit to your shores. If, at the same time, there be others not incompatible with this prominent one, but auxiliary and subordinate to it, that I may be permitted to pursue, such as a careful and impartial examination of your own resources, institutions, literature, and manners, so that, while diffusing information for the gratification of others, I may be adding to my stores of knowledge for my own delight, I doubt not that I shall find among you all the kindness of aid for which you have so long been renowned.

The mode that I have chosen for the communication of the interesting details with which the past history and actual condition of the Scriptural and Classical countries of the East abound, namely, that of oral discourses or extemporaneous lectures, may appear to some to be less dignified, as it is undoubtedly less usual, than the diffusion of this class of information through printed books. But it may be defended, first, on the ground of its greater practical utility, being at once more attractive and more efficient; and, secondly, on the ground of its high antiquity, and of the sacred and classical, as well as noble and historical, precedents in its favour.

As to the ground of its attractiveness, it has been found, in Britain at least, that thousands have been induced to assemble to hear a traveller personally narrate his adventures and describe the objects he has seen, where it would have been difficult to get even hundreds to bestow the time and labour of reading the same things in printed books; and when I add that in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, Belfast, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Hull, Bristol, Bath, and others of our largest and most intellectual cities, audiences increasing from five hundred to two thousand persons have been attracted for six successive nights, without apparent inconvenience or fatigue, the proof of the superior attractiveness of spoken discourses over printed books may be considered as complete. Of their superior efficiency there is even still less doubt; for the very fact of so many persons being assembled together at the same time, and hearing the same observations at the same moment, excites an animation, sympathy, and enthusiasm, which is contagious in its effects on both speaker and hearers, till their feelings flow in one common current;

the facts sink deeper into the memory at the time, and the subsequent conversation, criticism, comparison, and reflection to which this gives rise among those who attend, imprint them with a firmness that no amount of reading could accomplish.

For precedents or authorities it is not necessary to go far in search, so profusely do they abound in ancient and in modern annals. In Scriptural ages, the oral mode of communication was almost the only one in use, from the days of Abraham, who, according to the testimony of Josephus, thus taught the Chaldean science of astronomy to the Egyptians, down to the time of Solomon, who discoursed so eloquently of the productions of nature in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and from whose lips the profoundest maxims of wisdom were poured into charmed ears; and from thence again to the days of Paul, who stood before Festus, Felix, and Agrippa at Cæsarea, and who, clothed in all the majesty of truth, addressed assembled thousands at Antioch, at Ephesus, at Athens, at Corinth, and in Rome.

In classical countries the custom was universal, and there are many who conceive, with the great Lord Bacon, that one of the causes of the superior intellect of the Greeks was the method in use among them of communicating knowledge by oral discourses rather than by written books: when the pupils or disciples of Socrates, of Plato, and of Epicurus received their information from these great masters in the gardens and the porticoes of Athens, or when the hearers of Demosthenes, of Æschylus, of Sophocles, or Euripides hung with rapture on their glowing sentences, as pronounced in the Areopagus, the theatre, the gymnasium, or the grove.

Of classical authorities, the memorable instance of Herodotus will occur to every mind. This venerable Father of History, as he is often called, having been first banished from his native country, Halicarnassus, under the tyranny of Lygdamis, travelled, during his exile, through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, to the borders of Media and Persia, in which he was engaged for several years. On his return from his travels he was instrumental in uprooting and destroying the very tyranny under which his banishment took place; but this patriotic deed, instead of gaining for him the esteem and admiration of the populace, who had so largely benefited by his labours, excited their envy and ill-will, so that he a second time left his native land, and then visited Greece. It was there, at the great festival of the Olympic Games, about five hundred years before the Christian era, being then in the fortieth year of his age, that he stood up among assembled myriads of the most intellectual auditors of the ancient world, to narrate, in oral discourses drawn from the recollection of his personal travels, the subject-matter of his interesting history and description of the countries of the East; and such was its effect upon the generous hearts and brilliant intellects of his accomplished hearers, that while the celebrated Thucydides, then among them as a boy, shed tears at the recital of the events of the Persian war, and his young bosom was perhaps then first fired with the ambition which made him afterward one of the most accomplished historians of Greece, the people received Herodotus with such universal applause, that, as an honour of the highest kind, the names of the nine Muses were bestowed upon the nine books or subdivisions of his interesting narrative, which they continue to bear to the present hour in every language into which they have been translated.

Pythagoras of Samos is another striking instance of a similar career. Disgusted with the tyranny of Polycrates, he retired from his native island, and, having previously travelled extensively in Chaldaea and Egypt, and probably in India, he also appeared at the Olympic Games of Greece, and travelled through Italy and Magna Græcia, delivering, in the several towns that he visited, oral discourses on the history, religion, manners, and philosophy of the countries of the East; and their general effect was not less happy than that produced by the narrations of Herodotus; for it is said that "these animated harangues were attended with rapid success, and a reformation soon took place in the life and morals of the people."

I might go on to enlarge the catalogue of precedents, for both ancient and modern history is full of them—Marco Polo, Columbus, Camoens, Raleigh, and Bruce (all, too, treated with the deepest injustice by their countrymen) will occur to every one—but it is unnecessary. May I only venture to hope that, as some similarity exists between my own history, in sufferings from tyranny and the ingratitude of contemporaries, and that which marked the career of those great men whose names I have cited, Herodotus and Pythagoras, as well as in the countries we each traversed, and the mode of diffusing the information thus acquired by oral discourses among the people of other lands, the similarity may be happily continued, if not in the honours to

be acquired, at least in the amount of the good to be done ; and that, in this last respect, the Olympia and Magna Grecia of the East may fairly yield the palm to the more free and more generally intelligent Columbia of the West, is my most earnest hope and desire, my most sincere and fervent prayer.

I will say no more except to add that, should my humble labours among you be crowned with the success which I venture to anticipate, and should Providence spare me life and health to follow out the plan I have long meditated and designed, it is my intention, after visiting every part of the United States of America, to extend my tour through the British possessions of Canada, New-Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies ; to visit from thence the Isthmus of Darien, for the purpose of investigating this barrier between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean ; to make an excursion through Mexico, and from thence pass onward by the South Sea Islands to China ; visit the Philippines and the Moluccas ; go onward to Australia and Van Diemen's Land ; continue from thence through the Indian Archipelago, by Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and Malacca, to India ; traverse the Peninsula of Hindustan from the Ganges to the Indus, and return to Europe by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

Throughout the whole of this long and varied route there are a few prominent and important objects, which, as they have been long favourite subjects of study, and have engaged a large share of my attention in the past, I shall hope to keep steadily in view, and do all within my power to advance in the future. It has long been my conviction, that among the most prolific causes of vice and misery in the world, those of intemperance, ignorance, cruelty, and war are productive of the greatest evils ; and that the best service which man can render to his fellow-beings is therefore to promote, by every means within his reach, the principles and practice of temperance, education, benevolence, and peace. My belief is, that more of sympathy and cordiality in favour of these great objects will be found in the United States of America than in any other country on the globe. Already, indeed, has she done more than any other country that can be named for the advancement of temperance, the spread of education, the amelioration of the criminal code, the improvement of prisons and penitentiaries, and the practical illustrations of the blessings of peace. And, placed as she now is between the two great seas that divide the Old from the New World, and separate the ancient empires of the East from the modern nations of the West, so that, with her face towards the regions of the sun, she can stretch out her right hand to Asia and her left hand to Europe, and cause her moral influence to be felt from Constantinople to Canton, she has the means within her reach, as well as the disposition to use those means, for the still farther propagation and promotion of her benevolent designs. It is this which encourages me to believe that my ulterior projects and intentions, which I thus freely avow, will not lessen the cordiality with which the first and more immediate object of my mission to your shores will be received. The land now covered with the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the offspring of those noble and unyielding spirits who, fleeing to the uncleared wilderness as a refuge from tyranny and persecution, found in its primeval forests the liberty they in vain sought for in their native homes, and whose posterity, while filling these forests with cities, and covering the wilds with civilization and religion, have never forgotten those lessons of freedom which their ancestors first taught by their practical privations and sufferings, and then sealed and cemented by their blood, such a land is not likely to refuse its shelter to one whose past history may give him some claim to the sympathy of its possessors, whose present labours may be productive of intellectual gratification to themselves, and whose future undertakings, if blessed by Divine Providence, may sow the seeds at least of benefit to other widely-scattered regions of the earth.

To you, then, the people of America, I frankly submit this appeal ; and at your hands I doubt not I shall experience that cordial and friendly reception which may smooth the ruggedness of a pilgrim's path, and sooth the pillow of an exile's repose.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

No. IV.

It has been recorded in the text (p. 66) that the petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the resolutions sent from Massachusetts, and the other Northern States belonging to the thirteen United Colonies that formed the original compact of the first republican union, were, by certain resolutions of Mr. Patton, of Virginia, received in silence, and so far stifled or suppressed. This excited a strong feeling of indignation among the abolitionists of the North, from the pen of one of whom the following spirited lines appeared in the public journals of the free states :

MASSACHUSETTS.

Written on learning that the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts on the subject of slavery, presented by Hon. C. Cushing to the House of Representatives of the United States, have been laid on the table unread and unREFERRED, under the infamous rule of "Patton's Resolution."

And have they spurn'd thy word,
Thou of the old THIRTEEN !
Whose soil, where Freedom's blood first pour'd,
Hath yet a darker green ?
Tread the weak Southron's pride and lust
Thy name and counsels in the dust !

And have they closed thy mouth,
And fix'd the padlock fast,
Slave of the mean and tyrant South,
Is this thy fate at last ?
Old Massachusetts ! can it be
That thus thy sons must speak of thee ?

Call from the Capitol
Thy chosen ones again,
Unmeet for them the base control
Of slavery's curbing rein !
Unmeet for necks like theirs to feel
The chafing of the despot's heel !

Call back to Quincy's shade
That steadfast son of thine :
Go, if thy homage *must* be paid
To Slavery's pagod-shrine,
Seek out some meaner offering than
The free-born soul of that old man !

Call that true spirit back,
So eloquent and young :
In his own vale of Merrimack
No chains are on his tongue !
Better to breathe its cold, keen air,
Than wear the Southron's shackle there.

Ay, let them hasten home,
And render up their trust ;
Through them the Pilgrim state is dumb,
Her proud lip in the dust !
Her counsels and her gentlest word
Of warning spurn'd aside, unheard !

Let them come back, and shake
The base dust from their feet ;
And with their tale of outrage wake
The free hearts whom they meet :
And show before indignant men
The scars where Slavery's chain hath been.

Back from the Capitol,
 It is no place for thee !
 Beneath the arch of heaven's blue wall
 Thy voice may still be free !
 What power shall chain thy spirit there,
 In God's free sun and freer air !
 A voice is calling thee
 From all the martyr-graves
 Of those stern men, in death made free,
 Who could not live as slaves :
 The slumberings of thy honour'd dead
 Are for thy sake disquieted !
 The curse of Slavery comes
 Still nearer, day by day ;
 Shall thy pure altars and thy homes
 Become the spoiler's prey !
 Shall the dull tread of fetter'd slaves
 Sound o'er thy old and holy graves !
 Pride of the old THIRTEEN !
 That curse may yet be stay'd :
 Stand thou, in Freedom's strength, between
 The living and the dead :
 Stand forth, for God and Liberty,
 In one strong effort, worthy thee !
 Once more let Faneuil Hall
 By freemen's feet be trod,
 And give the echoes of its wall
 Once more to Freedom's God !
 And in the midst, unseen, shall stand
 The mighty fathers of thy land.
 Thy gather'd sons shall feel
 The soul of Adams near,
 And Otis with his fiery zeal,
 And Warren's onward cheer :
 And heart to heart shall thrill, as when
 They moved and spake as living men.
 Fling from thy Capitol
 Thy banner to the light,
 And o'er thy charter's sacred scroll,
 For Freedom and the Right,
 Breathe once again thy vows, unbroken,
 Speak once again as thou hast spoken.
 On thy bleak hills speak out !
 A world thy words shall hear ;
 And they who listen round about,
 In friendship or in fear,
 Shall know thee still, when sorest tried,
 " Unshaken and unterrified."

 No. V.

THE following is the correspondence and paper on Duelling referred to in the chapter on Washington, at page 187, and it is given here, partly for the purpose of showing the effects produced by it in the United States, but also in the hope that, as a noble peer, the Earl of Mountcashell, has at this moment a notice before the House of Lords for a committee to inquire into the best mode of suppressing duelling in England, it may be productive of some good here.

(From the *New-York American*, March 6, 1838.)

DUELLING.—The recent occurrence at Washington seems to have turned all minds to the consideration of some mode by which the barbarous practice of duelling should, if possible, be prevented. In this view, and in aid of such an object, in which *all* men, whatever their private opinion or practice, outwardly concur, and in which *all* men ought, in truth, in spirit, and in deed, heartily to co-operate, the following correspondence and essay have been sent to us for publication. We commend them heartily to the attention of all readers. The essay, it will be seen, was addressed by the author to the British Parliament, of which he was at the time a member. It is elaborate, able, and occasionally eloquent.

To J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq.

Washington, Feb. 27, 1838.

My dear Sir—On my arrival yesterday, I found this city clothed in sackcloth and mourning. A member of Congress had been shot dead in a duel by a brother member, and in a manner that cannot but shock the moral sense of the inhabitants of this vast republic.

You were so kind as to send to me, previous to your leaving England, a paper on the subject of duelling, which I perused with deep interest; and the thought has occurred to me that its publication at this time might be appropriate, and assist in correcting public sentiment on a most important subject. With your permission, I should like to give publicity to the document.

Truly and respectfully your friend,

E. C. DELAVAN.

To E. C. DELAVAN, Esq.

Washington, Feb. 27, 1838.

My dear Sir—Having been myself as deeply affected by the painful occurrence of the duel to which you allude as any member of this sorrowing community, among whom I have so recently arrived, the first impulse of my heart was to contribute, if possible, towards the correction of the false sentiment of honour which countenances so barbarous a practice. I accordingly sought among my papers for the document to which you refer; and as this was originally presented to the members of both houses of the British Parliament during the period in which I had the honour of being a member of that body, I thought it would not be unbecoming or disrespectful in me to offer it to the consideration of both houses of Congress, in the midst of which one of their lamented members was about to be consigned to an untimely grave.

From your hands, however, as an American citizen, this document will be more acceptable than from mine. I therefore transmit it to you, in the hope that, through your instrumentality, the public press of America will convey it on the wings of the wind to the remotest verge of their extensive country, and that the reverberation of public opinion, re-echoed from these extremities to the Capitol, will influence the general Legislature to pass some law for the correction of this great evil at the fountain-head; a law which would be approved by the vast majority of this moral and intellectual nation, and give the United States a new claim to the gratitude and admiration of the world.

I am, my dear sir, yours respectfully,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

REASONS FOR LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE TO PREVENT THE PRACTICE OF DUELLING.

Addressed to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, in 1836, by

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., M.P.

At an early period of the present session I placed a notice on the order-book of the House of Commons, announcing my intention to ask leave to bring in a bill to prevent the unchristian and barbarous practice of duelling. From a variety of causes wholly beyond my power to control, this motion was delayed and postponed from time to time, always against my wishes, as I desired its discussion at the earliest possible period, until there was evidently so strong a disinclination to listen to anything on the subject, under the existing pressure of other public business, that the motion was ultimately withdrawn.

As I am persuaded that the unwillingness to listen to any proposition for the abolition of this murderous practice arises chiefly from the thick mist of prejudice by which the question is surrounded, and the habitual but unreflecting veneration in which this custom is held, I think it but just to submit the principal facts and reasonings which have induced me, who at one period of my life saw so little objectionable in duelling

as to hazard my own life at a moment the most critical and painful in all my history, to come to the conclusion that it is as inefficient for all good purposes as it is powerful for evil.

There is one reason that has hitherto prevented gentlemen from denouncing duelling in the senate, and seeking to effect its abolition by law; and this has been the fear of being thought wanting in courage or spirit, and seeking to shelter their personal timidity under a legal prohibition. This want of moral courage is far more frequent than the absence of animal bravery. There are many men who would boldly face the cannon's mouth, though they could not stand up against an absurd and revolting custom of society, if Fashion had stamped it with its approbation; while the fear of man is more powerful in its operation on the great bulk of the community than the fear of God, there will be always found men weak enough to yield up their judgments to those fears, and violate what they know to be the injunctions of religion, the duties of morality, and the ties of parental and domestic affection, because they cannot summon courage enough to withstand the reproaches of the world.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, I shall endeavour to show that the practice of duelling is unchristian, unjust, ineffectual, and absurd; that the present state of the law respecting it is inefficient and inoperative; and that it is perfectly practicable to devise a remedy which will admit of the amicable and pacific adjustment of all those differences now made the subject of appeal to arms, and settled often in the shedding of innocent blood.

To show that it is unchristian requires, perhaps, but little proof. A hundred texts of Scripture might be quoted to establish the utter irreconcilability of such a practice with the Christian code; but I content myself with merely saying that, as suicide or self-destruction is, by the common consent of Christians of every denomination, held to be a crime of the deepest die, the practice of duelling, which places both the combatants in the position of men voluntarily risking their lives in private quarrel, and permitting a reciprocal suicide to be perpetrated for the satisfaction of private vengeance alone, must be deemed contrary to the very essence and spirit of Christianity, which teaches forgiveness of injuries, and the return of good for evil, as the sacred duty of every man professing the Christian faith. Upon what other ground than its utter repugnance to the dictates of religion is it that the clergy are exempt from amenability to its bloody and barbarous code? For no chaplain, even when serving on warlike expeditions, could dare to countenance a private duel, nor is he ever expected, however gross the insult he may receive, to resent or to avenge it by such unchristian means.

That it is unjust is quite as susceptible of proof; and that it is ineffectual and absurd, very few, indeed, presume to deny. Whatsoever is just, manly, and honest, men are generally proud to do openly, that they may enjoy the applause and commendation of the world. But the duellist shrinks away from the public gaze, and tacitly confesses the injustice of his proceeding, by shrouding it from the public eye in a mean and evasive secrecy. That it is ineffectual is just as clear, as a duel never yet proved who was right and who was wrong in the quarrel out of which it arose, but left the merit and demerit of the parties in the dispute just where it was before. And that it is absurd must be admitted from the fact that, instead of its accomplishing the end at which it aims, namely, to rectify some evil, or afford satisfaction to some wounded feeling, it often adds murder to the insult sought to be atoned for, and leaves the innocent and injured party seeking redress to measure an untimely grave at the foot of the wanton and unprovoked aggressor.

Let us take a very ordinary case. A gentleman makes an assertion, which is supposed by one hearing it to be incorrect. He at first denies its accuracy. The original assertor, jealous of his reputation, protests against the contradiction; and, after a few irritating expressions on either side, the one pronounces that what the other has said is false. A challenge ensues, and the matter is referred to seconds. To do what? To ascertain whether the assertion made is true or false! Not at all; for that is left untouched, as though it were a matter of the utmost indifference. But to see which of the two are the most wrongheaded and the most obstinate; the seconds usually conceiving it to be their duty to preserve their own reputation for courage by not permitting the respective principals to give way to each other by any admission that can be interpreted into a symptom of fear; and thus, from the dread of being thought to be afraid, by making mutual concessions, both parties meet in the field, and the life of one or the other is sacrificed.

The earliest duels that were fought were to save lives. They were single combats, and trials of strength and skill between eminent and distinguished individuals, to settle national differences by the sacrifice of one life instead of many, and to spare the too copious effusion of human blood. Such was the combat between Diomedes and Æneas, in the war between the Greeks and the Trojans; such the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, in the war between the Romans and the Albans; and such the going out of David to meet Goliath the Philistine, as recorded in Holy Writ. These were duels for national victory, and to spare the lives of thousands, by making the issue of the single combat definitive of the question in dispute. They were therefore conducted with all due pomp and ceremony, were fought in the presence of assembled hosts, and were crowned with all the sanction which public authority could give to them. Even in still later times than those adverted to, the duel was fought with the same public view; and among other instances may be mentioned the combat between Edmund Ironside and Canute the Dane for the dominion of England; the offer of Richard the First, of Edward the Third, and of Richard the Second to try their right with the King of France. At the period of the Norman conquest, William the First sent a message to Harold, on the day before the battle of Hastings, offering to spare the effusion of blood which must follow from the meeting of the armies by deciding the fate of the kingdom in single combat, which Harold, however, refused. If the modern duel were, like this, only entered on for national purposes and to spare human blood, the objection to it would be greatly lessened.

A second cause of duel sprung up when the Goths and Vandals overran the declining empire of Rome, and brought with them, from their northern abodes, a mixture of blind superstition and ferocious courage, out of which arose the trial by ordeal, by which the parties in dispute consented to refer the decision of their guilt or innocence to the arbitration of some unseen power, who, they professed to believe, would interfere in behalf of the innocent, and make the guilt of the guilty appear on the spot. The modern duel no more resembles this than it does the preceding one described.

A third kind of duel was engendered by the feudal institutions of our ancestors, in those chivalrous encounters which fill the pages of romances. In this single combat the parties never professed to fight for themselves, but to avenge the cause of some other. The baron fought to redress the wrong of some feudal dependant among his vassals. The knight or cavalier defended his lady's reputation at the point of the lance; and the weak and the oppressed were sometimes rescued from the grasp of some petty despot, when an encounter at arms followed as the adjustment of the dispute. In all these combats, however, there were these redeeming traits: they were more generous than selfish; they exhibited prowess, agility, skill, and manly bearing; they were open, public, avowed, legal, authorized, and even honoured by the existing feelings and manners of the age. It is unnecessary to add that the modern duel has but very slight traces of resemblance to this.

There were very early perceptions, however, of the injustice of such appeals to arms for the settlement of private quarrels; and many instances of punishments inflicted on parties resorting to them are on record. One of these may be sufficient to mention. It is this: In the reign of Richard the Second, a quarrel happened between the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford, which was to be settled by single combat, in the usual way of those times, but in public and open encounter, under the notion of Heaven interposing to preserve the innocent. At the moment, however, of their being about to engage, each mounted, the king interposed his authority, and both were banished from the kingdom, the one for ten years, the other for life.

As an illustration of the errors of preceding legislators on this subject, by whose mistakes we may profit, and be directed into a better course, I may perhaps be permitted to state the following facts. At the close of the 16th century, Henry the Second and Philip the Fair, each published edicts against duelling; the first prohibiting it altogether, and the second placing it under certain restraints. These, however, were ineffectual, for this reason only, namely, the great facility with which pardons were obtained by those who disobeyed the law. It is said that in the course of ten years there have been granted upward of six thousand discharges or pardons to those who had violated the laws. This is exactly the state of things in England at the present moment. The law pronounces killing in a duel to be murder, and, as such, it is legally punishable with death; but the facility with which acquittals are obtained—nay, the certainty that no jury will convict, because they can-

not, without doing violence to their consciences, put the midnight murderer and voluntary combatant on the same level—is such that no man is deterred from risking his own life or taking that of another in single combat, from any fear of the penalties of the law, which he knows will never be enforced. In the same manner, Henry the Fourth of France, in the first five years of whose reign, we are told, no less than four thousand gentlemen perished in single combat, yielding to the persuasions of his able minister, the Duke de Sully, held a council of his nobility and officers at Blois, in 1602, at which edicts were published inflicting the severest penalties on duellists. But here again, as in the former case, the law was wholly inoperative; as pardons were so easily obtained by those who offended it, that none of the penalties were ever enforced. The conduct pursued by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was more prompt and decisive. During one of his campaigns in Russia, the practice of duelling had reached such a height in his own army that he denounced death against any who should engage in it. Two officers in high command, nevertheless, subsequently quarrelled, and, knowing the king to be inflexible, they did not dare to fight without asking his permission. It was granted; but on condition that the king himself should be an eyewitness of the combat. The time and place being appointed, the combatants appeared; when they found the king, accompanied by a small body of infantry, which he drew in a circle round them; and, calling the provost-marshal to attend as executioner, he said, “Let the combatants continue until one is slain; and the instant that occurs, do you behead the other before my eyes.” The generals (for the officers were of that high rank), pausing at the inflexible determination of their sovereign, mutually embraced, and forgave each other in the presence of their monarch; solicited and received his pardon, and promised to be, as they continued till death, firm and faithful friends. Joseph the Second, the emperor of Germany, in a letter written with his own hand to one of his general officers, dated Vienna, August, 1722, says:

“I will not suffer duelling in my army. I despise the maxims of those who pretend to justify it, and to kill each other in cold blood. I feel high esteem for officers who courageously expose themselves to the enemy. The indifference with which they brave death in battle is useful to their country; but there are among them men ready to sacrifice everything to revenge, and to the hatred which they bear to their enemies. I despise them. Such men are, in my opinion, no better than the Roman gladiators. Call a court-martial to try the two officers, who have given and received challenges to fight. Examine the subject of their quarrel with the impartiality which I require from every man who is invested with the office of rendering justice; and let him who is guilty submit to his fate, and to the rigour of the laws. I am resolved that this barbarous custom, worthy only of the times of Tamerlane and Bajazet, and which has so often thrown families into mourning, shall be repressed, should it even cost me the half of my officers to effect it. There are still men who know how to unite bravery with the duties of a faithful subject. It is they who respect the laws of the state.”

In the reign of Louis the Thirteenth, the successor of Henry the Fourth, and surnamed the Just, the law against duellists was so rigorously put in force, that men who were mortally wounded in the combat were dragged to the gibbet, and there hung up by the hands of the public executioner before they died of their wounds. In the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, in the year 1609, a court of honour was established for considering and deciding on all points theretofore settled by appeals to arms; and from that period the number of duels began greatly to decline, as undoubtedly they would do in any country where so much more just and satisfactory a method than the barbarous one at present in use should be adopted for the settling of all personal matters of dispute. In 1712, Augustus, king of Poland, prohibited duelling in his kingdom by severe edicts. Even Christophe, the late president of Hayti, decreed that any individual engaged in a duel, either as principal or accessory, should be shot as a rebel against the state, a violator of justice, and a disturber of the public peace; with a just reservation, however, that if, in the course of the legal investigation, it should appear that only one person was to blame as the original aggressor, the punishment should fall on him alone.

In turning from foreign states to our own country, I find high names and great authorities in favour of legislative attempts to denounce and punish the practice of duelling. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that of her successor, James the First, the practice having much prevailed, the great Lord Verulam, then Sir Francis

Bacon, as attorney-general for the crown, instituted an information against two persons, the one of whom sent, and the other accepted, a challenge; on which occasion he delivered an oration against the practice in the Star Chamber, following up his address by a statement of the laws which he meant to propose for its suppression; but the court and the nobility were unfavourable to their prosecution, and all the efforts of the reforming philosopher were unavailing against such influence. In the time of Cromwell, the Parliament issued, in 1654, an ordinance against duelling; and after the Restoration, Charles the Second issued a proclamation against it. But the reason why these decrees were unavailing was, that the punishment, being death, was too severe to be ever inflicted; and the certainty with which acquittals or pardons could be obtained gave impunity to offenders, and caused the law to be contemned and despised.

In the year 1712, however, when Queen Anne had ascended the throne, and in the same year in which Augustus, the king of Poland, issued his edict against duelling, a fatal duel was fought in England between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, in which both the combatants were killed. This event made so deep an impression upon the public mind, that, under the impulse of the moment, a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Hungerford, which was read a first time in April, 1712, a second time in May of the same year, and referred to a committee in the month of June following. "It was entitled 'A Bill to prohibit Tryall by single Combat, and to suppress the impious practice of Duelling;'" and it was introduced under the highest auspices, having been expressly recommended to the attention of the legislature by a speech from the queen on the throne. I have taken some pains to trace the progress of this bill through all its various stages; and by the aid of the manuscript index in the Journal Office, I was enabled to follow it through its first and second readings into the committee, where it appears to have lingered for several weeks, and after many successive postponements was dropped, without any reason being assigned; but it was not defeated or thrown out.

From that period to the present, no attempt has been made, that I am aware of, to legislate against the evil, though the practice is so far from being extinct, that it has acquired perhaps more open sanction and more daring publicity than any other infraction of the law that can be named. The occurrence is so much a matter of course, that in announcing such combats, the reporters of the public journals hardly deem it necessary to say how the quarrel arose, or whether the cause of the fight was adequate or otherwise. It is generally announced as though it were one of the most lawful and innocent customs of the age. Duelling-pistols are also openly and publicly exposed for sale, and labelled as such in the shops; as though to shoot a human being was as lawful and as innocent an affair as bringing down a pheasant or a partridge.

There are many persons who will read this, perhaps, and still think that, after all, the number of duels fought in England at present are few, and their effects unimportant, and on that ground they may deprecate legislative interference, because they think the evil insignificant in magnitude. But the catalogue is longer and more fearful than many would suppose. It appears, also, that this barbarous practice has engulfed within its vortex noblemen, statesmen, orators, and warriors. For in this list will be found the names of the Dukes of York, Norfolk, and Richmond, Lords Shelburne, Macartney, Townsend, Bellamont, Exmouth, Talbot, Lauderdale, Londale, Camelford, Paget, Castlereagh, Belgrave, and Peterabam, as well as of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Canning, Tierney, and even Wellington.

Mr. Joseph Hamilton, of Dublin, states that a Captain Kernan had killed or wounded 14 persons in duels; that Major Spread challenged 8 officers, and wounded 4 of them upon a single day; and that George Robert Fitzgerald was introduced to the King of France as an Irishman who had previously fought 26 fatal duels! An officer who collected the reports of 172 cases, found 63 individuals were killed and 96 wounded. He says that, constituted as society at present is, the noblemen and gentlemen of the United Kingdom have no adequate security against a challenge or an offence. Thus every officer in the army or navy is placed in painful difficulty between the existing military code and the disrepute which is attendant on its strict observance; for, while he is punishable by the criminal law for slaying a fellow-subject in a duel, he is at the same time compelled, by the despotic and unwritten code of military honour, not to endure an insult nor refuse a challenge. Several British officers, indeed, have been so spurned by their associates, that they were compelled to

retire from the public service, because they acted in obedience to the articles of war and the injunctions of their sovereign, in refusing to fight duels for the most trifling causes of quarrel.

I would ask whether such a state of things as this ought to be suffered to continue for a single moment longer; the religion of the country denouncing a practice which is nevertheless followed by the highest personages in the state; the civil laws of the country denouncing a practice which is nevertheless followed by the legislators, the judges, and the legal profession at large; the military law denouncing a practice which must nevertheless be followed by naval and military officers, or their society be shunned and their prosperity in the service forever destroyed. What must be the inevitable effects of all this but to bring the authority of religion, law, and discipline equally into contempt, and to set up the fickle Goddess of Fashion as the supreme power in the state?

As the legal authorities upon the subject may not be familiar to all readers, I will venture to quote only a few. Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries, says, "Deliberate duelling is contrary to the laws of God and man; and therefore the law has justly fixed the crime and punishment of murder on principals, and seconds also." Judge Foster, in his Discourse on Crown Law, says, "Deliberate duelling, if death ensue, is, in the eye of the law, murder." Sir Edward Coke, in his Institutes, says, "Single combats, between any of the king's subjects, is strictly prohibited by the laws of this realm, and on this principle, that in states governed by law, no man, in consequence of any injury whatever, ought to indulge the principle of private revenge." Sir Matthew Hale says, "This is a plain case, and without any question. If one kill another in fight, even upon the provocation of him that is killed, this is murder." Mr. Justice Grose, Mr. Justice Buller, and others of great eminence might be also cited, all concurring as they do in the same view, namely, that no amount of provocation, no sense of wounded honour, no feeling of personal insult, no extent of private wrong, can ever justify, or even palliate, so false a method of seeking redress.

The remedy that I shall venture to propose for this evil will be found to be very simple, perfectly practicable, justified by precedent, warranted by analogy, and sanctioned by experience and success. It is founded on these two single principles. 1st. That there shall be competent tribunals established to take cognizance of all offences, so as to leave no man without a remedy for wrong, and by this means to deprive him of all motive for taking the law into his own hands. 2dly. That for all contempt or infraction of the authority of such tribunals, the punishments should be no more severe than public opinion would approve, so as to ensure their being enforced; by enlisting public sympathy always in favour of the respector and observer of the law, rather than with its enemies and violators. The provisions which I should suggest as the substance of any legislative enactment would be these:

1. That courts of honour shall be established, with full powers to take cognizance of, hear, and determine all cases referred to them for adjudication by parties conceiving themselves to be insulted or aggrieved; and that the decisions of such courts shall be binding on both appellants, under penalties to be hereafter specified.

2. That these courts shall be constituted of not less than three nor more than seven individuals, of a rank as nearly as may be attainable to that of the parties making the appeal; and that the selection and nomination of such individuals to form the courts of honour prescribed shall be vested in the following authorities: For the adjudication of all cases of dispute between the servants of his majesty, whether civil, naval, or military, the principal officer in that department of the public service to which the appealing parties may belong, at the nearest station to the spot where the dispute may have arisen. And for gentlemen not belonging to any branch of the public service, the senior magistrate or the sheriff of the county in which the points of difference may occur.

3. That persons having any cause of quarrel not cognizable by civil or military law, but such as is usually determined among gentlemen by reference to private friends or by appeal to arms, shall select, as at present, each a second or representative, who shall have power and authority to draw up a statement of the cases of their respective principals in writing, copies of which shall be interchanged between each, and signed by both parties.

4. That the statements thus drawn up shall be laid before the proper authority, indicated in a preceding clause, with a request that he will summon the requisite indi-

viduals of the rank and number required to form the court of honour, whether civil, naval, military, or otherwise, within a period of not less than three nor more than seven days from the date of such appeal, which individuals shall be bound to attend at the time and place appointed, as jurors of our lord the king.

5. That the court, being assembled, shall proceed to elect the senior member in age as its president; and, after hearing the seconds, as advocates on either side, shall call before them such witnesses as they may deem necessary, and receive such oral or written testimony as they may consider fairly applicable to the case in dispute; after which the president shall sum up the evidence, and the jurors or members of the court of honour shall each deliver his opinion and decision on the case, beginning with the youngest member, and going upward with the remainder by seniority of age; when the president, as judge, shall pronounce his verdict, which, if concurred in by the majority of the court, himself included, shall be held binding on all parties, and without appeal.

6. That the expense of such proceedings before courts of honour thus constituted shall be confined to the payment of the advocates, witnesses, and costs of evidence on either side; the service of the jurors or members of the court of honour being gratuitous, as in grand juries and courts-martial at present; but that, in all cases, the party proved to be the aggressor in the dispute, and condemned by the verdict of the court as being in the wrong, shall be held liable to the payment of all the costs, on both sides, and be subject to be detained in custody until such costs are discharged.

7. That the refusal on the part of any individual giving or taking offence to refer his case to the adjudication of a court of honour constituted as above described, shall be taken to be an acquittal of the party consenting to such an appeal; and such refusal of any one party, when communicated by the other who consents to the court, shall, when duly authenticated, be published under their authority as a judicial settlement of the case.

8. That in the event of both parties in any quarrel holding the authority of such court of honour in contempt, and still appealing to arms and engaging in a duel with deadly weapons, whether actual injury be inflicted by the combat or not, the following penalties shall be imposed on the convicted offenders, whether principals, seconds, or accessories before or after the fact. If in the civil, naval, or military service of his majesty, the offenders shall be dismissed from their public employment, and deprived of all rank and pay for a period of not less than three nor exceeding seven years. If not in any branch of the public service, the offenders shall be declared to be outlaws, deprived of all rank in society, and of all civil and political privileges as British subjects, and be placed for a like period without the protection of the law.

9. That in the event of any wound being inflicted on, or death ensuing to, one or both of the parties engaged in any duel, the property of the other parties, including principal, seconds, and accessories, shall be held liable for pecuniary reparation to all who may be injured, either directly or indirectly, by such wounds or death, to the extent of maintaining, as far as the joint property of all the parties will admit, the families and dependants thus deprived of their natural protectors and supporters, in the same state and condition as they would have been maintained had no such death occurred.

These are the only provisions I should deem necessary, and these, I believe, would be found fully and completely effectual to meet every case. As to the practicability of the remedy and the justice of the penalties proposed, many authorities may be cited in support of both. Judge Blackstone says, "Could a method be devised of compelling the aggressor to make some other satisfaction to the affronted party, which the world would esteem equally reputable as that which is now given at the hazard of life and fortune, as well of the person insulted as of he who hath given the insult, a probability of the discontinuance of this practice might be held out." Here, then, we have shadowed forth, and that not dimly, but in lines so clear and distinct that they cannot be mistaken, that very court of honour or tribunal which can give "some other satisfaction which the world would esteem," that the learned judge deems so desirable. Mr. Hamilton, whom I quoted before, says, that when his late majesty, George the Fourth, was offended by the Duke of Brunswick, a court of honour, formed of all the neighbouring princes, dictated and enforced a becoming reparation; and he states that Prussia, Bavaria, and other continental states have established courts of honour for the peaceable adjustment of personal disputes.

Even in England a British court of chivalry was formerly in existence, having power to enforce full reparation for those grievances which were of too delicate a nature for the cognizance of common law, and being able to compel the defendant to take promptly on himself the lie which he had rashly or unjustly given, or to make such other submission as the laws of honour might require. This court was held before the lord high constable and the earl marshal jointly; but there having been no permanent high constable since the execution of Stafford, duke of Buckingham, that court has unfortunately fallen into entire disuse.

The most striking cases that can be cited as to the practicability of such a court are two mentioned by Mr. Samuel, in his "History of the British Army," both happening in the reign of George the Third. The one was in the case of a dispute between Lieutenant-general Murray and Sir William Draper, in 1783; the other related to certain differences which arose out of the trial of Major John Browne, of the 67th regiment, and Captain Hedges, at Antigua. In both cases his majesty constituted the courts-martial at their respective regiments into a court of honour for mediating between the parties. The grounds of quarrel were there minutely investigated, and the submissions due by the party which was convicted of giving the offence were dictated. The proposed terms were complied with, and all concerned pledged their honour, by requisition of the court, to allow their differences there to terminate, and to have no farther consequences. His majesty's commission to the court-martial in the second instance contained specific directions, which ran in these words: "If, upon the representation of any of the parties, it shall appear that, in respect of any unguarded or intemperate expression which may have been heretofore used, an acknowledgment, apology, or concession may be necessary or proper, the court will prescribe the terms in which the same shall be conceived, and will cause it to be made in their presence. And for the better effectuating these purposes, the court-martial have his majesty's permission to make use of his royal name, authority, and injunction; and, if they shall see occasion, to impose a strict arrest upon any of the parties until a report shall be made to his majesty."

Here, then, is experience of the perfect practicability as well as the efficacy of such a court of honour, made permanent, which might be armed with full powers instead of being merely temporary, and founded on royal commissions issued for every separate occasion. I may add, that the late revered and lamented Mr. Wilberforce, in his admirable "View of Christianity," says, "There can be little doubt of the efficacy of what has been more than once suggested as a substitute for duelling, namely, a court of honour, to take cognizance of such offences as would naturally fall within its province: but," he adds, "the effects of this establishment would doubtless require to be enforced by legislative provisions, directly punishing the practice, and by discouraging at court, and in the naval and military circles, all who should directly or indirectly be guilty of it." And Mr. Samuel, with all that high feeling of respect for military honour which his examination of the materials for his work on the British army naturally inspired, after condemning the practice of duelling in the strongest terms, and recommending in the most forcible manner the substitution of courts of honour instead, concludes by saying, "This conquest over deep-rooted but ill-founded prejudices, if difficult in attainment, will be most admirable in its consequences, since it cannot fail to abolish, in the end, a senseless and horrid practice, not less reproachful to the military character than shocking to humanity itself."

As to the arguments urged in favour of duelling, there is but one that is at all relied on, which is this: that "it is indispensable for the preservation of order in polite society; for, were it not for the *fear* of being called out to the field, the greatest rudeness and incivility would prevail." To this it is enough to say, that the most polished nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Persians, and the Greeks, knew nothing of such a practice as the modern duel; yet they all preserved the greatest refinement of manners *without* the influence of *fear*. The rudest and most barbarous of modern nations, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Teutonic tribes, are those among whom it most prevailed; and yet, with all its influence, their manners were harsh and ferocious in the extreme. The most polite and well-bred individuals in all countries are so from courteousness of disposition and by force of example rather than from *fear*; and professed duellists are often the rudest and most boisterous of men. The traits, therefore, of private and of national character, are wholly against such a theory as that set up in defence of duelling. Besides which,

I ask, can there be any grosser inconsistency than this : 1st, to say that bravery, truth, and polished manners are virtues so indispensable to a gentleman, and are possessed in such perfection by the gentry of England, that the slightest insinuation against any man's courage, veracity, or gentlemanly manners is an offence which can be expiated only by mortal combat ; and, 2dly, to affirm that they are of such ruffianly dispositions, such hypocrites, such pretenders to bravery, and such base cowards at the same time ; so continually disposed to behave ill, but so continually crouching under the operation of *fear*, that if you will only hold over them in terror the dread of the whip or the pistol, they will be the most civil and polite persons in the world. Now both of these positions cannot be true. If they be really brave, no dread of being called to account for their conduct by others will ever deter them from doing what they deem right. It is only on the supposition of their being arrant cowards that the fear of a duel can ever make them polite, by professing a respect which they do not feel ; and, therefore the very apology set up for duelling is the bitterest censure ever passed on the character of the nation in which it prevails.

Let me sum up the whole by a brief glance at the nature and extent of the penalties proposed to be enforced, and especially their suitableness to the nature of the offence. I contend, then, that death is altogether an excessive, as well as an unsuitable punishment for duelling, since to put the man who voluntarily risks his life against that of another, and combats fairly and openly, on the same footing with the secret murderer and midnight assassin, is to confound all notions of right and justice, and defeat the very end of law, by revolting every man against its injunctions. It is to avoid being scorned and shunned by their equals, rather than to take vengeance, or even to prove their courage, that men go to the field. This degradation, then, of which they stand in so much dread, is the proper punishment to be inflicted on those who shall be proved to be in the wrong ; and the fear of being so proved guilty, and so scorned and shunned, will operate more powerfully than any fear of death to deter men from giving others offence.

The fittest punishment for this, when tribunals are founded for the adjustment of every dispute, will undoubtedly be, to condemn the parties, not to physical, but to political and civil death ; to annihilate, or suspend for a time, their rights and privileges as citizens ; to exclude them from society ; to make them outlaws ; to withdraw from them the protection of the laws ; since they themselves, by setting those laws aside, have shown that they will not yield obedience ; and, failing to observe this, they are no longer entitled to their protection.

If it be thought that naval and military men may claim exemption from this reciprocal obligation of obedience and protection, I answer it is precisely to those classes that the practice of duelling is most derogatory. What is its admitted principle ? To coerce men into respectful behaviour towards each other, by the operation of *fear*. Gracious Heaven ! and is this the ruling motive we would apply to the conduct of the heroic defenders of their country ? Shall they, who never yet shrunk from the cannon of the enemy, be terrified into civility by the fear of the pistol-balls of their own countrymen and friends ? Is this the base material of which our fleets and armies are composed ? But it is said their feelings must be respected ! Undoubtedly—to all honourable extent ; but men in whose hands the national defence is placed are bound above all things to show their respect for the laws ; and, whenever they set their own selfish feelings and fancies above that solemn obligation, they prove themselves unworthy of their trust. It has been well said, indeed, that naval and military men have even less excuse than any other class for resorting to this barbarous practice. The country places weapons in their hands, and gives them the privilege and honour of wearing arms, for the defence of the state ; and if they pervert these instruments of good to evil uses, and challenge each other to spill the nation's blood, they are guilty of as great a crime as the cashier of a national bank, who, intrusted with funds for his country's use, applies them to his own selfish purposes, and squanders a treasure not his own.

If we desire to maintain the refinements of civilized society, let us supply refined and noble motives as stimulants to action ; let the fear of public degradation, and the horror of merited shame, be substituted for the fear of wounds, or chastisement, or death. To serfs and slaves, to savages and brutes, the terror of the whip or the pistol may be fitly enough applied ; but by free and enlightened men, the only fear that ought to be felt is the fear of offending the Supreme Being, and the dread of being justly condemned in the opinion of the virtuous and the just. To defend his

liberties and the laws, let no man hesitate to hazard his life. It is a trust given by Heaven not to be lightly wanted with ; it is a sacred gift, deposited in every man's keeping, to be made the source of rational enjoyment to himself, and the beings whom he finds around him or brings into existence. If the ruffian or the braggart invade its peace, or attempt to sully its honour, let the united power of the law, based on the firm foundation of public opinion, crush them with its mighty power, and drive them from that society of which they are the bane. But let the brave and patriotic citizen reserve his life, which is not his own to sacrifice at will, for those high and noble deeds which his country may one day demand at his hands ; and if it then be offered up upon the altar of justice, in defence of liberty and truth, he may fall as honoured, and his memory be as justly revered, as those who, in the Spartan band, left their bodies in the Straits of Thermopylæ, and had inscribed on the impending rock the ever-memorable epitaph, "Stranger, go and report at Sparta that we lie dead here in vindication of the laws." It is to kindle and keep alive this noble sentiment that I desire to see the laws made worthy of our respect and obedience ; and with the conviction that the measure I have humbly recommended will conduce to this desirable end, I trust some legislative measure, founded on the principles I have explained, will be introduced and carried, to prevent the barbarous and sanguinary practice of duelling.

P.S.—May Queen Victoria, who now sways the sceptre of England, encouraged by the example of her illustrious predecessor, Queen Anne, have the humanity and moral courage to recommend, like her, the abolition of duelling in a speech from the throne. And may the lords and commons of her realm so sustain this virtuous effort of their youthful sovereign, as that all the wives, the mothers, and the sisters of her vast dominions may have occasion to hail her majesty as the first emancipator of their husbands, sons and brothers from the barbarous and bloody custom to which the tyranny of fashion has so long subjected them ! No single act that could emanate from royal authority would be more honourable to a female heart and mind than this, or shed a brighter lustre on her majesty's crown.

No. VI.

It is pleasing to be able to follow this appeal by a record of the interesting and important fact, that, within the session of the American Congress in which it was issued, and in less than three months after its publication, an Act was passed throughout both houses at Washington, and received the president's assent, so as to become law, in the following terms :

ANTI-DUELLING LAW.—An Act to prohibit the giving or accepting, within the District of Columbia, of a challenge to fight a duel, and for the punishment thereof.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any person shall, in the District of Columbia, challenge another to fight a duel, or shall send or deliver any written or verbal message purporting or intending to be such challenge, or shall accept any such challenge or message, or shall knowingly carry or deliver any such challenge or message, or shall knowingly carry or deliver an acceptance of such challenge or message to fight a duel in or out of said district, and such duel shall be fought in or out of said district, and either of the parties thereto shall be slain or mortally wounded in such duel, the surviving party to such duel, and every person carrying or delivering such challenge or message, or acceptance of such challenge or message as aforesaid, and all others aiding or abetting therein, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and upon conviction thereof in any court competent to the trial thereof in the said district, shall be punished by imprisonment and confinement to hard labour in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years, nor less than five years, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall give or send, or cause to be given or sent, to any person in the District of Columbia, any challenge to fight a duel, or to engage in single combat with any deadly or dangerous instrument or weapon whatever, or if any person in said district shall accept any challenge to fight a duel, or to engage in single combat with any deadly or dangerous instrument or weapon whatever, or shall be the bearer of any such challenge, every person so giv-

ing or sending, or causing to be given or sent, or accepting such challenge or being the bearer thereof, and every person aiding or abetting in the giving, sending, or accepting such challenge, shall be deemed guilty of high crime and misdemeanour, and, on conviction thereof in any court competent to try the same in the said district, shall be punished by imprisonment and confinement to hard labour in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years nor less than five years, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall assault, strike, beat, or wound, or cause to be assaulted, stricken, beaten, or wounded, any person in the District of Columbia, for declining or refusing to accept any challenge to fight a duel, or to engage in single combat with any deadly or dangerous instrument or weapon whatever, or shall post or publish, or cause to be posted or published, any writing charging any such person so declining or refusing to accept any such challenge to be a coward, or using any other opprobrious or injurious language therein, tending to degrade and disgrace such person for so offending, on conviction thereof in any court competent to trial thereof in said district, shall be punished by confinement to hard labour in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding seven years nor less than three years, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That in addition to the oath now to be prescribed by law to be administered to the grand jury in the District of Columbia, they shall be sworn faithfully and impartially to inquire into, and true presentment make of, all offences against this act.

No. VII.

ADDRESS delivered by Nicholas Biddle, Esq., of Philadelphia, on laying the foundation-stone of Girard College, on the 4th of July, 1833.

(*Referred to at page 337.*)

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

We have now witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of the Girard College for Orphans. That stone, simple, massive, and enduring, fit emblem of the structure to be reared from it, and of the man whose name it bears, has been deposited in its final resting-place. The earth received it. To-morrow the earth will cover it. Ours are the last eyes which shall look upon it, and hereafter it will lie in its silent repose, unmoved by all the revolutions of the changing world above it.

And yet from out that depth is to rise the spirit which may more influence the destiny of ourselves and our children than all else the world now contains. The seed that has been planted is of the tree of knowledge; that growth which gives to existence all that renders it attractive—flowers for our early youth, fruits in maturer life, and shelter for declining years. It is that knowledge which, trampling down in its progress the dominion of brutal force, and giving to intellect its just ascendancy, has at length become the master-power of the world. No people can now be distinguished, or prosperous, or truly great, but by the diffusion of knowledge; and, in the stirring competition of the roused spirits of our time, the first glory and the highest success must be assigned to the best educated nation. If this be true in our relations abroad, it is far more true at home. Our institutions have boldly ventured to place the whole power of the country in the hands of the whole people of the country, freed from all the great restraints which in other nations were deemed necessary. In doing this, their reliance is entirely on the general intelligence and education of the community, without which such institutions can have neither permanence nor value. While, therefore, to be uneducated and ignorant is in other countries a private misfortune, in ours it is a public wrong; and the great object to which statesmen should direct their efforts is to elevate the standard of public instruction to the level, the high table-land, of our institutions. It is thus that this day has been appropriately chosen for the present solemnity.

It is fit that on the anniversary of that day when our ancestors laid the broad foundations of our public liberties—on that day when our countrymen throughout this prosperous empire are enjoying the blessings which these institutions confer—we, in our sphere of duty, should commence this great work, so eminently adapted to secure and perpetuate them.

This truth no man felt with a deeper conviction than our distinguished fellow-citizen, whose history and whose design in founding this institution may aptly occupy for a few moments our attention.

We all remember, and most of us knew him. Plain in appearance, simple in manners, frugal in all his habits, his long life was one unbroken succession of intense and untiring industry. Wealthy, yet without indulging in the ordinary luxuries which wealth may procure, a stranger to the social circle, indifferent to political distinction, with no apparent enjoyment except in impelling and regulating the multiplied occupations of which he was the centre, whose very relaxation was only variety of labor, he passed from youth to manhood, and finally to extreme old age, the same unchanged, unvarying model of judicious and successful enterprise. At length men began to gaze with wonder on this mysterious being, who, without any of the ordinary stimulants to exertion, urged by neither his own wants nor the wants of others, with riches already beyond the hopes of avarice, yet persevered in this unceasing scheme of accumulation, and, possessing so much, strove to possess more as anxiously as if he possessed nothing. They did not know that under this cold exterior, and aloof in that stern solitude of his mind, with all that seeming indifference to the world and to the world's opinions, he still felt the deepest sympathy for human affliction, and nursed a stronger, yet a far nobler and wiser, ambition to benefit mankind than ever animated the most devoted follower of that world's applause. His death first revealed that all this accumulation of his laborious and prolonged existence was to be the inheritance of us and of our children, that for our and their comfort the city of his adoption was to be improved and embellished, and, above all, that to their advancement in science and in morals were to be dedicated the fruits of his long years of toil.

It required the self-denial of no common mind to resist the temptation of being himself the witness and the administrator of this bounty, and to have abstained from enjoying the applause of his grateful countrymen, who would have acknowledged with affectionate respect the benefits which they derived from him. Yet even this secret and prospective munificence must have had its charm for a mind like his; and we may well imagine that the deep and retired stillness of his spirit was often soothed with the visions of the lasting good, and perhaps, too, of the posthumous glory, which he was preparing. Such contemplations he might well indulge, for to few have they been so fully realized. From the moment that foundation-stone touched the earth the name of Girard was beyond the reach of oblivion. He has now taken his rank among the great benefactors of mankind. From this hour that name is destined to survive to the latest posterity; and while letters and the arts exist he will be cited as the man who, with a generous spirit and a sagacious foresight, bequeathed for the improvement of his fellow-men the accumulated earnings of his life. He will be remembered in all future times by the emphatic title with which he chose to be designated, and with which he commences his will—a title by which we ourselves may proudly recognise him, as "Stephen Girard, of the City of Philadelphia, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, merchant and mariner," the author of a more munificent act of enlightened charity than was ever performed by any other human being.

His will indeed be the most durable basis of all human distinction, a wise benevolence in the cause of letters. The ordinary charity, which feeds or clothes the distressed, estimable as it is, relieves only the physical wants of the sufferer. But the enlightened beneficence which looks deeper into the wants of our nature; which not merely prolongs existence, but renders that existence a blessing, by pouring into these recesses of sorrow the radiance of moral and intellectual cultivation, this it is which forms the world's truest benefactor, and confers the most enduring of all glory; a glory the more secure, because the very objects of that benevolence are enabled to repay with fame the kindness which sustains them.

It is not unreasonable to conjecture that, in all future times, there will probably be in existence many thousand men who will owe to Girard the greatest of all blessings, a virtuous education; men who will have been rescued from want, and perhaps from vice, and armed with power to rise to wealth and distinction. Among them will be found some of our best-educated citizens, accomplished scholars, intelligent mechanics, distinguished artists, and prominent statesmen. In the midst of their prosperity such men can never forget the source of it, nor will they ever cease to mingle with their prayers, and to commemorate with their labours, the name of their great benefactor. What human being can be insensible to the happiness of having caused such a succession of good through remote ages, or not feel that such

applause is more grateful than all the shouts which ever rose from the bloodiest field of battle, and worth all the vulgar fame of a hundred conquests.

The general design and the resources of the institution are proportioned to its purposes, and characteristic of him who did nothing which he did not do well.

After the building shall have been completed, there will remain the annual income of two millions of dollars, now yielding one hundred and two thousand dollars; and if these funds should be inadequate for all the orphans applying for admission, the income of nearly all the remainder of the estate is to be appropriated to the erection of as many new buildings as his square in the city would have contained. So that, in general, it may be stated with reasonable confidence, that when all the buildings are ready for the reception of the pupils, there will be available for the maintenance of the institution an income of not less than one hundred thousand dollars, which may be increased to at least two hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

These ample funds are to be devoted to the maintenance and education of "poor male white orphan children." Of all the classes of human indigence, there are none more helpless and more entitled to our sympathies than these children of misfortune. They have lost their natural protectors. The arms which have hitherto embraced and sustained them have been folded in death. They began life in comfort, perhaps in affluence; but now they stand alone, abandoned, and helpless, to struggle against the world's coldness, with precarious means of subsistence, with no prospect of instruction, and treading on that narrow and slippery verge which too often separates want from crime. From this friendless condition they are rescued by the benevolence of Girard, who not merely provides the means of subsistence, but, redressing the wrongs of fortune, raises them at once in the scale of being, and qualifies them to be useful members of that society which they would otherwise disturb or corrupt.

How wide the limits of that benevolence may be it is impossible to conjecture. If the imperfection of language suggests a doubt as to the degree of destitution which makes an "orphan," the greater weakness of our nature forces upon us the melancholy inquiry, What child is there who may not be a poor orphan? Who is there indeed among us whose children may not yet need the blessings of this institution? Let none of us, in the confidence of prosperity, deem his own offspring secure. Alas! all our prosperity is so vain and shadowy, and misfortune is so constantly in ambush to assail us, that it were presumptuous in any of us to suppose himself beyond the reach of vicissitudes, which would render such an institution the happiest refuge for his children. Yes, fellow-citizens, this college is our own; the property of us all. It is intended to remedy misfortunes to which we are all equally liable. And it should be a source of great consolation to each of us, that if, in the ever-varying turns of human life, misfortune should overtake and death surprise us, they who bear our names, and are destined to be the fathers of our descendants, will here find a home where they may be prepared for future usefulness, and become in turn the protectors and support of their more helpless relatives.

Hereafter, thanks to the bounty of Girard, every father among us may on his death-bed enjoy the reflection that, although unprovided with fortune, there is secured to his sons that which is at once the means of fortune, and far better than the amplest fortune without it—a good education. This consideration, if any such incentive were wanting, may serve to stimulate the sense of public duty in those who administer the institution, to render it worthy of their own children.

For this purpose, happily, it is only necessary to fulfil the design of the founder, which provides ample means, and expressly enjoins the employment of them, to give every kind of liberal and useful instruction.

They would much err who, comparing this institution with any ordinary standard, regard it as an almshouse or a poorhouse, in which a certain number of pauper boys, housed together to be kept from harm, are to receive some hasty rudiments of instruction, and then to be thrust out on the world to make way for a similar swarm of unfortunate children. By no means. The comprehensive benevolence of Girard looked to higher and better things. It is not a poor school, nor a charity school, nor a free school, in their ordinary acceptation. It is, as he denominates it, a "College." The peremptory prohibition that "no distinctive dress should ever be worn," reveals his purpose that these youths shall not be designated as objects of remark or contempt by their contemporaries; that they shall be distinguished only by their conduct, and shall not wear the livery even of charity. The instruction, too, required

is of the highest character, embracing almost everything worthy of being studied in the circle of human knowledge. "They shall be instructed," says he, "in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chymical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages), and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant."

This excludes nothing, nay, it embraces everything necessary to form a well-educated man. How far this instruction is to be carried; whether, when the degrees of talent and disposition come to be analyzed, some are to be instructed up to the point of their appropriate capacity, while the more intelligent and more diligent are to be carried into the higher regions of science, are questions of future administration, to be decided by experience. But it is manifest that all the means of education, thorough, perfect education, are to be provided; that every facility for the acquisition of knowledge should be at hand; nor is there any reason why the Girard College—liberally endowed beyond all example—should not be superior to any existing establishment in the talents of its professors, or the abundance of its means of instruction; and, with the blessing of God, so it shall be. There shall be collected within these walls all that the knowledge and research of men have accumulated to enlighten and improve the minds of youth. It will be the civil West Point of this country, where all the sciences which minister to men's happiness, and all the arts of peace, may be thoroughly and practically taught. Its success will naturally render it the model for other institutions; the centre of all improvement in things taught, no less than in the art of teaching them; the nursery of instructors as well as pupils; thus not merely accomplishing the direct benefit of those to whom its instruction extends, but irradiating by its example the whole circumference of human knowledge.

To this intellectual cultivation will be added that without which all instruction is valueless, and all learning the mere ability for evil, that moral discipline which makes men virtuous and happy at their own firesides. "My desire is," says he, "that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the pure principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry." When this harmony between the heart and the understanding ceases, mere knowledge is a curse, and men become intellectual statues, with the perfect forms of manly exterior, but cold, and selfish, and worthless to the community which endures them. Our youth, too, will not fail to be deeply imbued with that enthusiastic devotion to republican government, and that knowledge of his public rights and duties, which should form the basis of the American character. It is thus that the founder strictly enjoins, "that by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience as guaranteed by our happy constitution, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars."

Nor need there be any dread that such an education will disqualify them for their pursuits in after life. In this country all pursuits are open to all men, nor should the humblest citizen despair of the highest honours of the republic. They err who suppose that because men are instructed they may desert the ordinary walks of employment. There never can be such an over-education of the mass of the people. Men labour not for want of knowledge, but for want of bread. The cultivation of the mind, like the cultivation of the soil, only renders it more productive, and knowledge becomes the best auxiliary to industry by rendering the labourer more intelligent and more ambitious to excel. The youths thus instructed will go forth into the various pursuits of life, many of which are in their nature mechanical; but they will begin with the disposition and the power not merely to excel in them, but to rise beyond them; and they will emerge from their workshops, as their countrymen Franklin, and Rittenhouse, and Godfrey, and Fulton did before them, reaching all the distinctions of the state which may be honourably won by talents and character.

That the scene of so many blessings may be appropriate to them, it is intended to make this structure worthy of its great object; worthy of the name of its founder, and of the city which he was so anxious to embellish. Among the sciences most needed in this country, where individual wealth is hastening to indulge its taste, and where every state, and city, and county requires extensive public buildings, is architecture. Indispensable in the rudest forms of life, it becomes the highest ornament

of the most enlightened. In every stage of its progress, the style of its public works displays the character of the nation which rears them. Disproportioned and grotesque among a course of unlettered people, in nations more advanced often over ornamented with the gaudy profusion and the caprices of tasteless wealth, it is only when sustained by the public spirit of a community at once enlightened and generous that architecture attains its highest glory—a refined simplicity. Of that perfection it is proposed that this structure shall present a model, the equal at least of similar works in any other country, and not unworthy of the best days of antiquity; a structure which will at once gratify the honourable pride of every citizen of the United States, and form the best study for all the branches of industry connected with architecture.

The enjoyment of so many advantages devolves on us, fellow-citizens, the duty of great care and vigilance to preserve them.

After bestowing upon our city this rich inheritance, Girard adds this emphatic declaration: "In relation to the organization of the college and its appendages, I leave necessarily many details to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Philadelphia; and I do so with the more confidence, as, from the nature of my bequests, and the benefit to result from them, I trust that my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia will observe and evince special care and anxiety in selecting members for their city councils and other agents."

That the generous confidence with which he has thus committed to us the execution of his great designs should never be betrayed, we owe equally to the name of the founder and to the interests of our posterity, as the whole value of this institution will depend entirely on the administration of it. For myself and my colleagues, to whom the high honour has been assigned of sharing in that administration, I can only say, fellow-citizens, that we have assumed the trust with the deepest sense of its responsibility, and a determination to execute it in that spirit of enlightened benevolence which animated the founder; and we shall in our turn retire from it with the hope that our fair city may always find successors, who to equal zeal add greater ability to serve it.

Under such auspices, we confidently trust that all the expectations of the founder will be realized. With this delightful anticipation, we now invoke the blessing of God on this great undertaking.

In the name of *Stephen Girard, of the City of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, merchant and mariner*, we lay the foundation of this *Girard College for Orphans*. We dedicate it to the cause of CHARITY, which not only feeds and clothes the destitute, but wisely confers the greatest blessings on the greatest sufferers;

To the cause of *Education*, which gives to human life its chief value;

To the cause of *Morals*, without which knowledge were worse than unavailing; and, finally,

To the cause of our *Country*, whose service is the noblest object to which knowledge and morals can be devoted.

Long may this structure stand in its majestic simplicity, the pride and admiration of our latest posterity; long may it continue to yield its annual harvests of educated and moral citizens, to adorn and to defend our country. Long may each successive age enjoy its still increasing benefits, when time shall have filled its halls with the memory of the mighty dead who have been reared within them, and shed over its outward beauty the mellowing hues of a thousand years of renown!

No. VIII.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR EFFECTING A VOYAGE ROUND THE GLOBE.

(Referred to at page 412.)

PROPOSED plan for effecting a voyage round the globe, by the route of India, China, Japan, and the Pacific Isles, for the purposes of Discovery, Civilization, and Commerce combined. To be performed under the direction of J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. In the course of which it is intended to promote and accomplish the following interesting and important objects of private and public benefit: 1. The collection of general information regarding the East. 2. The diffusion of useful knowledge in every quarter. 3. The extension of the sale of British manufactures. 4. The discovery of new articles of commercial return.

The throne of England being now, for the first time in all its history, filled by a monarch whose earliest years were devoted to the service of his country at sea, and who has ever since cherished a fond regard for the welfare and glory of the national marine, the commencement of his auspicious reign cannot fail to give an additional interest to every enterprise of which the ocean is to be the element, and British seamen the instruments of its accomplishment.

From the age of Alexander and Ptolemy, who each sent expeditions to explore the hidden sources of the Nile, down to the present day, when our enterprising countrymen, Franklin and Parry, have been employed, at great personal risk and vast public expense, to find a northern passage into the Pacific Sea, the mere solution of some geographical problem only, without reference to higher views, has been sufficient to call forth the energies and justify the fame of those distinguished voyagers of all nations, from Nearchus to Columbus, by whom expeditions of mere discovery have been conducted, and, at the same time, to enlist the patronage and sympathies of kings, queens, nobles, and people in their success.

It is believed that much remains to be done, even in this department of knowledge only, and that the geographical and hydrographical features of our globe are yet very far from being perfectly delineated; so that a voyage of circumnavigation, if directed to this object alone, would be still worthy the patronage and support of the first maritime nation of the world, and of every class of its inhabitants.

But there is one important duty that has never yet been incorporated with any systematic and well-digested plan for a voyage of discovery; which is, to lay the foundations for a future commercial intercourse with the coasts and islands discovered, by leaving among their inhabitants the best memorials that men can ever bequeath to each other, namely, specimens of the useful manufactures, models of agricultural and domestic implements, and descriptions of the arts and conveniences which time and experience have enabled us to discover and apply to the improvements and comforts of life; with the seeds of elementary and useful knowledge, planted in such a manner as to lead to a harvest of intellectual and moral improvement, and the consequent increase of happiness to those who are thus blessed.

The present period seems peculiarly favourable for such an undertaking, inasmuch as the shores and islands of the Eastern hemisphere, in the space lying between China and South America, including the coasts of Corea, Formosa, Japan, Borneo, Celebes, the Molucas, the Philippines, the Kurile Archipelago, and the countless islands in the Pacific Ocean, are the parts of the globe least accurately known in every sense; and these are now likely soon to become as accessible to English ships as they have been to foreign vessels only, it being already understood that the East India Company will be willing to admit of English ships being employed, as American and other foreign vessels now are, in the conveyance of exports from this country to every part of the Eastern seas, reserving to themselves the import of particular articles only; and it being matter of still greater certainty that, supposing no change whatever to take place in this respect, they would readily grant their license or permission to any ship proceeding on a publicly avowed voyage of discovery and modern improvement like this.

The want of an accurate knowledge of distant countries when they are first opened to new intercourse has been productive of infinite loss and misery by the evil of over-trading, arising from the natural anxiety of all adventurers to be first in the market, and to be provided with a full supply of everything needed; but, not knowing what is actually required, either in quantity or description, everything is taken, a glut ensues, and more than half the exports are lost or destroyed.

Such accurate knowledge cannot be speedily obtained except by a voyage undertaken for that express object, and with adequate preparation for effecting it on a systematic and complete plan.

The first requisite for this purpose is that a ship of sufficient size and competent equipments should be provided by the British public, fitted, manned, and ready for sea; combining perhaps the use of steam for occasional application in currents and calms, with the safety tubes of Mr. Watson as a security from foundering, and such other modern improvements as may tend to increase the speed, safety, and perfect accomplishment of the voyage.

The ship and her equipments being given as a donation to this great object, no farther aid on the part of the public will be needed, as the ordinary operations of trading, in the purchase and sale of commodities, and in the conveyance of goods

and passengers from place to place, on the route will defray all the subsequent charges of the voyage; and, to prevent all misconception on this subject, it is particularly requested to be observed that this is not intended as a joint-stock or trading company, but a public subscription for a great public undertaking, without farther risk or concern on the part of the subscribers.

The objects that I pledge myself to keep constantly in view during the whole of this expedition, and the benefits I may hope to effect by it of a public and general nature, will be the following:

I. To add to the existing stock of knowledge every new fact that can be collected respecting the geography and hydrography of the coasts and islands visited, and to make the most ample researches that can be effected respecting the statistics, productions, manners, and wants of every particular place, as well as to collect specimens of whatever may be found to deserve preservation in natural history, botany, and mineralogy, as well as of the artificial products and native wares, where any such exist.

II. To introduce into all the ports visited specimens in small quantities, but in infinite variety, of all the various descriptions of goods manufactured in England, whether in woollens, silks, or cottons, in metals, glass, or earthenware, so as to ascertain by actual experiment what particular description of goods are suited to particular markets, and what are the quantities, patterns, textures, prices, and other peculiarities best adapted to each, for the want of which knowledge all the evils of overtrading have happened.

III. To add to this distribution of the specimens of English manufactures, the introduction of the useful arts of civilized life, in the shape of models, drawings, and descriptions of all the various implements, utensils, and conveniences of agriculture, husbandry, and domestic comfort in use among ourselves, as well as seeds, plants, and materials of improvement of every kind; and to lay the foundation for the establishment of schools of instruction, for increasing, perpetuating, and diffusing useful knowledge in every branch.

These are the mere outlines of the plan; but the statement of these will be sufficient to enable every reader to fill up much of the details.

The classes of the community from whom the most cordial aid may be expected towards this undertaking, and the reasons for their ready co-operation, are the following:

1. From the members of both houses of Parliament: Because the information collected in such a voyage would be more copious and more accurate than the desultory evidence of accidental and often unobservant and indifferent witnesses, on whose imperfect testimony the Legislature is now too often obliged to rely for the facts and opinions which form the basis of their commercial measures.

2. From the clergy and gentry of England, from the learned and liberal professions, and from persons not engaged in any mercantile business: Because the abolition of ignorance, idolatry, and slavery, and the advancement of the great interests of humanity, morality, and knowledge, will be promoted thereby.

3. From the bankers, capitalists, and moneyed interests of the country: Because every extension of the channels and marts of commerce, and every improvement in the condition of distant nations and people, create additional employment for capital, and increase the value of their wealth.

4. From the general merchants: Because every addition to the number of places to which they may trade lessens the chance of evil from the shutting up or suspension of their operations in any single quarter, and consequently multiplies their chances of gain; and because every improvement in the charts of unknown coasts and seas increases the safety of navigation and trade.

5. From the manufacturers: Because the stagnation under which all classes now labour from the increased power of production by means of machinery, can only be relieved by the opening new sources of consumption, and discovering new articles of commercial return.

6. From the ship-owners: Because the extreme depression of the shipping interest arises from the competition of foreign vessels sailing cheaper than English ones, and occupying the carrying trade of Europe; which can only be relieved by extending our maritime trade to distant parts of the world, where, from the imperfect knowledge of navigation and seamanship, no such competition will be met, but the

superiority of British skill and experience will secure to British ships by far the largest portion of the maritime conveyance.

7. From the ladies of England generally : Because one of the most distinguishing as well as the most revolting features of Eastern manners, and of semi-barbarous life everywhere, is the enslaved and degraded condition of women ; and because it has been universally found that, wherever nations of people become improved in their knowledge, or advanced in the scale of civilization by intercourse with a superior race, there the condition of women is ameliorated ; and this effect becoming again a cause, creates a farther improvement in the condition of men ; thus augmenting and reproducing good, until at length wives become the intellectual and honoured companions instead of being the degraded slaves of their husbands, and mothers become the cultivated instructors instead of being the mere nurses of their children.

8. And, lastly : From public literary institutions, and from the conductors of the public press ; because every acquisition made to the stores of knowledge increases their power and importance, as the great directing engine by which public opinion is regulated and swayed, and because all the preceding classes already enumerated are under the influence of their dominion and control.

It may be added that, since this plan of the voyage was first sent to the press, an association for effecting a portion at least of the same objects has been established in Paris, under the title of "the Society of Civilization," at the head of which is the Count de Laborde, supported by most of the nobility and learned men in France ; and we have long had in England an association for discovering the interior of Africa, as well as another for improving the condition of its unhappy people, both of which are honoured with the names and support of some of the noblest families in England.

The difficulty of effecting such objects by a single association is, however, exceedingly great : first, from the impossibility of obtaining sufficient funds from the small annual subscriptions of four or five hundred members only, and from the cost of all the operations being wholly an outlay of expense, without any sources of profit from which to defray them ; and, secondly, from the diversity of opinion and distraction of councils inseparable from an association, being most prejudicial to the rapid and decisive execution of indispensably prompt and energetic measures.

The present expedition will be free from all these difficulties, as, if the ship be once floated from the shores of England at the public expense, the expedition will then maintain itself without farther aid, by the ordinary sources of trade and profit in the route ; while a single directing mind, assisted only by the scientific companions and fellow-officers of the voyage, who will be selected with reference to their skill in each department of knowledge, will unite energy and prudence with promptitude, decision, and despatch.

Of my own qualifications for this undertaking I will say only this : that from my cradle the love of enterprise and the ambition of discovery and improvement have been my leading passions. I went to sea at nine years of age ; obtained a maritime command before I was twenty-one ; have visited in that capacity almost all parts of the world : the West Indies, North and South America, the Mediterranean, Turkey, Egypt, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the East Indies, including Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, and Bengal ; and have travelled by land far into the interior of Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Media, and Persia. I have adopted the costume, learned the tongue, and accustomed myself to the manners of almost all the several countries named, and passed with safety and respect through each. I am in my forty-fourth year, sufficiently strong, healthy, vigorous, and energetic for any enterprise of difficulty and danger, and with enough of experience to assist my judgment without extinguishing my zeal ; while the books I have written, and the discourses or lectures I have delivered, of which not less than 100,000 different individuals in various parts of England have been the witnesses, will confirm my capacity to collect information, to record it in writing, and to impart it verbally to others.

The only means I ask for conducting and commanding this enterprise is this : that the ship and her equipments—such as the means thus raised may furnish—be, in the first instance, provided by the British public, leaving every subsequent expense of the voyage to be paid out of her trading freights or gains ; and that all the materials thus supplied to me as instruments with which to effect the undertaking, be

placed entirely at my disposal, on the pledge that after this voyage round the globe has been performed, and the objects accomplished as far as may be found practicable according to the plan detailed above, a faithful narrative of the proceedings of the expedition, from its departure to its return, shall be published for the honour of those who may contribute to its formation, and, it is hoped, for the benefit of the world at large.

London, June 1, 1830.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM

ROYAL INSTITUTION.

At a numerous public meeting, held at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, on Thursday, June 22d, 1830, his royal highness the Duke of Sussex, president of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Moved by his grace **THE DUKE OF SOMERSET**, president of the Royal Institution, and seconded by **LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.**, vice-president of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

1. That the plan on which Mr. Buckingham proposes to conduct a voyage round the globe for promoting the great objects of hydrographical discovery, practical civilization, and commercial inquiry, appears to this meeting to be eminently well calculated to produce great national advantages and much general good, and to be therefore entitled to the cordial support of all ranks and classes of his majesty's subjects.

Moved by **LORD DURHAM**, and seconded by **THE REV. ARTHUR S. WADE, D.D., F.S.A.**

2. That the maritime experience, active habits, and diversified knowledge evinced by Mr. Buckingham in his writings and lectures on the countries of the Eastern world, added to the unwearied zeal manifested by him in his endeavours to excite the sympathy of the people of Europe in behalf of their Asiatic fellow-beings, are, in the opinion of this meeting, qualifications which peculiarly fit him for commanding this expedition, and conducting it to a happy termination.

Moved by **ADMIRAL SIR SYDNEY SMITH, K.C.B.**, and seconded by **SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON**, late chief-justice of his majesty's Supreme Court in Ceylon, and vice-president of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. That the members of this assembly, having themselves cheerfully contributed their assistance towards the commencement of this new and interesting undertaking, do feel themselves justified in earnestly inviting all the encouragers of useful knowledge, the friends of moral improvement, and the promoters of commercial intercourse, to co-operate with them in advancing, by their contributions, the completion of this great design.

Moved by **GENERAL SIR SAMUEL BENTHAM, K.S.G.**, and seconded by **COL. THE HON. LEICESTER STANHOPE**.

4. That the following noblemen and gentlemen, taken from among the earliest of the London subscribers, obtained before any public announcement of the plan had been made, and including members of all the several professions, be solicited to select, out of their own numbers, a central or metropolitan committee (five of whom may at any time form a quorum), for the purpose of suggesting such measures as they may conceive best calculated to promote the end in view :

The Duke of Somerset, P.R.I.
The Duke of Bedford.
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A committee having been formed, and measures taken for obtaining the requisite degree of support, everything appeared to warrant the hopes of ultimate success; when the sudden occurrence of the French Revolution, at the close of the very month succeeding that in which this meeting was held (July, 1830), the subsequent political changes which took place in England, the agitation of the public mind with the Reform Bill, and the entire absorption of the public thought and interest in political affairs, made it impossible to proceed beyond a given point. The general feeling seemed to be that the undertaking should be deferred till some future period, when the public mind would be less occupied with the topics that now exclusively engaged its attention; and, under this impression, the sums subscribed (which did not, in the aggregate, exceed £2000, though £20,000 would have been required for the equipment of the expedition), were returned in full to such of the parties advancing it as desired its reimbursement, while the greater portion of the rest was appropriated to the payment of the expenses incurred; but no favourable circumstances again occurred to warrant the renewal of the undertaking.

As far, however, as the unaided efforts of a single individual could be likely to accomplish the objects proposed in the expedition, I had hoped to do something towards it in the personal voyage of which my tour through the United States was the commencement, and my subsequent visits to Mexico, the Pacific Ocean, the Sandwich Islands, China, and the Indian Archipelago were intended to be the close. Circumstances, however, as unexpected as they were unforeseen, prevented the accomplishment of this design to the extent, at least, to which it was originally intended to be carried out; and, therefore, like many of my predecessors, I was obliged to yield, with patience and resignation, to influences which I could neither resist nor control. Still my conviction of the utility of such a voyage is so unchanged, that I should be perfectly willing, though now eleven years older, to take the command of such an expedition, if it could be prepared and equipped for sea.

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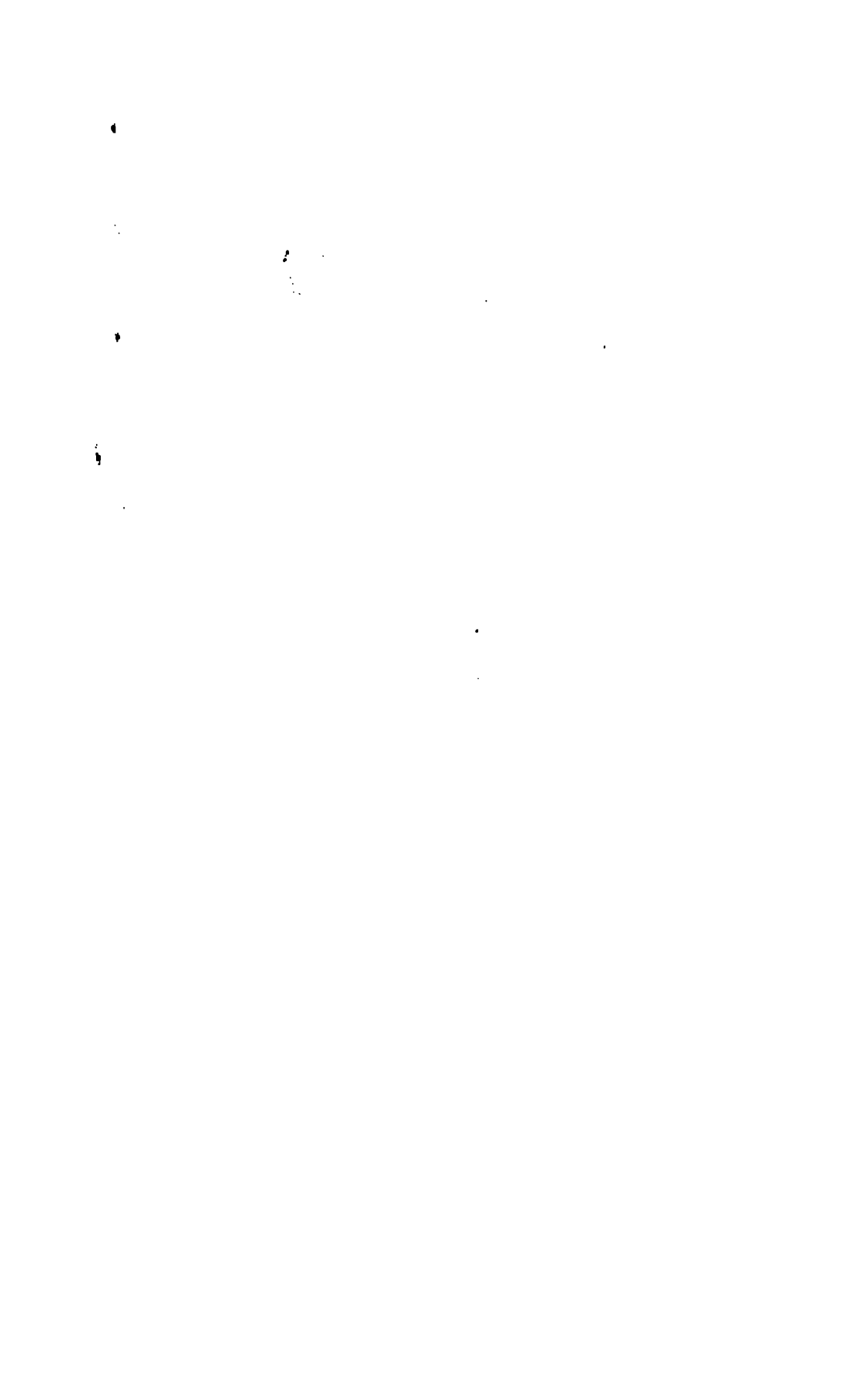
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